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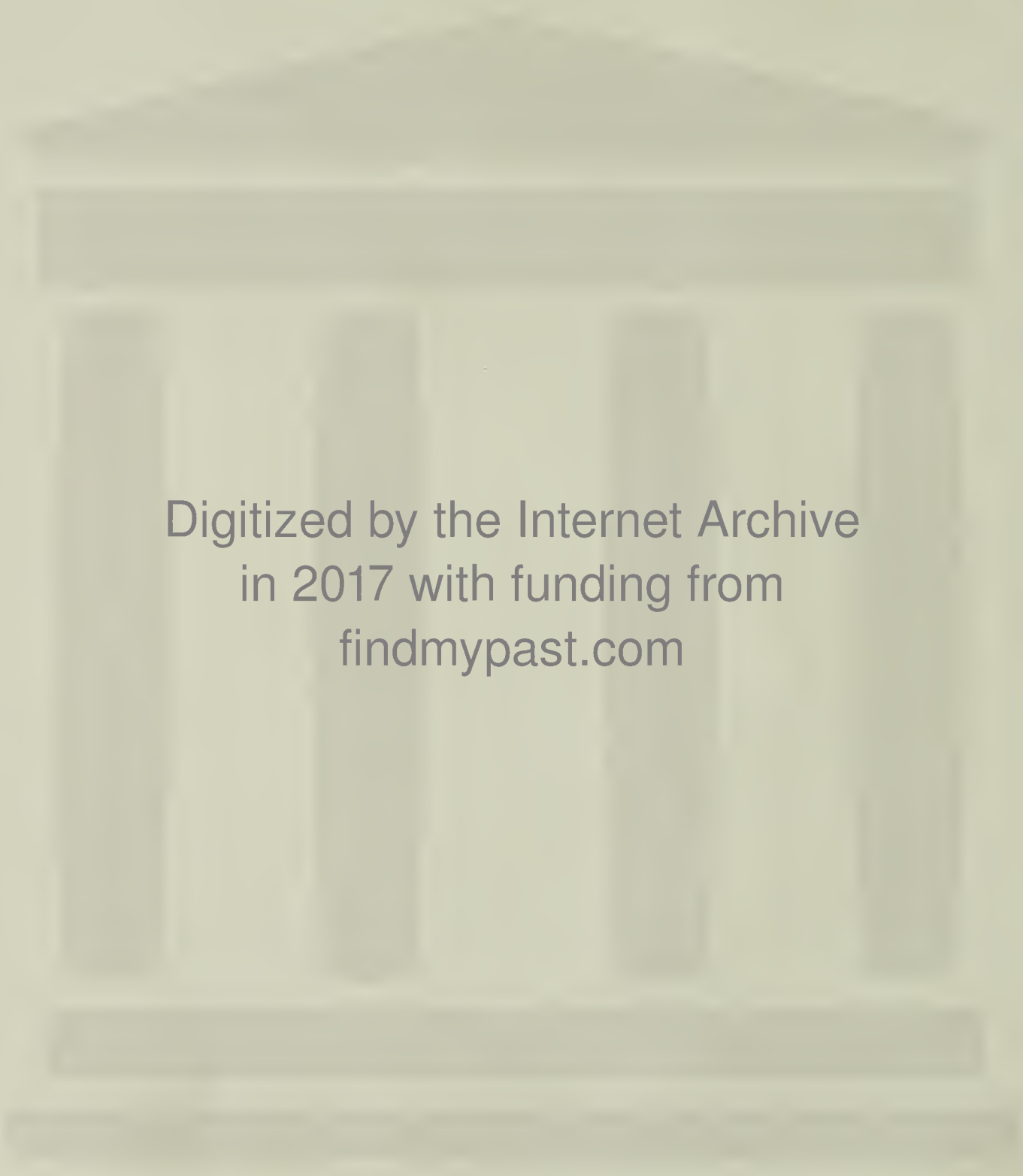
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Pennsylvania German
Society

PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES

Fifty-second Anniversary at Philadelphia, Pa.

October 22, 1943.

v. 52-53
VOLUME LII

52-53

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1946

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NORRISTOWN, PA

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PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

1943

President HENRY S. BORNEMAN
Vice-President DAVID A. MILLER
Secretary REV. SCOTT BRENNER
Treasurer FREDERICK S. FOX

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Term Expiring 1943:

REV. THOMAS R. BRENDLE
FREDERICK S. FOX
FREDERIC A. GODCHARLES
JOHN B. LUDY, M.D.
W. EMMERT SWIGART

Term Expiring 1944:

REV. SCOTT BRENNER
JACOB ERDMAN COPE
HARRY B. HOSTETTER
REV. CLARENCE R. RAHN
RALPH BEAVER STRASSBURGER

Term Expiring 1945:

HENRY S. BORNEMAN
HAROLD F. DIFFENDERFFER
H. WINSLOW FEGLEY
DAVID A. MILLER
WILLIAM S. TROXELL



PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY
MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

Philadelphia, Pa.

October 22, 1943.

The Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania German Society was held in the Old Custom House, 420 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, a historic site under the United States Department of Interior and managed by the Carl Schurz Foundation, on Friday, October 22, 1943, at 10 a. m.

BUSINESS MEETING.

The Society was called to order by the President, Henry S. Borneman, at 10 a. m.

Scott Brenner, the Secretary, read the Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Society, held October 23, 1942, in Reading, Pa., and they were, on Motion, approved.

The Report of Frederick S. Fox, the Treasurer, was presented through the Secretary and, on Motion, it was referred to C. H. Herr and A. M. R. Angstadt, as a Com-

mittee to audit the Treasurer's account and to make return of its report to the Board of Directors.

The President stated that a report of the auditing Committee, appointed at last year's meeting, finding the accounts of the Treasurer to be correct, had been filed with the Board of Directors.

The suggestion of the Board of Directors that the Officers of the Society purchase a \$500.00 War Bond, was adopted.

The Secretary read his Annual Report, as required by the By-Laws.

The term of office of Messrs. Brendle, Fox, Godcharles, Ludy and Swigart having expired, nominations to fill these vacancies were declared to be in order, and, thereupon, they were re-nominated and the nominations were, on Motion, closed; when, on Motion, duly adopted, the persons so nominated were unanimously elected as Directors for the term of three years.

A formal vote of thanks was tendered to Dr. Wilbur K. Thomas and the Carl Schurz Foundation for the co-operation in extending to the Society the use of the building and its facilities for the holding of the Annual Meeting.

HISTORICAL PROGRAM.

The following is an outline of the Historical Program presented at the meeting.

1. Address by Dr. Wilbur K. Thomas, Honorary Chairman.
2. "Smiles and Tears—Mostly Collecting Stiegel Glass; covering a period of thirty-four years of collecting in Pennsylvania Homes"

by

Ida L. K. (Mrs. Albert K.) Hostetter

Illustrated with Lantern Slides prepared and exhibited by Mr. Harry B. Hostetter.

3. Biographical Sketch of Charles R. Roberts

by

Mr. David A. Miller

4. A Review of the Exhibition of Pennsylvania German Fraktur, with especial reference to Unique Specimens

by

Henry S. Borneman, Esq.

LUNCHEON—1 P. M.

Address, Rev. Clarence R. Rahn.

There were 135 persons in attendance at the Luncheon.

SCOTT BRENNER,
Secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY
ANNUAL REPORT

submitted by

SCOTT BRENNER, Secretary

Philadelphia, Pa.

October 22, 1943.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN
SOCIETY:

The By-Laws of the Society require that the Secretary shall submit at each Annual Meeting a Report of the activities of the Board of Directors during the year just closed. In accordance with that direction, the following Report is respectfully submitted:

MEETINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

The Board of Directors held three stated meetings during the year for the transaction of current business

in fulfillment of the provisions of the By-Laws. At these meetings, one of which was held in the City of Reading and the other two in the City of Philadelphia, Applications for Membership were received and acted upon; consideration was given to the preparation of Volume 50 of the Proceedings of the Society; the Annual Program was outlined; making provisions for the obtaining of definitive articles or dissertations for future publication; and matters relating to the general administration and affairs of the corporation and its purposes were considered.

Minutes of all the meetings have been kept, as required by the By-Laws.

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE SOCIETY.

The following is a list of the Directors of the Society:

Term Expiring 1943:

Rev. Thomas R. Brendle
Frederick S. Fox
Frederic A. Godcharles
John B. Ludy, M.D.
W. Emmert Swigart

Term Expiring 1944:

Rev. Scott Brenner
Jacob Erdman Cope
Harry B. Hostetter
Rev. Clarence R. Rahn
Ralph Beaver Strassburger

Term Expiring 1945:

Henry S. Borneman
Harold F. Diffenderffer
H. Winslow Fegley
David A. Miller
William S. Troxell

In accordance with the provisions of the By-Laws, the Directors, at a meeting, elected the following officers for the year just closed:

President HENRY S. BORNEMAN
Vice-President DAVID A. MILLER
Secretary REV. SCOTT BRENNER
Treasurer FREDERICK S. FOX

MEMBERSHIP.

Applications for Membership have been received during the year and both Active and Associate Members have been elected. There have been losses through resignations and deaths. It is noteworthy that only eight members of the Society have presented their resignations and in each case reasons were presented that were personal and in no case was there indication of lack of interest in the general purposes of the Society.

It is with sorrow that a record has to be made of the loss, since our last Annual Meeting, of Members through death.

DEATHS SINCE LAST ANNUAL MEETING.

Rev. Charles E. Kistler, Reading, Pa.
Mrs. B. F. Demaree, Newport, Pa.
Rev. Victor J. Bauer, Bethlehem, Pa.
Daniel C. Jacobs, Arendts, Pa.
Charles R. Roberts, Allentown, Pa.
Henry H. Ulrich, Lebanon, Pa.
Mrs. Ebenezer C. Beatty, Oil City, Pa.
Rev. Wm. H. Kline, Collingswood, N. J.

The Active Membership of the Society at the present time approximates 550.

FINANCES.

Mr. Frederick S. Fox presents herewith his Report, as Treasurer, in which appear in detail the receipts and

expenditures during the year. It shows a cash balance on October 21, 1942, of \$3,560.77.

The Board of Directors suggests, in accordance with the practice prevailing in prior years, the appointment by the President of a Committee to audit the Treasurer's account.

The Auditing Committee appointed last year, consisting of Mr. C. H. Martin and Mr. A. M. Angstadt, presented their report to the Board of Directors and they approved the account of the Treasurer submitted to the Annual Meeting.

ACTIVITIES.

The activities of the Board of Directors in carrying out the purposes of the Society have been curtailed by reasons of the conditions due to the war. It is noteworthy, however, to report that the interest of the Members of the Society, in its broad purposes, has not decreased, and to record that the interest in the history, the literature, the folk-art, the dialect and the social groupings of the Pennsylvania Germans has been most marked and brought to the attention of the public at large.

VOLUME 50.

The definitive article, which will make up Volume 50 of the Proceedings of the Society, relates to "Pennsylvania German Folk Tales," as told in the dialect popularly known as "Pennsylvania Dutch." These tales were collected, translated and edited by Rev. Thomas R. Brendle and Mr. William S. Troxell. The copy for the entire text is in the printer's hands, and, if emergency conditions will permit, the volume will be distributed before the close of 1943.

The Board of Directors desire to put upon record their appreciation of the assistance which has been so generously given by the Carl Schurz Foundation, in connection with the arrangements for the holding of the Annual Meeting.

Respectfully submitted,

SCOTT BRENNER,

Secretary.

PART II

BIRD NAMES AND BIRD LORE
AMONG THE
PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS

BIRD NAMES AND BIRD LORE
AMONG THE
PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS

WILLIAM J. RUPP

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY

Norristown, Pennsylvania

1946

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NORRISTOWN, PA.

PREFACE

The first list of Pennsylvania German names for birds appeared in *The Perkiomen Region*, December, 1923, prepared by its editor, Thomas R. Brendle, then of Green Lane, Pa. Seventy-six dialect names for sixty-two birds were given in this list. Another list, prepared by Dr. John Baer Stoudt and the editor, appeared in the same magazine in August, 1924. Thirty-three more names and eleven additional species were mentioned, making a total of one hundred and nine names for seventy-three species.

Between the appearance of these two lists there came the publication of an article on "The Pennsylvania German Names of Birds" in *The Auk* of April, 1924, written by Professor Herbert H. Beck of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. In that same year Beck published *A Chapter on the Ornithology of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, a reprint of a chapter from a Lancaster County history of that year and in which he again presented some dialect bird names. Dr. Beck reported on two hundred and eighty species of birds and gave dialect names for about sixty-eight of them. This, the first attempt to record our folk names for birds in a scientific manner, was the truly pioneer work in the field. At the time of publication, Beck warned that the names were "destined to pass away within a generation." Later the same statement was made in the classroom, with the further warning that unless these names were recorded promptly and carefully they would soon be irretrievably lost. At least one student took the warning seriously.

Beck's list was reprinted in Dr. J. William Frey's little paper, *Der Pennsylvaniaisch Deutsch Eileschpiggel*, in 1944. A few short lists of names have appeared in Dr. Preston A. Barba's '*S Pennsylvaniaisch Deutsch Eck*' in THE MORNING CALL, Allentown, Pa., and in Dr. Arthur D. Graeff's *Scholla* in THE READING TIMES, Reading, Pa. And that is about all there is! However, names for birds and related information may be found in the whole of our dialect literature, starting with Dr. Henry Harbaugh and Rachel Bahn and continuing until the present time.

Dr. A. R. Horne gave approximately forty-five dialect bird names in his *Pennsylvania German Manual* (1875), the number varying according to one's ideas as to what to include and what not. E. H. Rauch, in his *Pennsylvania Deutsch Hond Booch* (1879), included only fifteen names for thirteen species. James C. Lins mentioned about fifty names in his *Common Sense Pennsylvania German Dictionary* (1887). Dr. W. J. Hoffman in his paper, "Grammatic Notes and Vocabulary of the Pennsylvania German Dialect" (1889), gave forty-five names for about forty-two species and families. Hoffman was the first one to attempt to give the scientific equivalents for dialect names and gave scientific names for seven species along with their corresponding dialect names. Marcus B. Lambert in his *Dictionary of the Non-English Words of the Pennsylvania-German Dialect* (1924), gave about eighty-five names for some forty-six different species of birds.

Little has appeared in the dialect press concerning bird lore. A few bits appeared in *The Pennsylvania-German* and, more recently, in Barba's *Eck*. Dr. Graeff, in his *Scholla*, has given the matter some consideration, and men like Thomas R. Brendle, Dr. Edwin Miller Fogel

and the late Dr. John Baer Stoudt have given it some attention. Many dialect writers have found occasion once in a while to write about birds or to refer to them in other connections, but all of the material, both that which has appeared on the printed page and that which has been stored away in the minds and hearts of our people, has been waiting to be brought together in one place. This is what we have tried to do. As a friend of birds and a lover of all things "Pennsylvania Dutch," we have tried to record the dialect bird names and bird lore so that these may witness to the genius of our people when many things shall have been forgotten; and we have tried to complete a work which should have been undertaken a generation ago, in the hope that it may inspire others to record similar information which they may have or which they may be able to obtain in the time that remains.

That which follows in this publication is, for the greater part, a record of what we have heard with our own ears. Unless it is noted somewhere that a certain name or reference was given to us in writing by the party mentioned, or that it was found in our dialect literature, the reader will assume that what we have put down is that which we have heard somewhere in the Pennsylvania German community since that day when we heard and spoke our first word,—in the beloved "Mutterschproch," of course!

Added significance will be given the dialect names here mentioned if the reader will bear in mind that Baird reported two hundred and three species of birds for Cumberland County a century ago; Thomas listed two hundred and twenty-nine species for Bucks County in 1876; Stone gave three hundred and fifty-two species for eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey in 1894; Burns

listed two hundred and forty-seven species for Chester County in 1919; Beck listed one hundred and five nesting species, ninety-eight transients, thirty-four winter visitants and forty-three others for Lancaster County in 1924; and by 1932 Poole had a list of two hundred and seventy-six species for Berks County. Warren listed two hundred and ninety-seven species for the state in 1890 and Sutton listed two hundred and sixty-five in 1928. Dr. W. A. Kline, in an article on "The Birds of the Perkiomen Valley" in *The Perkiomen Region*, December, 1921, named one hundred and twenty-five species. The late Frank L. Fluck, in his manuscript on "Birds of the Perkiomen Valley, a Check List of Seventy-five Years," named one hundred and forty-nine species. Our dialect record, the number of names it includes and the number of species identified in it, compares quite favorably with the substance of these English records for the same general area.

We have tried, so far as possible, to follow Lambert's orthography. Where we tampered with his system of spelling it was done with a desire to record accurately what had been heard. The careful student will see for himself where such changes were made. New words and strange, new names frequently compelled us to devise our own dialect spelling. The writer does not claim to be an expert on anything, at least not in the matter of dialect spelling, and if mistakes do appear, as they undoubtedly will, we hope the reader will be patient with us and that he will try his hand at something better. We have tried, as much as possible, to steer clear of those fields of study in which we are not competent. A great deal more might have been said on folklore about birds in general and concerning the etymology of some of the dialect names, but the one is a subject too big for our present purposes

and the other is a field in which some one else may now do some plowing.

Abbreviations used in the text are: English—E; German—G; Pennsylvania German—PG. The customary abbreviations are used for the names of the several counties in the state. Others will be obvious to the reader.

I am indebted to a great many friends for their help and for their patience with me while this record of dialect names and lore was being made across the years. I owe much to Dr. Beck who furnished me with his annotated list of dialect names and who, perhaps unknown to himself, inspired me to get busy on that which I had upon occasion thought of doing. I am especially indebted to Thomas R. Brendle, Egypt, Pa., the Secretary of the Pennsylvania German Society, who permitted me to make use of all his personal notes and manuscripts, who was a constant source of help and encouragement, and who never allowed me to forget this project for as much as one day. He attended to the innumerable details involved in the publication of a volume of this kind, and deserves much credit for the completion of this work. I am grateful for the many special favors extended to me by the President of the Society, Henry S. Borneman, Philadelphia, Pa. All the illustrations for the text have been taken from the variety of primers and "A B C Books" in his private collection. Thanks are due all the persons named in the notes, who allowed me to use information which they furnished; to those who gave permission to use published material and to quote from sources named in the notes; and to Dr. Barba, editor of the *Eck*, for the good help which was given us by way of that worthy and always refreshing weekly feature in THE MORNING CALL.

Finally, a grateful son dedicates this work to his father, Clarence William Rupp, a good farmer in Weisenberg and a lover of the meadows and the woods; and to his mother, Eva Beutelspacher Rupp, in sincere appreciation of those many "first lessons" without which such a work would not have been possible.

WILLIAM J. RUPP

Spinnerstown, Pennsylvania.
May, 1946.

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BIRDS AND THE COMMON LIFE

Our Pennsylvania German fathers and mothers were a practical and industrious people, but birds did not escape their attention. The farmer who said to his young son, "Mer hen ken Zeit fer hischteh un die Veggel watsche; des Welschkarn muss uffgschtellt warre, un sell Schwammhoi muss noch rei eb Nacht," did not mean that birds were not deserving of a busy farmer's time. Rather, he meant that, at the moment, the better thing was to do an honest day's work, and that one must enjoy the good things of life in their turn. First of all, there was a time to work! The poet's lament,

"Mei Daadi hot kee Ohre
Far die Feggel in de Baem;
Mei Daadi dutt yuscht schaffe
Ball alle Daag de same."*

was true so very often, but not always. There was a time to watch the birds, and hardly a day passed but that these good people made mental notes of what they saw, later expressing the same in colorful, descriptive names, in sayings and songs and stories which, taken to-

*From "Mei Daadi," by Louise A. Weitzel, in *'S Pennsylvawnisch Deutsch Eck*, Dr. Preston A. Barba, editor, THE MORNING CALL, Allentown, Pa., May 10, 1941. Hereafter to be named simply *P. D. Eck*. We have tried to retain the original spelling of all quotations. When no source is credited, the reader will assume that the material used is that which we ourselves have heard.

gether, are like a rich treasure in a good field which the student of our folk culture cannot afford to overlook.

They were tillers of the soil mostly, but their eyes were not always on the ground. Quite often, from their homes and fields, their shops and stores, they turned their eyes heavenward, looking for a sign, and the flight of birds during the spring and fall migrations became the harbinger of the going and coming of the snow. By this, as much as by the thawing of the ground in late winter and the first frost in early fall, was the yearly schedule of work determined; such signs were fully as good as those in any man-made calendar, and more reliable. They beheld "the fowls of the air" and the manner of their ways, and they lived and worked accordingly. When the ground began "to open" it was time to begin "the outside work," and the honk of the Canada geese as they winged their way northward on a late winter's evening gave full assurance that spring was at hand. The first frost in early fall, the restlessness of the birds and their obvious eagerness to be on their way southward, were the sure signs of the coming winter. The "field work" that remained had to be done quickly and preparations had to be made for the change of season and the change of labors.

The songs of the early spring morning sent our people to their plowing and planting with a will, and the brightly colored birds of garden and field, of meadow, orchard and woodlot, cheered their summer days and gave beauty and meaning to their life. When the breath of a dying summer seared the meadows and the woods, and when song and color had fled, the stillness called our people from the fields again, to be near to their houses and barns for the long night of winter that was ahead. Then other visitors came, from lands in the North coun-

try and to whom this was the South,—cheerful friends along that tedious winter's way to the mill, the creamery or the wagoner's shop; happy companions through all the long, hard days in the woodlot; good neighbors who, by their care-free talk, made the weary way homeward from the village store or tavern seem shorter and easier than it really was.



Der Frühling.

(Illustration from *A B C Buch und Lese—und Denk-Uebungen bei dem ersten Unterricht der Kinder. Nach den Mustern von Pestalozzi, Stephani und Andern bearbeitet. Erstes Buch Zehnte verbesserte Sterotyp-Auflage.* Henry Ludwig, New York, 1851. Illustrations of "Der Sommer," "Der Herbst," "Der Winter," are also taken from this book. From the library of Henry S. Borneman.)

The life of our people was anything but dull and drab. It was not a deadening routine from which the beauty and joy of living had fled. One reason for this was the bird life which surrounded them and to which they were not and could not be blind. There was enough of song and color and activity there to make life interesting and good, with just enough of evil thrown in now and then to test the spirit of a man. Our people had the habit of thinking long and feeling deeply about the facts of life and the mystery of man's stay on earth. There was a pattern of life which was greater than their

life; they were but a part of it, and so were the birds. Therefore, every song and act had meaning, and a more than earthly quality, and it could be said, "Die Veggel verschteert mer nat; die sin gschickt vun Gott!"

The song sparrow, singing a happy song from an old apple tree back of the house on a March morning, was called "der Friehtyaahrsvoggel," and the arrival of the first robin or bluebird gave a lift to the rural heart.

"Die kalte Dawge sin ferbei,
Des Wetter waerd als schenner,
Es sin noch Brodwarscht uff de Schtang,
Un Sauerkraut im Schtenner;
Die Feggel kumme schun zurick,
Sie kumme heem in Druppe,
Un alles waer so gut un recht,
Yuscht die Mammi hut der Schnuppe.

"Un alles zawwelt, alles lebt,
Mer sicht die Schnoke flie-e;
Die Hahne grae-e luschtich laut,
Die Glucke welle brie-e.
Voll Capers sin die junge Leit,
Ihr Kepp voll dumme Nuppe;
Mer daet nix sawge vun so Dings,
Yuscht die Mammi hut der Schnuppe.

"Die Amschel singt im Applebawm,
So luschtich, mer kennt danse;
Der Sawmesack waerd rumgewiehl,
Mer welle Zwiwwle blanse;
Die Kinner schpiele in dem Hof,
Un leer sin all die Schtuppe;
Was waer des doch en ruhiche Welt,
Yuscht die Mammi hot der Schnuppe." *

* From "Die Mammi Hot Der Schnuppe," by William H. Erb (Der Gus), in *Pennsylvania German Verse, An Anthology*, by Harry Hess Reichard. Pennsylvania German Society, Volume XLVIII, 1940. Hereafter to be named simply Reichard's *Anthology*.

The liquid call of the red-winged blackbird from the lower meadows, the soft voice of the mourning dove coming from the cherry tree by the wood-shed, and the ringing cry of the killdeer as he made his way from one hillside to another,—these were the voices of spring.

“Abrill—un die Amschle sin doh;
Was singe sie Maerryets so froh!
Sie schpringe un hupse
Un zoppe un zupse
Un gehne de Reggewaerm noh!

“Nau macht mer das Gaardesach naus,
Noh butzt mer im Hof un am Haus;
Un Schauers die kumme,
Noh wachse die Blumme;
Mer heert aa der Biwwi dart draus.”*

The arrival of the phoebe, who took his station near the old straw-shed behind the barn, or at the wooden bridge down the road, and the call of the whippoorwill from the edge of the woods, were the sure signs of spring.

“Der Schnee is vergange,
Die Kält is dehie,
Der Bivi is kumme—
Die Schwäm sin shun grü.

“Die Wassere rausche,
Un funkle dehie,
Die Starre besinge
Ehr: Cudr-ruddal-lie.”†

“Es Friehyohr kummt, ich bin so froh,
Waer es doch yuscht heit schun do!
Un harch mol wann der Biwwi singt,
Wie des glei noh ann’re bringt!”‡

* From “Der Abrill,” by John Birmelin, *P. D. Eck*, April 12, 1941.

† From “Mer Wolla Fische Geh,” by Eli Keller, in *Reichard’s Anthology*.

‡ From “Es Friehyohr Kummt,” by Lloyd Moll, in *P. D. Eck*, May 6, 1944.

When the chipping sparrow came for a look at last year's nesting place in the rambler-rosebush at the end of the garden, they called him "der Sootvoggel,—wann der kummt noh kann mer saeche!" The arrival of the barn swallows and the Baltimore oriole meant that warm weather had come to stay. "Wann der Biwwi mohl peift un du sehnscht zwee Scheierschwalme bei nanner, noh darfscht baarfiesich geh."

"Wann kummt der Pihwie im Abrill,
Un greischt sercht Mol der Wipperwill
So lout es schallt am Berg hel naus,
Noh nemmt mer als die Schuh schnell aus."*

Not all was joy, however, and some birds had ways of wearing thin the patience of the best man. The cat-bird and the house wren were always ready for an argument and there was joy in that, but when the same wren tried to boss every one on the place, or when the herons and kingfishers got some of the best fish and tadpoles in the mill dam, that was another matter. The robins would raid the cherry trees before the fruit was fully ripe, but one could forestall that by placing scare-crows in the trees or by picking the cherries a bit sooner. One grumbled about it a good deal and then promptly forgot the incidents, because robins were good to have around, even though the day had passed when you were allowed to shoot them for table use. If the grackles decided that wash-day was a good time to begin feeding on mulberries, that again was a different matter, and one could only take up arms against such flocks of trouble. The European starlings and the English sparrows, foreigners both of them and a plain nuisance, arrivals in more recent years, were the cause of many a headache and

* From "Die Alt Heemet," by Henry Meyer, in Reichard's *Anthology*.

ruffled temper. "Die dreckiche Schtarling" and "die verfochtne Schpatze,"—that was the kindest and mildest thing that could be said. The starlings went out to do battle with the flicker, the bluebird, the martins, the red-headed woodpeckers, everybody, and the farmer was at once the poorer for it, bereft of good friends and in the company of devils. The English sparrows made themselves at home in the barn, in the pig-stable and in the hen-house. They got into the cornice, if there was one, at the new house, or behind the "weather-boarding" that covered the logs on the old house. If the old shingles on the roof, veterans of many a battle with the sun and the rain, turned their noses too much toward the sky, these sparrows were sure to find an opening and to promptly set up housekeeping in the attic. Meanwhile, the hawks were making raids on the pigeons at the barn and on the chicks in the poultry yard.

"Her juscht Mol die Hahne krehe,
Un seh der Hinkelwoy dart schwehe;
Un guck juscht Mol wie selle Kroppe
So schlick'm Bauer sei Welschkorn ruppe!" *

The wary crow was ready to match wits with the farmer when he planted his corn so that it had to be said "Fier karna tzum stuck,—aney far der fuggel, aney far de warrem, un tzwae far woxa." † The crow called to him, "Graa-ab, graa-ab, graa-ab," with the meaning that the farmer was to "dig, dig, dig" and plant for the crow. To the hardworking farmer the cry of "Graab, graab, graab," may have sounded as though it were being said, "The grave, the grave, the grave (for you)."

* From "Die Alt Heemet," by Henry Meyer, in Reichard's *Anthology*.

† From "Boonastiel," by T. H. Harter, Bellefonte, Pa., 1904, p. 154.

They would pull up the sprouted corn to get the seed kernels and to forestall this the farmer had to soak his corn in "coal oil" or "Bisskatzegrautwasser"; or, perhaps he poured some "coal oil" between a number of the rows of planted seed. Again, to protect the newly planted fields (and the places where the young poultry were kept!) from the depredations of the crows and grackles, scare-crows were erected,—*"Butzemenner,"* strange creatures consisting of an upright, wooden cross, clothed in an old coat, torn overalls, red handkerchief and a battered straw hat, whose only signs of life were the half-



D e r S o m m e r.

empty sleeves flapping in the wind.* No one ever heard what the crows thought of this strange business, but they were wise, and there was plenty of "crow-talk" about it. A flock of crows, or grackles, would work around the edges of a field and when the armed farmer was at one end of the field, they would be at the opposite end on the other side of the hill, while their watch-

* A rarer form of *"Butzemenner"* is the singular *"Butzefraa."* We have seen a few of these "female" scarecrows, appropriately dressed, stuffed with old rags, straw or hay. They, like their more numerous "husbands," were once familiar figures in the fields. All that is left of them now consists of a few strips of cloth tied to a string stretched between two stakes in the garden.

man on the old chestnut tree kept them informed as to the latest strategy. It was a kind of game for the crows and they played it well. The farmer who did not have a sense of humor and who could not play the game with them was sure to lose out in the end. If they did not get the corn then, they would surely be back in the fall, even before it was fully ripe, to take their toll. When he husked his corn and saw the long line of crows heading for their roosts in the woods, or heard the far-call of the pheasant, he knew where some of the crop had gone.

When the farmer cut his grass in the meadow he saw the cowbird, the kingbird and the meadowlark, perhaps the bobolink and the bittern, and found the nests of the song sparrow and the red-wing. At the spring-house he found the top of the old willow tree alive with twitterings and warblings, possessed by a swarm of little birds that you could hear but hardly see. They were the warblers,—“die gleene Veggel,” stopping off for lunch on their way northward.

“Im Früehjohr is der Baam en Lust,
Wann mol die erste Lerche singe,
Un setze sich, mit goldner Brust,
Ganz owe, uf die dinne Schwinge.

“’Sin Voeg’lger drin, just harch mol recht!
Ich hoer sie woll, un kann ken’s sehne—
Ja doch, just guck! Dert is ’n G’fecht;
’Sin viel dervun, un lauter kleene!”*

As the farmer rested between the handles of his plow or cultivator, he watched the aerial maneuvers of the killdeer, listened to its ringing cry and wondered if there would be rain the next day. If, while harrowing or sowing,

* From “Der Alt Weidebaam,” by Eli Keller, in *P. D. Eck*, May 16, 1936.

he found the simple nest of this bird, he carefully worked around it so that, later in the summer, when the oats was harvested, a bare patch would remain to show where she had bred her young. He saw the high-flying hawks and wondered whether they really were his enemies or not; more often he simply shot them when they came within range, and asked no questions. And if it was a clear, sunny day, with a bright blue sky overhead, he perhaps got the thrill of a lifetime as he saw a bald eagle come soaring in from the Southeast, majestically and steadily beating his way through the upper air as he made for the river that lay beyond the next range of hills.

He was amused by the brown thrasher as the bird poured out one song after another from his perch on the topmost branch of the apple tree down in the meadow. In the orchard the flicker was tapping a message to his mate, from the woodlot came the call of the ovenbird and the drumming of the grouse. The Bob-white quail urged him on with "Mach fart! Mach, mach fart!" or with "Mach Hoi! Mach, mach Hoi!" When the day's work was done, the vesper song of a tireless robin, the crisp, clear call of the whippoorwill, and all the soft night voices of birdland were the evening lullabies.

The departure of the barn swallows in August, the slow gathering of flocks of robins, the solitary voice of the wood pewee when all else was still in the heavy air and heat of the "dog days,"—these were the first signs of the coming fall.

"De Schwalbe ihre Schpruch:
Bartholomae (24 Aug.),
Wer Gras hat, der mach;
Wer Korn hat, der sae,
Und ich geh!" *

* From "Alde Bauere Schprich," in *P. D. Eck*, August 1, 1942. Autenrieth, *Pfälzisches Idiotikon*, Zweibrücken, 1899, gives this shorter form: "Heit isch Bartime, wer korn hat, der se; wer ebbl hat der brech; wer amet hat, der rech."

There was a certain restlessness in the air then. Strange new herons, young and white, began to appear in the meadows, going again as silently as they had come. The song of a belated vesper sparrow and the mellow voice of the upland plover were heard in the pasture. The blue jay was busier than ever, as though he were



Der Herbst.

making it his personal business to get all the other birds off for the southland in good time. A strange silence had settled over the land and yet there was something in the air and it got into the blood, so that our people were busier than ever with the work that had to be done before winter set in.

“Des Schpotyaahr iss schun widder do,
’S hat gaar net lang genumme;
Die Veggel singe nimmi viel,
Ihr G’sang dut ball verschtumme.

“Die Schwalme fliege widder heern,
In scheene waarme Lenner;
Sie wisse selwer ihre Zeit
Un brauche ken Kalenner.” *

* From “Der September,” by John Birmelin, *P. D. Eck*, September 6, 1941.

Then, suddenly, the first frost laid a heavy hand upon garden and field, and a different song was sung:

“Die Bletter falle vun de Baem,
Des Wetter waerd als kiehler;
Die Schulbell heert mer darrich's Daal,
Des Schulhaus iss voll Schieler.

“Die Kaerbseranke gucke schwarz,
Der Froscht waar dart dehinner;
Die Kaerbse leie drauwerich rum
Als wie so Waisekinner.

“Des Welschkarn schteht aa dart in Schocks ,
Der Kopp in Driebsaal henke;
Un vun de lange Ewichkeit
Dutt yeder Schtengel denke.

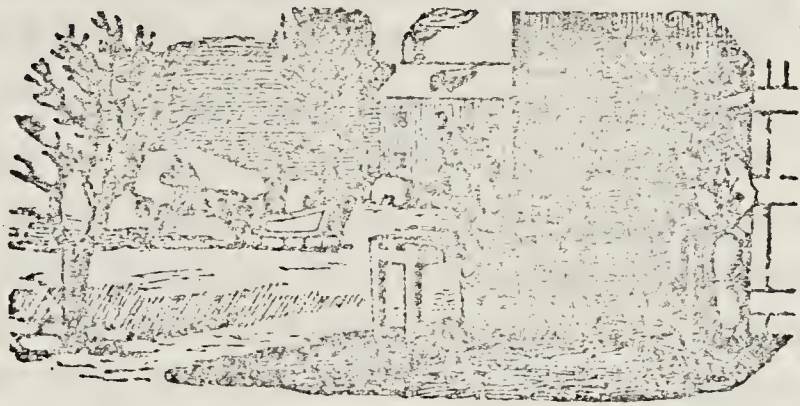
“Die Grabbe hocke uff de Fens
Un mehner kumme schpaeder;
Wie Drauerleit so an 're Leicht,
In ihre schwarze Gleeder.

“Un daerre Schtengel schtehne dart
Un drauwere mit de Hecke;
Noh kummt der Schnee in de schtille Nacht
Un dutt der Dod zu decke.”*

The southward flight of the Canada geese and the arrival of the junco were the harbingers of the coming of the snow. The whole neighborhood would be aroused and excited if the wild geese flew southward in the early morning of one of the first days of fall; if they flew fast, steadily and in good formation, as though they were especially eager to arrive, it was thought that a cold spell

* “Der Froscht,” by William H. Erb (Der Gus), in *P. D. Eck*, November 16, 1940. For faithful description, simple beauty and deep feeling, this poem, in the opinion of the writer, is equalled by few and excelled by none in the dialect!

was coming,—“Es waerd schnell arrick kalt!” So, if the birds gathered in flocks at an unusually early time in late summer, it was said that winter was rapidly on its way,—“Die Veggel sin schunn so arrick uff Druppe, 's geht schtarrick noch'm Schpotyaahr zu!” Similarly, the early departure of the birds and the early moulting of the domestic fowls were indications of an early winter,—“Es wintert frieh ei!”



Der Winter.

In winter when there were trap-lines to follow, and when the year's supply of wood * had to be cut and laid by, the birds were there to talk and sing and scold,—the chickadee, the junco, the blue jay, the cardinal, the tufted titmouse, the nuthatch, the downy woodpecker and the crow. They would go the whole way with a man, playing their hide-and-seek until the sky began to lower and then all would be still.

“Was is doch alles soh rooich un shdill!

Mer hehrd ken Loudt net im ganze Bush hee,

Net 'mohl es Gebeeb's fum'e glay Tschickdee,

Kay Grabb, un kay Shqaärl, mer harchd vee mer vill.

* “Winterhols,” “Summerhols,” “Brennhols,” “Schlachthols,” “Weschhols,” “Riggelhols,” “Briggelhols,” “Glofderhols,” “Lattwaerickhols” and many more, depending upon the kind of wood and the intended use.

Ken Lifdel reerd sich; un s'gebd aym en G'feel
 As vann dee Veldt mit allmechdicher G'valdt
 Uf aymohl now sich der Ohdem haldt.

Noh kummd der Shnay! Ovver net in'me G'veel;
 Dee Flucke kumme vee Feddre soh leyched,
 Un enseln tzuershd; ovver bal' im'e G'värr
 'S dee Luft dermit vimmeld. Dort druvve now
 schleichd

En Nachd-eyl darch dee dick Luft, as eb's vähr
 En G'shbock, soh veiss un soh shdill. Un im Shnay
 Värd alles im Bush vee'n Geishder-veldt shay."*

The whole life and fortune of our people was somehow tied in with the habits and songs of birds. They had to work hand in hand with nature and with mother earth; they were at the mercy of the elements and all their livelihood depended upon the vagaries of the weather. It is no wonder then that so many of their beliefs about the weather were such as took birds into account, and their habits and songs as a sign.

The call of the crows on a rainy morning gave promise of a clear day ahead ("Rain before seven, clear before eleven"),—"Wann die Grabbe frieh maryets greische, dann helt's uff!" The call of the mourning dove and the yellow-billed cuckoo, the piercing cries of the killdeer and the crested flycatcher, the drumming of the grouse, the hammering of the flicker and the other woodpeckers, and the call of the Bob-white,†—all were signs of rain that day or the next. The soft, quavering roll of the screech owl usually was a portent of bad weather. During the summer its plaintive cry was a sign of rain; in

* "Im Bush vanns Shnayd," by J. Max Hark, in Reichard's *Anthology*.

† The interpretation of the Bob-white's call as "Mach Nass! Mach, mach nass!" of which the English equivalent is "More wet! More wet!" contrasts strangely with the other interpretation, "Mach Hoi! Mach, mach Hoi!" Obviously, the two do not agree.

fall it meant that severely cold weather was just ahead and in late winter it meant that warmer weather was on its way,—“Der Schteekeitzer griescht! Nau waerd’s gelind!” Again, its call from somewhere in the lowlands was a sign of rain and warmer weather, while its cry from the hills meant that it would clear and be much colder.*

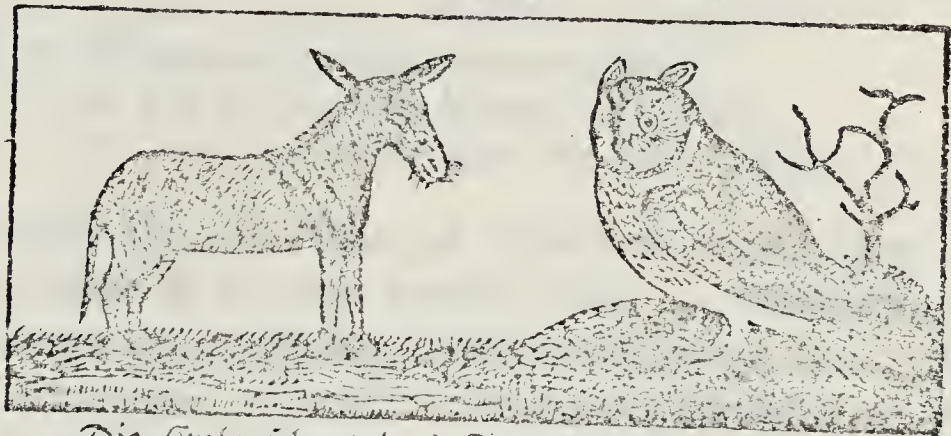
The turkey vultures, by their majestic flight in the summer skies, announced to all who had eyes to see that some neighbor had lost an animal by death. A cow or horse, a calf or a pig had died and the farmer had dragged it to the woods. A vulture appeared from out of nowhere and soon he called others up over the horizon until there were a number of them, landing in the nearby fields or waiting their turn on the oaks and chestnuts. They were as useful as they were ugly and everyone understood the law of the neighborhood that vultures must not be killed. If, on a summer’s afternoon, these vultures rolled up over the horizon, with less of their usual dignity and steadiness in flight, it was a sign that a heavy storm was pushing them across the sky, and workers and teams made hurried preparations to leave the fields.

When the family was at work in the fields, and the vultures circled overhead, someone would say facetiously, “Do is aryets faul Fleesch!” and father would warn his tired if not lazy son, “Geb acht! Hald dich an der Aerwet odder die Ooshaahne hole dich gewiss!” Naughty children were appropriately frightened by the saying, “Geb acht, odder der Wibberwill grickt dich!” or “Behaeff dich odder der Gilleri kummt un grickt dich!” When

* Beliefs and superstitions about the weather in connection with the habits and songs of the birds will be treated more fully in a later chapter.

attention was called to the crazy laughter of the loon, that weird and indescribable voice of the night sky, no more coaxing was necessary to send an obstreperous youngster to his bed. Similarly, the hooting of the owl was an awesome thing that filled a child with fear and forebodings; to older persons it was a portent of some

Es Esel • e Eule



Die Eule scheut das Tageslicht,
Der Esel gleicht die Arbeit nicht.

(Illustration from *Hoch-Deutsches A B C und Buchstabir-Büchlein für Kinder*. Harrisburg, Penna. Gedruckt und zu haben bei Scheffer und Beck, 1852. From the library of Henry S. Borneman.)

bad luck or of death itself. The fact that some owls lived in the old church steeple and in the old sheds, with the graveyard close by, did not help their reputation by any means. They called from the darkness and all one could see was their ghostly shape as they swooped silently from one tree to the next.

The first call of the whipporwill meant that one could then go barefooted, but there was more good fortune in its call. If you rattled your purse at the time, assuming that you had something in it, it would not become empty for the next year; and, "Wann mer sich der Baerrick nunner rollt, odder wann mer Bartzelbaam schlackt, dann grickt mer ken Rickweh."

“Wann der Holzappel bliht un wann’s Moiblimcha
kummt,

Noh is es gar lieblich im Wald.

Die Amschel, die singt, un’s Ihmcha, des brummt,
Un der Wipperwill kreischt, dass es schallt.

Un wann ich den’s erscht mol kreischa heer,
Noh klopp ich mei Geldsack als grad;
For wann mer sel dut, noh werd er net leer
’S ganz johr—so werd als g’saat.

“Ich wees awer, dass es verflixt wennig bat.
So’n Wipperwill liegt wie verdollt!
For, haw ich ah mol en bissel was g’hat,
Hot’s der Schwerneter glei widder g’holt.” *

Sometimes the call was an omen of impending disaster, especially if it was heard near a dwelling, and when someone was flirting with death, they said, “Der Wibberwill holt ihn gewiss!” When an accident or sudden death befell a person, it was said, “Es hut ihn iwwer-numme wie en Schwupp!”† To dream of white pigeons at the window, trying to get into the house, to have a dove perch on the window sill and call, or to have a bird fly into the house, also were omens of impending death.‡

Our people, it seems, have always been in possession of that rare but happy faculty which enables a man to

* Anonymous poem, “Der Wipperwill,” in Reichard’s *Anthology*. Appeared first in *The Pennsylvania German*, May, 1907.

† The reference here is to the nighthawk, which was constantly confused with the whippoorwill. They saw the former, heard the latter, and frequently made the latter’s name do for both. This name recognizes one of the distinctive characteristics of the nighthawk’s flight,—his swift, booming dives toward the earth.

‡ The writer distinctly recalls a tragedy in upper Berks where a mother and her baby were burned to death in their home. Other members of the family explained that on the previous night the stricken mother had dreamed of seeing white doves at the window, trying to get into her room.

laugh at himself, his fears and his foibles. So, in lighter moments, when all was right with the world, they liked to tell the story of the revival preacher ("En Schtrawwler Parre") in upper Lehigh who was urging preparation for death, and who boasted of his own conversion and preparedness for the day of summons. In the heat of the moment he exclaimed, "Ich sehn nau schunn die wiese Dauwe am kumme fer mich hole!" Some ruffian, standing at the back door, shouted in reply, "Alder, sell sin ken weise Dauwe! Sell sin die Grabbe!"

When Sunday came the family was in church.

"O was'n schoene alte Kerich
 Un was'n Gottes-dinscht!
 Die Kanzel war hooch drowe fescht
 Gebaut, fiel wie'n Schwalme-nescht,
 So wie die Neschter finscht;
 Un weescht du noch was war dart owe?
 'N Schall-brett, noch fiel hoecher drowe."*

There, in a tongue heavier than their own, they heard the Word of Life:

"Schet die Vögel unter dem Himmel an; sie säen nicht, sie ernten nicht, sie sammeln nicht in die Scheunen; und euer himmlischer Vater nähret sie doch. Seid ihr denn nicht viel mehr, denn sie? . . . Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele, und vergisz nicht, was er dir Gutes gethan hat, . . . der deinen Mund fröhlich macht, und du wieder jung wirst, wie ein Adler . . ."

The young farmer, seated on the gallery, and beholding his fair lady as she sang in the choir, probably said

* From "Die Alt Bordkerich,—Aus H. L. Fischer's 'S Alt Marik-Haus Mittes in D'r Schtadt," in *P. D. Eck*, February 8, 1936. Also in "Auswahlen der Alte Zeite," Vol. I, *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society*.

to his partner, "Sie kann singe wie en Amschel," and of his future mother-in-law he may have said, "Awwer die Alt is so batzich as en Zaahschlibber un sie hott en Blick im Aag wie en Hinkel-woi."

"'S wor en scheener Sunndaag Marye,
Un der Himmel war so blo;
Un des gans Erdreich hot g'schmunzelt,
Un's wor alles lieb un froh.
Alle Foggel wor am singe,
Alle Hahne hot gegraet;
Maed un Buwe wore luschtig,
Alles wor in heechschter Freed." *

At home the farmer was irritated by the depredations of the accipiter hawks, the large owls, the jays and crows, the sparrows and starlings and blackbirds, and often the innocent, especially the large hawks and the small owls, had to suffer for the guilty, but all the other birds were his dearest friends. There was a time, covering more than a century, when birds were slaughtered almost indiscriminately. Flickers were taken in great numbers in the late summer; even the young were trapped in their nests, and "Gehlschpecht—boddboi" was a delicacy on many a table. Robins and upland plovers suffered just as unhappy a fate. Blue jays and red-headed woodpeckers and herons and loons were killed, either for their plumage, or because it was thought they did some small damage. No less fortunate were the kingfishers, the kingbirds, the bobolinks and the cuckoos. Any big bird was always a temptation to a man with a gun,—the eagle, the snowy owl and the great horned owl, and again the large hawks and the herons. How many of them ended their stay on earth as but a shadow of what

* From "Sell Maedel an der Aernkaerrich," by Joseph P. Deibert, *P. D. Eck*, October 23, 1937.

God had made,—“stuffed” birds gathering dust on the mantel! The saddest story of all is that of the passenger pigeon which now is only a memory. Those were early and different days. The land was new and men had not yet learned to measure and to conserve its resources. Happily enough, our people did learn in time who their friends were.

The swallows were always welcome. Small pieces of wood were nailed to the beams beneath the overshoot of the barn to serve as nesting shelves, and small, decorative holes (“Schwalmelecher”) were cut into the gable-ends of barns and sheds so that the barn swallows might find a home and come back, year after year, to the same place and find the old nests undisturbed. Neither they nor the cliff swallows with their sizable apartments of bottle-shaped nests were ever molested. It was believed that if you killed a swallow the cows would give bloody milk, or some worse disaster might come along; and lightning would not strike a barn or shed or house where the swallows nested. If the best house cat managed to catch a swallow, it was promptly shot, without benefit of trial. The purple martins were just as welcome and small houses and large gourds were provided for their nesting places; a large apartment house on a pole at the side of the village tavern was a favorite dwelling for the martins, years on end. Some said they were a dirty nuisance and that they brought bed-bugs to a house, but in the minds of most people they were dear friends whose coming and going were fixed, dependable things in an otherwise changing world.

Some said it was the chimney swift that brought lice and bed-bugs to a dwelling, but those who were wiser than their infested neighbors, had other ideas on the subject. Anyway, it was impossible for the small swift to

work its way through a chimney's thick stone walls into the rooms of a house. Swifts were tolerated, therefore, because it seemed they had no other place to call their home. When you lived in the "summer house" or the "little house," it was a joy to watch the swifts in their flight on a summer's evening and to see how a large flock of them, like some black funnel, was quickly swallowed up by the stone chimney in the "big house."* If you wanted to get rid of them, and if you were heartless, you would build a roaring fire in the old cook stove in the big kitchen and the job was done.

There was a time, less than a century ago, when almost every homestead had its peafowl, a cock and possibly two hens; the "peacock in his pride" was a prized possession and a mark of prosperity. The peacock took his place with the eagle, the dove, the pelican, the stork, the rooster and that almost endless variety of exotic and anonymous birds whose figures appeared on pottery and stove-plates, in wood carvings and on utensils, on baptismal and marriage certificates, on bookplates and on the pages of Bibles, hymnals and prayer books. In the flesh, he was "the eyes of the barnyard" and his harsh, grating cries of alarm were familiar sounds in the land. The "eyes" were in the tail feathers, and some thought it unlucky to have them around, believing them to be all-see-

* Many homesteads had two dwellings. During the summer, they lived in the smaller one,—*"Summerheisel," "Schlachtheisel," "Weschheisel,"* or in the *"Summerkich"* or *"Kellerkich."* The main quarters,—*"Es gross Haus," "es Winterhaus," "es Wohnhaus," "es Familjehaus,"* were reserved for the season from late fall to early spring. Hence, the swifts made good use of the big chimney in the main house during the summer when no fires were kept in the main kitchen.

A small house or any outhouse was sometimes simply called *"Heisel"* (pl. *"Heislicher"*), or *"es Heisliche."* Bird houses were called *"Veggels-heiser"* and *"Veggels-heislicher."* Bird cages were *"Veggels-kaschde"* or *"Veggel-kewwich"* (Lehigh County).

ing, "evil" eyes. In spite of this, the beautiful things found a place on the mantel in many a home.

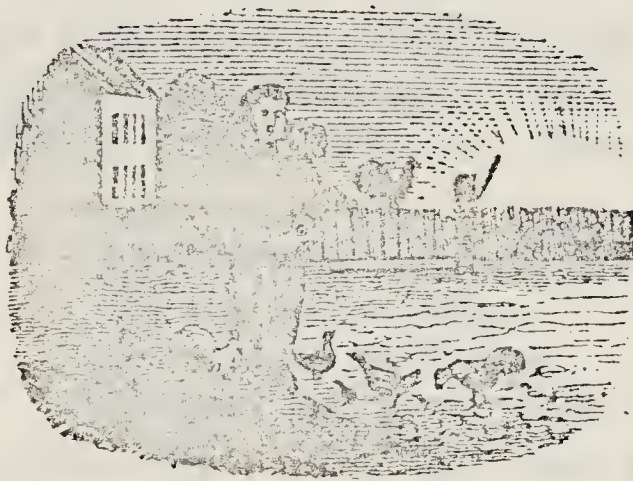
The glory of the peacock has departed from our land, and his successor, the guinea-hen, also "the eyes of the barnyard," is seldom seen these days. The "Guineas" were strange creatures, with a way and a temperament all their own, but they were considered more valuable than the best watchdog. Their nests were hard to find and if you were lucky enough to discover one and wanted the hen to keep on laying her eggs in it, you had to remove the eggs with a spoon, a few at a time; otherwise the nest would be deserted and the hen, knowing that she was being robbed, would make her nest elsewhere.

They like to tell the story of the dialogue between the rooster and the guinea-hen. A preacher came to a farm one day and the old rooster ("Der alt Mischthaahne"), wise in the ways of the world and wise too in the ways of housewives and preachers, promptly ran for cover and hid himself underneath the pig stable. After a time, when all seemed safe and well, he stuck out his head and called, "Is er noch do? Is er noch do?" and the guinea-hen, watchful as ever and knowing all things, replied, "Noch nat! Noch nat! Bleib zurick! Bleib zurick!"

There was a constant struggle for power between the two, but the guinea hen usually won out. She had a way of lording it over every one else in the barnyard, and even the old rooster with his many wives had to keep out of her way. The old rooster would get up on top of the straw stack and crow, "Do bin ich Baas! Do bin ich Baas!" The guinea, however, did just as she pleased and kept right on saying, "Geh weck! Geh weck! Geh weck!"

Pigeons also were a fixture on the place. Heir to all the legend and lore that has been associated with doves since the days of Noah, their image, like that of the pea-

cock, appeared on many things, symbolic of the Holy Spirit, of purity and a sweet temper, of fertility and marital fidelity, of sorrow and death. In the flesh, theirs was the barn to possess and keep. They, together with the turkeys, the ducks and the geese, the occasional Bantams, the chickens, the guineas and the peafowl, are responsible for the happy memories of sight and sound and smell which come to mind when the words "Scheierhof," "Hinkelhof," "Mischthof" and "Haushof" are mentioned.



Der Morgen.

(Illustration from *A B C Buch und Lese- und Denk-Uebungen bei dem ersten Unterricht der Kinder. Nach den besten Mustern von Pestalozzi, Stephani und Andern bearbeitet. Erstes Buch. Zehnte verbesserte Sterotyp-Auflage.* Henry Ludwig, New York, 1851. From the library of Henry S. Borneman.)

When the farmer cut his weeds and brush along the fences, and found there the nest of the quail, or if he found elsewhere the nest of the meadowlark or the red-wing or the song sparrow (and in more recent years, that of the ring-necked pheasant), he would carefully work around these nests, leaving them undisturbed, even covering them with grass and brush for extra protection and security. When the winter's storms tore their way through the valleys, and the summer's covies of quail

came up the lane to the corner for food, there would always be some wheat and some cracked corn on the snow for them. The following summer when the farmer was in the fields again and Bob-white whistled lustily from his perch on a fence post, it was like the meeting of old friends.

Playtime came and even then the reference to birds was not lacking. There were games like "Blovoggel" and "Grabbe schiese," "Gensfuss" and "Veggel rote." The uninitiated were invited to join in the search for the rarest and most elusive of birds,—the mythical "Elbedritsche." It was the children's delight to "play church" and to "play preacher" and then these words were said:

"Ich schteh uff de Kanzel
Un breddich wie'n Amschel;
No kummt en Maus
Un schpott mich aus,
No geht mei ganze Kaerrich aus!"

When the week's work was done and Sunday afternoon came around, the farmer might start off on a tour of his fields and for a walk in the woods. This was his kingdom and no king ever had happier subjects!

"Ich fin en Droscht im schtille Wald,
Der is mir gut un suess;
Dort kommt ja Gott so naechst zu uns,
Wie zrick in Paradies.
Im Sommer wohnt die Drooschel doh,
Un schpielt ihr Piccolo,
Der schlau Chewink, der ruft uns zu,
'Sis alles jung un' froh!"

"Die gruene Blaetter un des Gras,
Die Blume hie un dort,
Der Schatte un der Sonneschein,
Macht em en huebscher Ort.
Der Rothkop schpielt uf seinrer Drum,
Un greischt, un macht, un schellt,

Des Rinnley murmelt einsam fort
In dieser grosse Welt.

“So geh ich oft von Sorge weck,
Un mach mich zu da Baem;
Verloss die Welt, mit ihrem Zweck,
Un’ bin im Wald daheem.” *

All this is a composite picture, of course, but like a coat of many colors it is one piece. All of it was true for some, farmers, tradesmen and craftsmen, professional people and retired villagers; and some of it was true for all. To be sure, it is true as some have said, that early Pennsylvania German life was a constant struggle to keep body and soul together, and birds were “just birds” and flowers were “just flowers.” Rare individuals knew a great deal about many birds; the average persons knew less about only a few. When all the names and all the lore are brought together, however, it will be seen that the fathers were wiser and more observing than we have thought.

The birds were their friends in every generation and in every place. When the pioneers went out to wrest their farms from the American wilderness, the birds were there, some to greet them and to cheer them on their way, some to put meat on the table. They were the welcome visitors to the log houses and barns on the frontier, and their songs and their activities made many a burden lighter through the long and tiresome days from that time to this. The birds never failed, and no trust in them was ever misplaced.

Our fathers were of the earth earthy and with it, to their eternal glory, they had a capacity for feeling, “pathos” some like to call it, which went deep and high

* From “Der Wald,” by Adam Stump, in Reichard’s *Anthology*.

and far. Theirs was the common life, not that it was a mediocre life, but common in that it was a shared life. They and all their families and neighbors lived and worked together; they laughed and wept and prayed together. It was also a life in which everything else was shared,—earth and weather and sky and all God's creatures. There was summer and winter, day and night, cold and heat, seedtime and harvest, birth and death, joy and sorrow, sickness and health, God and the Devil, Heaven and Hell; that was life, their common life, all of it. It has made so many of us what we are. Birds had a place in that life, of greater import and wider significance than most of us have so far been able to imagine.



II

BIRDS IN COLONIAL AMERICA

"Glad even to tears he heard the robin sing
His song of welcome to the western spring,
And the blue-bird borrowing from the sky
his wing.
And when the miracle of autumn came,
And all the woods with many-colored flame
Of splendor, making summer's greenness tame,
Burned unconsumed, a voice without a sound
Spoke to him from each kindled bush around,
And made the strange, new landscape holy
ground!" *

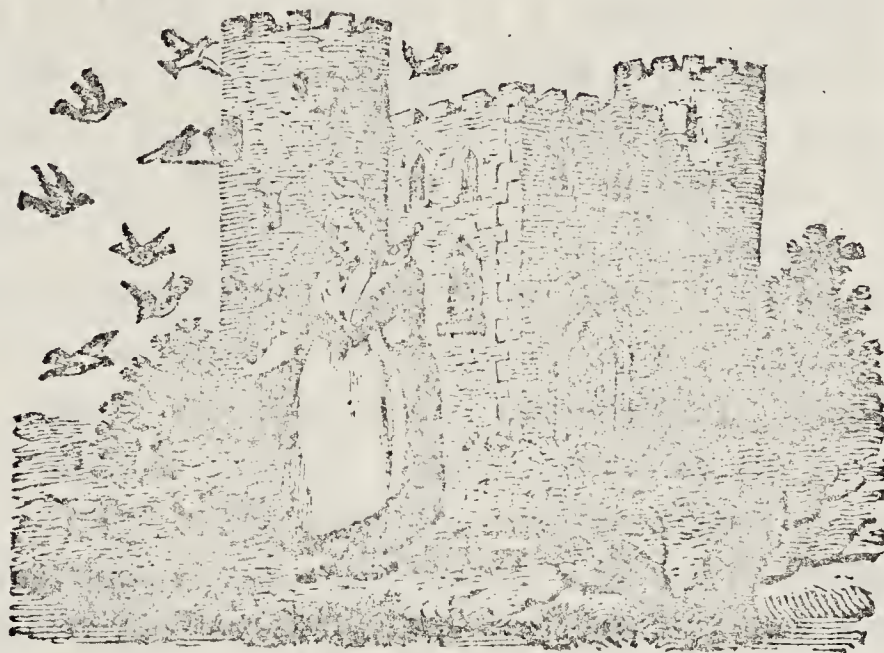
"The strange, new landscape" held within its bosom more wild life than most Europeans ever dreamed of, and the propagandists for the early proprietors and land companies spared no words in their effort to impress upon prospective settlers the fact that this was a land of boundless riches, of unlimited physical resources, waiting only to be exploited.

"The birds obscure the sky, so numerous in their flight," wrote Jacob Steendam, the Dutch propagandist, trying to spur settlers to come to New Netherland in 1662.† William Penn, in a letter to the Free Society of

* From John Greenleaf Whittier's poem. "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim," in Vol. I, p. 41, *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society*. Hereafter, *P.G.S. Proceedings*.

† From Vol. IX, *P.G.S. Proceedings*.

Traders in 1683, wrote that "of fowl of the land, there is the turkey (forty and fifty pounds weight), which is very great; pheasants, heath-birds, pigeons and part-ridges, in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose, white and gray; brands, ducks, teal, also the snipe and curlew, and that in very great numbers; but the duck and teal excel; nor so good have I ever eat in other countries." *



(Illustration from *Kleine Erzählungen über Ein Buch mit Kupfern, oder leichte Geschichte für Kinder*. Philadelphia, Gedruckt für Johnson und Warner, 1809 . . . Gedruckt bey Jacob Meyer. From the library of Henry S. Borneman.)

Francis Daniel Pastorius, "the Pennsylvania Pilgrim," writing home in 1684 and reporting on the land and its condition, its fruits and inhabitants, said that his pen was "from an eagle, which a so-called savage recently brought into my house." He goes on to say that an Indian recently offered him his belt "as a pledge and assurance that he would bring me a turkey, but he brought me an eagle and tried to persuade me that it was a

* From Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time*, Vol. I, p. 46.

turkey, etc. When I assured him however that I had seen more eagles, he motioned to a Swede who was standing by, that he had done it to deceive, with the idea that we had just come to the country, and I would probably not be well acquainted with such birds.”*

Daniel Falckner, in “Curieuse Nachricht von Pennsylvania,” a question-and-answer report prepared under the auspices of the Frankfort Land Company and published in Germany in 1702, in answer to a question about the kind of birds in Pennsylvania, gives this obscure but simple answer: “There are many species there that are not here [meaning, in Germany] and many here which are not there.” The pioneers were in a strange new world indeed, where eagles sometimes passed for turkeys, and where the abundance of wildlife was unbelievable. At another place in the same publication, however, Falckner has left us a good report on what he found.† His answer to “the 48th question: what animals are to be seen swimming upon the water courses?” follows; and the original text is given for the sake of the names which it includes:

“Schwanen, Gänse, Kraniche, Enten, Reiger, Adler zweyerley Art: Einen grossen schwartzen mit einen weissen Kopff und rothen Augen, und dann eine kleinere Art, die sich meistens aus dem Wasser nähret. ‘Calecun’ oder welsche Hüner a. 20 bisz 30. Pfund, Phasanen, Patrisen, Tauben, und häufiges kleines Gevögel, also Spottvogel, Katzvogel, der Vogel rothbords, Carmesin—und Auroraroth. Und

* From Vol. IX, *P. G. S. Proceedings*.

† From Vol. XIV, *P.G.S. Proceedings*, which gives the German text and an English translation of the same by Julius F. Sachse. See also *Justus Falckner, Mystic and Scholar*, by Sachse, Philadelphia, 1903, pp. 24-31.

dann ein Wunder aller Rarität, ein Vöglein so grosz als ein Glied an einem kleinen Finger, Hummelbart genannt, weilen er keine Flügel von Federn, sondern Hummelsflügel hat. Sonst sind seine Federn gelb un grün, und hat kurtze Füszen, schwebt stets in der Luft und sauget mit seinem Schnäbelein (welches länger als sein Körper ist) das Fette in der Blume und Blüthe, daher er nicht ehender zu sehen ist, bisz Blumen sind, und sobald die Blumen vergehen, so kommet er hinweg, und weisz niemand wo er bleibet, man musz es fast mehr für ein Gespenst und Geist, als vor eine würckliche Creatur, seiner Geschwindigkeit halber, achten. Sein nestgen ist so grosz wie eine grosse Nusschale. Sonst gibts Stoszvögel, Habicht, Eulen . . .”*

These early accounts by the propagandists naturally tried to present the new country in as attractive a light as possible, and much of what they wrote was for advertising purposes in Europe. When such writing had run its course and served its purpose, seemingly with good effect, more accurate and detailed reports began to appear in the so-called “travel books” of the time.

The keenest and most reliable observer of all was Peter Kalm, the Swedish professor, who came to America in 1748 and spent a year in travel through the middle colonies and Canada. Kalm had a sharp eye open for everything that was to be seen and his reports on bird

* Birds named here are swans, geese, cranes, ducks, herons, bald eagle, osprey, turkeys, “pheasant” (probably the ruffed grouse), “partridges” (note “Patrisen,” probably the Bob-white quail), mockingbird, catbird, “redbirds” (note “rothbords,” the cardinal. The scarlet tanager probably was not seen), hummingbird (a New World species which amazed all who saw it for the first time!), birds of prey (meaning, in this instance, the accipiter hawks), hawks (not included under “Stoszvögel”) and owls.

life are the best for this early period. The following extracts from his *Travels** describe the American scene:

"The turkey cocks and hens run about in the forests of this country, and differ in no particular from our domestic ones, except in their superior size, and redder, though more palatable flesh. When their eggs are found in the woods and put under tame turkey hens, the young ones became tame also. However, when they grow up it sometimes happens that they fly away. Their wings are therefore usually clipped, especially when young. But the tamed turkeys are as a rule much more irascible than those which are naturally domestic. The Indians likewise tame them and keep them near their huts.

"Wild geese have likewise been tamed in the following manner. When the wild geese first come hither in the spring and stop a little while (for they do not breed in Pennsylvania) the people try to shoot them in the wing, which however is generally mere chance. They then row to the place where the wild geese fall, catch and keep them for a time at home; and by this means many of them have been made so tame, that when they were let out in the morning they returned in the evening. Yet to be doubly sure of them their wings were commonly clipped. I have seen wild geese of this kind, which the owner assured me that he had kept for more than twelve years; but though he kept eight of them, in all this time they had never mated or laid eggs.

* *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America*,—*The English Version of 1770, etc.*, two volumes, Wilson-Erickson, Inc., New York, 1937. Anyone interested in the early American scene will find these two volumes valuable and richly rewarding.

"Partridges, which are here in abundance, may likewise be so tamed as to run about all day with the poultry, and to come along with them to be fed when they are called. In the same manner I have seen wild pigeons which were made so tame that they flew away and returned again. In some winters there are immense numbers of wild pigeons in Pennsylvania."

The above account was Kalm's entry on October 2, 1748. The following March 3rd he noted this in his journal: "Wild pigeons flew in the woods in numbers beyond conception. They came this week and continued here for about a fortnight, after which they all disappeared, whence they came." That same year he saw them also in Canada, nesting there, living on elm and red maple seeds; and their flesh, he says, "is the most palatable of any bird's flesh I have ever tasted."

On a trip across New Jersey he saw the Guinea-hens in many places, sometimes running about in the fields, a good distance from the farm houses. "The geese in some of the places by which we passed that day and the next wore three or four little sticks a foot in length about their necks. They were fastened crossways, to prevent them from creeping through half-broken fences. They looked extremely awkward, and it was very diverting to see them in this attire."

"A black woodpecker with a red head, or the *Picus pileatus* L., is seen frequently in the Pennsylvania forests and stays all winter, as I know from my own experience. It is counted among those birds which destroy corn, because it settles on the ripe ears and destroys them with its bill. The Swedes call it 'tillkraka'; but all the other woodpeckers, those with the golden yellow wings excepted, are



South AMERICA.

Kongl. Svenska Vetenskaps
Academiens Befallning.

Public Form 6,
Standard

PEHR KALM.

**Ökonomiz Professor i Åbo. Samt. Sekret. af
Svegl. Ökoniz. Sitten Fapt. Akademien.**

Tom. II.

Kongl. Majestät Allernådigste Befehl.

STOCKHOLM.

JOHN A. LANG SALVAGE CO.,
1756.

Title page of original edition of Kalm's Travels.

called 'hackspettar' in the Swedish language. I only observe here that almost all the different species of woodpeckers are very injurious to the corn when it begins to ripen: for by picking holes in the membrane round the ear, the rain gets into it and causes the ear with all the corn it contains to rot."

In another place, Kalm names these woodpeckers: "Picus principalis, the king of woodpeckers," which seems a clear reference to the ivory-billed woodpecker; "Picus pileatus, the crested woodpecker," the above-mentioned pileated woodpecker; "Picus Carolinus, a red head," the red-bellied woodpecker; "the hairy or P. villosus"; "the red-head, P. erythrocephalus," the common red-headed woodpecker; "P. varius, lesser spotted woodpecker," the yellow-bellied sapsucker; and "P. pubescans," the common downy woodpecker. He points out that both the sapsucker and the downy woodpecker are "very hurtful to apple trees" and that they "damage apple trees." Of the red-headed woodpecker he says that it is seen very often, that the Swedes call it "Hackspett," and that it is destructive to corn and apples. There once was a bounty on these birds, Kalm says, but it had been repealed at the time he wrote. He noted that these birds were very fond of acorns, something which our people noted later on and which gave them the name of "Nuss-picker." If these birds did not go south, but stayed on flocks in the woods, reported Kalm, it was a sign of a mild winter.

"Cuculus auratus, the gold-winged woodpecker," our common flicker, was a prominent species as Kalm saw it. "This species," he wrote, "is plentiful here, and the Swede call it 'hitock,' and 'piut', both names of which have a relation to its note. It is almost continually on the ground, and is not observed to pick in the trees; it

lives chiefly on insects, but sometimes becomes the prey of hawks; it is commonly very fat, and its flesh is very palatable . . . Its form, and some of its qualities, make it resemble a cuckoo."

The hummingbird comes in for its usual share of attention and Kalm devotes several pages of description to it. "The hummingbird is the most admirable of all the rare birds of North America, or at least most worthy of special attention. Several reasons induce me to believe that few parts of the world can produce its equal. Dr. Linné calls it '*Trochilus colubris*'. The Swedes and some Englishmen call it the kingbird, but the name is not as common as that of humming bird . . ."

Kalm gives a good description of the mockingbird, worthy of mention here because of the light it throws on the matter of the bird's residence in Pennsylvania. On a trip to New York, Kalm and his party stopped near Bristol on the Delaware the first day out. The story continues:

"At one of the places where we stopped to have our horses fed, the people had a mocking-bird in a cage; and it is here considered the best singing bird, though its plumage is very simple and not showy at all. At this time of year [October 27, 1748] it does not sing. Linné calls it '*Turdus polyglottus*', and Catesby in his '*Natural History of Carolina*' has likewise described and drawn this bird. The people said that it builds its nests in the bushes and trees. But it is so shy that if anybody comes and looks at its eggs it leaves the nest and never comes back. Its young require great care in their bringing up. If they are taken from their mother and put into a cage, she feeds them for three or four days, but

seeing no hope of setting them at liberty she flies away. It then often happens that the young ones die soon after, doubtless because they cannot accustom themselves to eat what the people give them. But it is generally imagined that the last time the mother feeds them, she finds means to poison them in order the sooner to deliver them from slavery and wretchedness. These birds stay all summer in the colonies, but retire in autumn to the south and stay away all winter. They have got the name of mocking-bird on account of their skill in imitating the note of almost every bird they hear. The song peculiar to them is excellent, and varied by an infinite change of notes and melody; several people are therefore of the opinion that they are the best singing birds in the world. So much is certain, that few birds come up to them; this is what makes them precious; the Swedes call them by the same name as the English."

Equally helpful in the matter of clearing up confusion in names, as will appear later on in this study, is Kalm's report on quails and "partridges":

"There are partridges in this country, but they are not the same kind as ours. The Swedes call them 'rapphöns' (partridges), sometimes 'akerhöns' (quails). Some of the English also call them partridges, others quails. Their shape is almost the same as that of the European partridge, and their characteristics are the same. I mean they run and hide themselves when pursued. But they are smaller, and entirely different in color. The feet are naked and not hairy; the back is spotted with brown, black and white; the breast is dark yellow;

and the belly whitish, with black edges on the tips of the feathers. The size is nearly that of a hazelhen, or Tetrao bonasia. Above each eye is a narrow streak of whitish yellow. These birds are numerous in New Sweden, i. e. in this part of the country. On going but a little way you meet great coveys of them, except near the towns, where they are either extirpated or frightened away by frequent shooting. They are always in lesser or greater coveys, do not fly very much, but run in the fields and keep under the bushes and near fences where they seek their food. They are considered a very delicious food, and people here prepare them in different ways. For that purpose they are caught and shot in great numbers. They are caught by putting up a sieve or a square open box made of boards, in the places they frequent. The people strew some oats under the sieve, and lift it up on one side by a stick; as soon as the partridges come under the sieve, in order to pick up the oats, it falls, and they are caught alive. Sometimes they get several partridges at once. When they run in the bushes you can come very near them, without starting them. When they sleep at night they lie together in a heap. They scratch in the bushes and upon the field like common chickens. In spring they make their nests either under a bush or in the cornfields, or on the hills under the open sky. They scratch some hay together, into which they lay about thirteen white eggs. They eat several sorts of grain and grass seeds. They have likewise been seen eating the berries of the sumach or *Rhus glabra*. Some people have taken them young and kept them in a cage till they

were tame; then they let them go, and they followed the chicken and never left the farm." *

Brief reports are given on many other birds. Kalm mentions that "chimney swallows" once nested in trees but that, with the disappearance of these favorite nesting places, they are beginning to occupy the chimneys of houses. Barn swallows (Kalm was probably also thinking of the cliff swallow), he says, are much like the European house swallows. There are "ground swallows" or "sand martins" (the bank swallow), and great numbers of purple martins, encouraged to stay near the houses that they may give warning of the approach of hawks. Robins are caged for singing in Philadelphia,—birds "very different" from the English "redbreast." There are bluebirds, of so deep blue a color that no bird in all Sweden is like them. Cardinals or redbirds are trapped for cage birds and shipped to London; they are great singers, Kalm says, and their notes are like that of the European nightingale. The European cuckoo, he observes correctly, is "unknown in America." Owls come from the woods to steal the farmers' poultry and to roost in the colonial orchards. Crows can be seen flying to their roosts in great numbers during the winter, but in the summer, during the nesting season, they are to be seen only singly in the trees. They pull up the sprouted corn, steal chickens, feed on dead carcasses, and tear open the ripening ears of corn. There was a bounty on them once, but it was repealed because the expense was too great. Boys sometimes tame the crows, clip their

* This is the Bob-white quail. Note that he compares it with the European partridge, and with the "hazel-hen," *Tetrao bonasia*, an Old World grouse. There is no reference here either to the ruffed grouse or the heath hen, the latter the now-extinct eastern representative of the prairie chicken.

wings, and keep them hopping around the farm. He gives a good description of the whippoorwill and does not confuse it with the nighthawk. It is a retiring bird of the woods and swamps, stays close to the ground, and sleeps during the daytime. At dusk it begins to call, sometimes coming near to the dwellings, almost up to the door of the house. As it calls other birds answer this call from other parts of the swamp and forests. He says that the Europeans are in the habit of eating this bird, and repeats Catesby's story that the Indians never saw or heard the whippoorwill until after a great battle with the English in which many Indians were killed, hence the Indian belief that these restless birds call at night because they are the souls of ancestors killed in battle.

"The Swedes call a species of little birds 'snö-fägel', and the English call it snowbird. This is Dr. Linné's '*Emberiza hyemalis*'. The reason why it is called snowbird is because it never appears in summer, but only in winter when the fields are covered with snow. In some winters they come in as great numbers as the corn thieves, fly about the houses and barns and into the gardens eating the corn and the grass seeds which they find scattered on the hills."

The "corn thieves" were the blackbirds. "They do the greatest mischief in this country. They eat corn, both publicly and privately, just after it is planted and when it is ripe." Kalm then goes on to describe both the purple grackle and the red-winged blackbird. The former he calls a "purple daw," says they are the more numerous, that they resemble the daw, the starling and the thrush (the European blackbird or "schwarz Amsel"), but that they are most like the starling, have a round,

long tail, and a bill like a thrush. They fly in great flocks and go south in winter, unless the winter be very mild and then they inhabit the swamps and the thick woods. Because they pull up the corn sprouts, the people are compelled to dip the corn kernels into a solution made from the root of the "white hellebore"; eating this makes the corn thief dizzy and he tumbles around in the field so much that the other thieves are scared off. When the corn is ripe they return to feed on the ears, moving in large flocks from one end of the field to the other, defiant of any one who tries to drive them off. The red-wing, he says, is also like the European starling, except for its red shoulder-patch, and it is taken for food, but the grackle is not edible.

"Cranes (*Ardea Canadensis*) were sometimes seen [this was February 17, 1749] flying in the daytime, to the northward. They usually stop here early in the spring for a time, but they do not make their nests here since they proceed further north. Certain old Swedes told me that in their younger years, when the country was but little cultivated, an incredible number of cranes were here every spring, but that at present they were not so numerous. Several settlers here eat them when they can shoot them. They are said to do no harm to grain or anything else."

It is appropriate that we should end this presentation of Kalm's reports with one additional observation that he made on November 9, 1748: "All the old Swedes and Englishmen born in America whom I ever questioned asserted that there were not nearly so many edible birds at present as there used to be when they were children, and their decrease was visible." Sixty or seventy years

before, he reports, one could shoot eighty ducks in a morning where now only one could be taken. An old Swede of ninety years claimed that in his youth he had killed twenty-three ducks "at a shot." Kalm claims that the Indians lived on corn, fish, venison and bear meat mostly and that they seldom disturbed the birds, except the turkey. When the English came everything changed; the land became more thickly settled, woods were cut down, shooting and hunting turned into slaughter, birds were trapped, nests were robbed of eggs and young, and a rapid decline in the bird population began.

"Cranes at that time [sixty or seventy years before] came hither by hundreds in spring; at present there are very few. The wild turkeys, and the birds which the Swedes in this country call partridges and hazel-hens [probably the ruffed grouse], were seen in large flocks in the woods. But at this time a person gets tired with walking before he can start a single bird."

Of such was the American scene when our fathers came to these shores. Gottlieb Mittelberger writes of the same period in the story of his trip to Pennsylvania in 1750 and of his return to Germany in 1754.* This is the way he describes what he found:

"In Amerika sind auch ganz andere Arten Vögel als in Europa zu sehen, und findet man von Vögeln, die unsern Europäischen ganz völlig gleichen, keine andere darinnen, als Raben, Schwalben, und die kleine Grasmücken. Die Amerikanische Vögel sind

* From *Gottlieb Mittelbergers Reise nach Pennsylvanien im Jahr 1750 und Rückreise nach Teutschland im Jahr 1754 . . .* Stuttgart . . . 1756.

ganz wunderschön geartet, und man kan ihre schöne Farben und ihr liebliches Gesang nicht genugsam preisen und exprimiren. Erstlich gibts Vögel welche gelb sind, und schwarze Fittige haben; zweytens rothe mit schwarzen Fittigen; drittens ganz gelbe; viertens Staaren, welche grösser als unsere, ganz blau sehen, und rothe Fittige haben; fünftens ganz hochrothe mit Püschchen auf den Köpfen; sechstens ganz blaue; sibendens weisse mit schwarzen Fittigen; achtens allerhand färbichte; neuntens ganz graszgrüne mit rother Köpfen; zehendens ist eine Gattung drinnen, welche schwarz, weisz und scheckicht ist. Diese Vögel können allen Vögeln nachsingen un pfeiffen; es kan ein solcher Vogel bey einer halben Stund mehr dann 30. Vögel nach der Ordnung agiren. Es ist auch wiederum einen Vogel drinnen, welche zur Sommerszeit den ganzen Tag recht deutlich ruffen: Mach doch fort, mach doch fort. Ein anderer lästzt sich mehrentheils bey Nacht hören, und rufft: Wipperwill, Wipperwill; derselbe wird auch so genennt. Man siehet in Pennsylvanien keinen Storchen, keine Hetze, keinen Guckguck, keine Lerche, keine Amerize oder Emmerling, keine Nachtigall, keine Wachtel, keinen Distelvogel oder Stigliz, keinen Canari-Vogel, keine schwarze Amsel, keine Maise, kein Rothbrüistle, kein Weingart-Schösze, und keinen Spazen. Es möchte seyn, dasz einige von den Pennsylvanischen Vögeln mit etlichen hier gennanten einige Aehnlichkeit hätten, allein-vollkommen gleich sind sie nicht, entweder die Grösse, oder die Farbe, oder das Gesang, oder sonst etwas macht einen Unterschied unter ihnen. So könnte man den Vogel, der in fast gleichem Tact, wie unsre Wachteln rufen sein 'Mach doch fort' schreyt, für

eine Wachtel halte, aber er hat ein kleines Schwänzlein, das unsere Wachteln nicht haben.

“Das wundersamste nicht nur in ganz Pennsylvanien sondern vielleicht in der ganzen Welt ist ein kleines Vögelein, welches zwar selten zu sehen ist. Dieses Vögelein ist nicht einmal so grosz als ein Mayenkäfer, sondern nur wie ein Goldsvogel. Es glänzet wie Gold, und manchmalen scheinet es grün, blau und roth. Sein Schnäbelein ist etwas lang und so spitzig, wie eine Nadel, seine Füsse sind wie ein feines Drätlein. Es kostet nur den Honig aus denen Blumen, daher hats den Namen Zuckervögelein.” *

Mittelberger leaves us a picture similar to that given us by Kalm, in these words,

“Haasen, Schnepfen, Fasanen, wilde Enten, wilde Tauben, wilde Welschhüner kan man täglich noch die Menge schiessen, Fische und Vögel sind auch aller

* The birds which Mittelberger thought were exactly like the European species are the ravens (probably meaning the crows), the swallows, and “the little hedge-sparrows” (most likely the house wrens). Those that he tries to name as distinctive American species are: 1. the goldfinch; 2. the scarlet tanager; 3. “altogether yellow ones,” perhaps the yellow warblers; 4. “starlings” larger than the European, the red-winged blackbird; 5. the cardinal; 6. “entirely blue ones,” either the indigo bunting or the bluebird or both; 7. “white ones with black wings” (did he mean the snow bunting, a downy or hairy woodpecker, or what?); 8. “many-colored ones”; 9. “grass-green ones with red heads” (very likely the Carolina paroquet, for later on he speaks of parrots that were on board ship and says, “This parrot had a bright yellow belly and sky-blue wings; it was larger than an ordinary rooster, and could speak much English. There were two other species on board the ship; one was of the size of a pigeon, grass-green and could speak Spanish; the third species was a pair, a he and a she, not much larger than quail, grass-green, with red heads, and they could talk much English. There are many kinds of these strange and beautiful birds in Pennsylvania.” Mittelberger must have had the Carolina paroquet in mind here, which makes this a very important reference. This species, now said to be extinct, is supposed to have had Virginia and Maryland as the northern limit of

Orten genug zu bekommen. . . Wilde Tauben kan man des Jahrs zweymal in Menge schiessen, namlich im Früh-Jahr da sie nach Norden ziehen, und im Spat-Jahr da sie wieder kommen und nach Süden ziehen. . . Wildprett und Geflügel gibt es zwar um Philadelphia nicht mehr so viel, als ehedessen, weil selbe Gegend sehr stark bewohnt wird, und jeder-man schiessen darf, was er will. Je weiter man aber ins Land hinein kommt, je weniger es bewohnt ist, und je mehr man auch viellerley Gewild siehet, sonderlich gibts viel Feder-Gewild, und mancher nähret sich in diesem Landes vom Wildschiessen." *

its range, with only occasional stragglers going as far north as New Jersey and New York. Here Mittelberger speaks of an abundance of such birds in Pennsylvania.); 10. the true mocking-bird. Next he names the Bob-white quail and the whip-poor-will, and accurately reproduces their calls. Birds which he says are not to be found in Pennsylvania are the stork, magpie, cuckoo, lark, "yellow-hammer" (an Old World bunting, not to be confused with our flicker who got this name for another reason!), nightingale, quail, thistle-bird or goldfinch, canary, blackbird, titmouse, "red-breast," "red-wing," and sparrow. In each case he was, of course, thinking of the European species, like the English robin, the English or house sparrow, the European blackbird or black thrush, the European goldfinch, etc. He saw the difference between the Old World species and the New World species, while noting the ways in which they resembled each other. Note how he calls attention to the difference between our Bob-white and the common European quail, and that he does not call either the goldfinch or the yellow warbler a "wild canary." Most fascinating of all was the humming-bird, probably the ruby-throat, to which he gives the name of "sugar-bird." Several pages of description are devoted to this bird, and several other accounts taken from contemporary writers are also quoted, in which the names "fly-bird," "humming-bird," "murmur" are given. Carl E. Eben's translation (Philadelphia, 1898), *Gottlieb Mittelberger's Journey to Pennsylvania*, has been helpful to us in our study of the above text, but it is misleading at a number of points.

* Species named here are the snipe or woodcock (or both!), "pheasants" (grouse), wild ducks, passenger pigeons, wild turkeys.

Mittelberger also gives this interesting report which he received from an Englishman who had ventured beyond the mountains and into the middle West. The party had seen "Feder-Gewild mancher Arten, als Stein-Adler, Torckis, d.i. welsche Hüner, die grösser als die Hahnen sind, Schwanen, wilde Endten, ohne der so mancherley wundersamen Gevögel, welche ihnen, denen Wilden, zuvor nicht bekannt gewesen . . ."* Both he and Kalm give some space to a discussion of the supposed power of snakes over birds and other small creatures; Mittelberger attributes this power to the black snakes, but quotes a contemporary writer who attributes it to the rattlesnakes. "The black snakes," says Mittelberger, "have a marvelous power to charm, and that only by their steady glance; so that every creature, be it hare, a bird or a squirrel, must come down from the trees and close up to them, when they pounce upon it and devour it."†

The most extensive of the early reports on American avifauna is that given by Loskiel in his history of the Moravian Mission among the Indians. The account is a compilation of archive material, entries in diaries and journals, letters, reports from workers and eye-witness accounts. Although Loskiel worked, as it were, at a con-

* Named here are golden eagles, turkeys (note "Torckis, welsche Hüner") "larger than roosters," swans, wild ducks, and so many other strange kinds of birds some of which even the Indians had not seen before!

† From Eben's translation.

siderable distance from his subjects, he did strive for accuracy in reporting, and his narrative is worthy of inclusion here. Much of his material came from the Ohio Valley and the Muskingum region, but we include the whole of the original text here for the sake of the names and the descriptions that are given. The numerals placed in the margin will be of help to the reader in following the text as we give the English equivalents of Loskiel's names.*

VÖGEL

[1] "Der dortige gemeine Adler (*Falco leucocephalus*) mit weiszem Kopf und Schwanz, baut sein Nest gern in die Gabel eines hohen dicken Baums, wozu er den Grund mit einer groszen Last Reisig legt, und es nicht leicht wieder verlässt, sondern nur alle Frühjahr ausbessert. Er besitzt eine auszerordentliche Stärke und Muth. Frühe geht er auf den Raub aus, und bringt seinen Jungen Vögel, Eichhörnchen, Schlangen und Fische. Mit letztern aber ist er unglücklich, und wird von groszen Fischen, aus denen er seine Klauen nicht geschwind genug los machen kann unters Wasser gezogen und ersäuft. Vorzüglich geht er dem jungen Wilde nach, behilft sich aber auch mit Muscheln, die er hoch aus der Luft auf einen Felsen fallen lässt, um sie zu öffnen. Diese

* *Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder unter den Indianern in Nordamerika durch George Heinrich Loskiel, Barby . . . 1787, pp. 115-121.*



“Am fünften Tag schuf Gott die Fische und Vögel.

Gott schuf den starken Adler und den schwachen Sperling; den groszen Strausz und den kleinen Kolibri; das freundliche Rothkelchen und die singende Lerche; den stolzen Pfau und die sanfte Taube; und noch viele andere Vögel schuf Gott am fünften Tag.

Die Luft, die Felder und Wälder waren voll Vögel, welche ihre Loblieder sangen und ihre Nester bauten.”

(Illustration and text from *Erstes Buch für Christliche Schulen*. Von J. G. Schmauk. Verzigste neue und verbesserte Auflage. Philadelphia: Verlag von Schäfer & Koradi. 1867. From the library of Henry S. Borneman.)

- [2] Adler sind bisweilen sehr zahlreich. Es gibt aber noch eine Art Adler, die unsere Missionarien sonst nirgends als am Muskingum und Ohio gesehen haben. Die Indianer nennen ihn den zweyzinkigten Adler (*Falco furcatus*), weil sein Schwanz gabelförmig ist. Er erhebt sich oftmals zu einer erstaunlichen Höhe. Lässt er sich aber in der Nähe sehen, so halten es die Indianer für eine Anzeige von veränderlichem Wetter oder Regen. Er nährt sich von Schalngen [Schlangen] und andern Thieren, wie der weisköpfige Adler, aber im Fluge, ohne sich dazu zu setzen. Sein nest macht er auf Bäumen, aber sehr versteckt.
- [3] "Der Kranich (*Ardea Grus*) hält sich gern auf Ebenen und an Flüssen auf. Wenn er angeschossen wird, so stellt er sich gegen den Jäger zur Wehre, und hat in seinem Flügeln eine grosze Stärke. Sein Fleisch wird von den Indianern selten gegessen.
- [4] "Wilde Schwäne (*Anas Cygnus*) gibt es am Ohio und Muskingum. Ihr Fleisch schmeckt nach dem Zeugnisz der Indianer wie Bärenfleisch, und ist oft sehr fett. In der Gegend der groszen Landseen
- [5] findet man eine gröszere Art Schwäne, die Trompeter genannt werden, weil ihr Geschrey dem Schall der Trompete etwas ähnlich ist.
- [6] "Die Kropfgans oder der Pelikan (*Pelicanus Onocrotalus*) hat an dem Unterkiefer einen groszen Sack; aus welchem er seine Jungen mit Fischen

speiset. Da nun diese etwar blutig sind, so mag die Fabel entstanden seyn, dasz er seine Jungen mit dem Blute aus seiner Brust nähre.

- [7] "Die wilden Gänse (*Anas Anser ferus*) zeigen sich dort im Frühjahr und Herbst und halten sich eine gute Weile im Lande auf. Einige bleiben auch wol den ganzen Winter da, und andere den ganzen Summer. Die mehresten aber ziehen gegen den Winter weiter nach Süden, und gegen den Summer nach Norden, wo sie vornemlich auf den Landseen sich aufhalten und mit ihren Jungen im Herbst zurückkommen.
- [8] "Wilde welsche Hühner (*Meleagris Gallopavo*) halten sich dort im Herbst bey Hunderten zusammen, zerstreuen sich aber gegen das Frühjahr im Busche. Sie sind gröszer als die zahmen, und sitzen gewöhnlich so hoch auf den Bäumen, dasz sie nur mit Kugeln geschossen werden können. Im Winter sind ihre Federn glänzend schwarz, im Sommer bräunlich, mit weissen Flecken auf den Flügeln. Ihre Eyer werden von den Indianern fleiszig auf gesucht
- [9] und gespeist. Es gibt auch eine Art wilder welscher Hühner, die nicht eszbar sind, weil ihr Fleisch einen gar widerlichen Geschmack hat.
- [10] "Von Eulen sind da verschiedene Arten, grosze und kleine, die sich des Nachts im Busche zur Genüge hören lassen. Die grosze weisse Eule (*Strix Nyctea*) und die kleine Falkeneule (*Strix passerina*) verfolgen ihren Raub auch bey hellem Sonnenschein.
- [11] "Der Fischhabicht (*Falco Haliaetus*) weisz seine Nahrung sehr behende aus dem Wasser heeraufzuholen. Er soll, wenn er dicht über dem Wasser

schwebt, eine Kraft besitzen, die Fische an sich zu ziehen, und diese soll von einem Oel herkommen, das er in einem kleinen Sack in sich hat. Soviel ist gewisz, dasz wenn man die Lockspeise am Angel, nur mit einem Tropfen dieses Oels befeuchtet, die Fische so begierig anbeissen, als wenn sie demselben nich widerstehen könnten.

[12] "Der Fischreiger (*Ardea americana*) hat lange Beine, grosze Flügel, und ist äusserst mager.

[13] "Es gibt dort noch 2 Arten Raubvögel, die von Fischen leben, die ich aber nicht nennen kann. Der eine übertrifft den Adler an Grösze; der andere ist klein; und macht sein Nest in die Erde, an steilen Ufern, darein er tiefe Gänge arbeitet, die gerade so weit sind, dasz er hinein kriechen kann.

[14] "Der Nachthabicht, (*Caprimulgus europaeus*) auch Nachtschwalbe genannt, ist kleiner, als der gemeine Habicht, fliegt überaus schnell, und zeigt sich selten anders; als in der Dämmerung, da er dem Wanderer gern muthwillig um den Kopf herum-schwärmt. Vor einem Gewitter sieht man diese Art Vögel hoch in der Luft haufenweise beysammen. Bey einbrechender Nacht ziehen sie sich in die Nähe der Häuser, und setzen ihren traurigen Gesang bis Mitternacht fort. Läszt sich aber einer auf ein Haus nieder, so sieht es der Aberglaube der Indianer als Vorbedeutung eines Unglücks an. Richtiger schlieszen sie, dasz der Frost vorbey sey, wenn sich im Frühling dieser Vogel hören lässt.

[15] "Der Steinfalk, der Wiedehopf, der Rabe, die Krähe, der Taubenstöszer sind da einheimisch.

[16] "Die Fasanen (*Phasianus Colchicus*) werden von

den Indianern wenig geachtet, und wenn sie nicht an den vielen Raubvögeln so gefräßige Feinde hätten, so würden die dortigen Wälder damit erfüllt seyn. Sie vermehren sich sehr stark, indem eine Henne 20 und mehr Junge auf einmal ausbrütet. Im Winter verbergen sie sich vor den Raubvögeln in dem Schnee, und gehn oft unter demselben eine gute Strecke fort.

- [17] "Die dortigen Haselhühner (*Tetrao Phasianellus*) sind etwas grösser, als die Fasanen.
- [18] "Die wilden Enten (*Anas fergus*) ziehen zwar, wie die wilden Gänse; doch gibt es etliche Sorten, die auch im Sommer in dortigen Gegenden bleiben; z. B. die Baumenten, die gern im hohlen über das Wasser hängenden Bäumen nisten, und ihre ausgeheckten Jungen eins nach dem andern ins Wasser werfen und sodan fortführen.
- [19] "Der Lum, (*Colymbus*) ein Wasservogel, etwas grösser als eine Ente, ist nicht eszbar, und wegen seiner Schendigkeit im Untertauchen schwer zu schiessen. Seine Haut wird von manchen Indianern zur Tasche gebraucht, worin sie Pfeiffe, Taback, Feuerzeug, Messer, usw. mit sich tragen.
- [20] "Die dortigen Rebhühner (*Tetrao Perdix*) sind klein, und halten sich gern in bewohnten Gegenden auf. Ihr Fleisch ist sehr zart, und wohlschmeckend.
- [21] "Im Sommer kommen grüne Papageyen (*Psittacus*) in dortige Gegenden, doch nicht in grosser Anzahl; etwas weiter nach Süden aber sind sie in Menge.
- [22] "Auch weisse Meeven (*Larus*) halten sich dort an den Flüssen auf.
- [23] "Die wilden Tauben (*Columba migratoria*) sind

aschfarbig; das Männlein unterscheidet sich durch eine rothe Brust. Sie ziehen gemeiniglich im Frühjahr nach Norden, und im Herbst nach Süden zurück. Manches Jahr kommen sie in die dortigen Gegenden in solcher Menge, dasz sie die Luft verfinstern. Wo sich ihr Schwarm niederläßt, richten sie, eben wie die Heuschrecken, unter den Bäumen und Früchten eine schreckliche Verwüstung an. Dabey machen sie einen solchen Lärm, dasz Menschen daselbst einander weder hören, noch verstehen können. Im Jahr 1778 war ihr Scharm so grosz, dasz an den Orten, wo sie des Nachts sich gelagert hatten, ihr Auswurf eine Elle hoch lag. Die Indianer schlugen sie in der Nacht mit Stöcken todt, und trugen täglich viele Ladungen nach Hause.

“Diese Taubenjagd ist ihnen sehr angenehm, und zugleich austräglich. Der Indianer schieszt deren wol 30 mit einem Schusz von Baum herunter. Bisweilen gehen mehrere Indianer zugleich auf ihren Fang gegen die Nacht mit Stroh- und Holzfackeln aus, die sie aber erst anzünden, wenn sie mitten unter den Tauben sind, davor werden die Tauben geblendet und von den Indianern mit Stöcken todtgeschlagen. Auf einer solchen Jagd bekam eine nicht zahlreiche Gesellschaft von Indianern, in einer Nacht über 1800 Stück. Ihr Fleisch ist schmackhaft und wird von den Indianern frisch oder geräuchert und getrocknet gegessen. Wenn die Irokesen merken, dasz die jungen Tauben flick sind, so hauen sie die Bäume um, auf welchen ihre Nester sich befinden, und treffen oft auf einem Baum wol 100 Paar junge

[24] Tauben an. Die Turteltauben sind kleiner, und man sieht sie immer paarweise.

[25] “Der Mückenhabicht, der sich von Mücken und

Fliegen nährt, die er im Fluge fängt, ist so groß, als eine Turteltaube, und hat in beyden Flügeln einen weissen runden Fleck, welches, wenn er fliegt, einen Schein gibt, als ob er durchsichtig wäre.

- [26] "Der Scharfsäger, der zu den Gugucken gehört, macht in Wäldern ein Geräusch, als wenn eine Säge hin und her gezogen würde.
- [27] "Der Spottvogel, (*Turdus polyglottus*) etwas größer als eine Amsel, ist dort sehr häufig. Sein Gesang hat viel von der Nachtigall, die man in Amerika selten sieht. Er macht aber auch die Stimmen anderer Vögel, ja so gar der Katzen und Hunde nach.
- [28] "Der Wipperwill ist grau, etwas kleiner als eine Turteltaube, und hält sich gern im Korn auf. So wie sein Name lautet, schreyt er die ganze Nacht hindurch.
- [29] "Der Blauvogel, der seinen Namen von seiner schönen himmelblauen Farbe hat, lässt sich im Frühjahr vor allen andern Vögel zuerst, sehen und hören.
- [30] "Ein Vogel, den manche Indianer den Vogel des großen Geistes nennen, scheint eine Art der Paradiesvögel zu seyn, hat eine vorzüglich schöne Gestalt, ist so groß als eine Schwalbe, am Halse hellgrün schattirt, hat 4 oder 5 Schwanzfedern, die dreymal so lang sind als sein Leib und schön mit grün und purpur spielen.
- [31] "Es gibt da ferner Schnepfen, Spechte von verschiedenen Arten und Farben, Amseln mit rothem Bauch, Schwalben, Kibitze, Staare, Katzenvögel, Finken, Meisen, Zaunkönige.
- [32] "Der Colibri (*Trochilus mellisugus*) ist der schönste unter allen dortigen Vögeln und merklich kleiner, als der Zaunkönig. Seine Federn sind über

alle Beschreibung schön. Eine Art derselben hat auf dem Kopfe ein Büschel von glänzender Achatfarbe, ist an der Brust roth, am Bauch weisz; der Rücken aber, die Flügel und der Schwanz sind von dem prächtigsten Hellgrün, mit kleinen goldfarbigen Flecken über den ganzen Körper. Weil er wie eine Biene um die Blumen herumschwärmt, und ohne sich darauf zu setzen, den Honigsaft, der seine ganze Nahrung ausmacht, herauszieht, nennt man ihn auch das Honigvögelchen. Er ist überaus schnell im Fluge, wobey er ein Gesause macht, davon er auch bisweilen Summvogel heisst."

The following is our attempt to identify the birds which Loskiel named in his narrative:

1. The bald eagle, *Haliaeetus leucocephalus*.
2. The swallow-tailed kite, *Elanoides forficatus* f. The Indians thought that the presence of this bird was a portent of rain or of a change in the weather.
3. Probably the sandhill crane, *Grus canadensis tabida*, for no other reason than that Loskiel might have given more description had he been referring to the whooping crane. Perhaps he meant both species. *
4. The whistling swan, *Cygnus columbianus*.
5. The trumpeter swan, so named, larger than the above species.
6. The white pelican, *Pelecanus erythrorhynchos*. Loskiel refers to the legend common in folklore that it feeds its young with blood from its breast, since it has a reddish pouch and the young are fed from it.
7. Probably the more prominent Canada goose,

* Loskiel's use of the family name of both the herons and the cranes (*Ardea Grus*) may also be an indication of confusion at this point.

Branta canadensis c., although the white-fronted goose and the lesser snow goose might also have been included.

8. The wild turkey—good description of this species.

9. Did he mean the turkey vulture? Obviously they are not edible! It is surprising that no note was made of their work as scavengers.

10. Various kinds of owls, large and small, who let themselves be heard quite sufficiently in the woods by night. The snowy owl and the smaller American hawk owl are both diurnal in their habits and hawklike in the way they go after their prey.

11. The osprey or fish hawk. Note the story about the osprey's supposed powers to lure fish.

12. Probably the great blue heron, *Ardea herodias h.*, the more generally distributed heron of the larger species. Loskiel did not call it a "Fischcrane" which is notable.

13. A bird of prey surpassing the eagle in size, feeding on fish! Loskiel must have been confused at this point; he may be thinking of the cormorant, the heron, or some other "bird of prey" seemingly very large when in flight. The smaller bird referred to is the belted kingfisher.

14. Loskiel begins by naming the European nightjar or "goatsucker", then describes our eastern nighthawk in its flight, and finishes with a good description of the whip-poor-will. He calls attention to the whip-poor-will's call at dusk, the Indian superstition that the bird's presence near a dwelling is an omen of bad luck, and the observation that the bird's call in the springtime is a sign that the frost is past.

15. "Steinfalk" may be a reference to one of the accipiter hawks, unless Loskiel had the screech owl in mind,—*"Steineile," "Steinkautz" or "Steineule," "Stein-*

kauz." "Steingeier" would mean a large hawk, "Stein-adler" the imperial or golden eagle. "Steinfalk" literally is "stone falcon."

"Wiedehopf" or hoopoe is an Old World bird, crested, and with a long, slender, curved bill. Perhaps he was thinking of the blue jay or an allied species. Again he might have had a plover in mind, or some other shore bird; or even the brown thrasher. He used this name to suit himself!

Others named are the raven, the crow, and the goshawk (and here again he may have been thinking of the sharp-shinned hawk, the cooper hawk or even the sparrow hawk).

16. The ruffed grouse, *Bonasa umbellus* u. The English pheasant, *Phasianus colchicus*, and the ring-necked pheasant, *Phasianus colchicus torquatus*, and crosses between these two species, had not yet been introduced in America. The name of the European species was, however, carried to the New World and applied to a species which bore some resemblance to the pheasant, hence "Fasanen" for the ruffed grouse, a very prominent and abundant New World species. The English name "pheasant" was used in a similar way.

17. Probably the "prairie hen" or prairie sharp-tailed grouse, *Pedioecetes phasianellus campestris*, or the "prairie chicken," *Tympanuchus cupida americanus*, both of which are slightly larger than the ruffed grouse, and show more black markings,—hence resembling the several species of wood grouse or black grouse of Europe. "Haselhüner" refers to *Tetrao bonasia*, but its English equivalent, "Hazel-hen," refers to several species of heath grouse and wood grouse. It is doubtful that he was thinking of the "heath-hen," *Tympanuchus cupido c.*

18. The wild ducks, especially the wood duck.

19. The loon, *Gavia immer* i., but some of the description would also fit the grebes whose close-plumed, satiny breasts were long used commercially. The loon is larger than the wild ducks; the grebes are of about the same size.

20. The Bob-white quail, *Colinus virginianus* v., which is smaller than the European partridge, *Perdix p. p.* Hence Loskiel's note that they "are small" when he used the general name "Rebhüner." His use of this name and of "perdix" is misleading, just as all his scientific nomenclature, typical of his time, is rather badly scrambled.

21. The once abundant Carolina paroquet.

22. A gull, perhaps Franklin's gull, *Larus pipixcan*.

23. The now extinct passenger pigeon. Here is one of the best and fullest accounts of the abundance and the slaughter of "wild pigeons" in the early days of our country. It is worthy of special note.

24. The mourning dove or "turtle dove," smaller than the passenger pigeon, seen in pairs rather than flocks, and still with us.

25. A "gnat-hawk" or "fly-catcher." The description as to size and field mark indicates that this is the night-hawk, *Chordeiles minor* m.*

26. Probably the crested flycatcher, *Myiarchus crini-*

* La Trobe, Loskiel's translator, omitted this reference in his work. Loskiel's second reference to the nighthawk is the result of the compilation of various reports from the field. The translator skillfully omitted names which he could not translate, hence the omission of the reference to "der Scharfsäger" in the E version. Like Loskiel, La Trobe found it difficult to give names to all the New World species mentioned; one can readily see that this was a problem for many others at this early date. See George H. Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians in North America . . . Translated from the German by Christian Ignatius La Trobe*. London, 1794.

tus boreus, whose noisy call of "wheep, wheep, wheep" or "wit-whit, wit-whit" would answer the description both as to name and the fact that Loskiel connects it with the Old World cuckoos. It is far less likely that he was thinking of the saw-whet owl or a New World cuckoo.

27. The mocking bird. Loskiel did not think that the true mocking bird and the catbird were the same. Since he says that the nightingale is seldom seen in America, it may be that he thought of the thrushes as being nightingales. The latter is a European warbler with a famous night voice.

28. The whip-poor-will, *Antrostomus vociferus* v., slightly smaller than the nighthawk, calling its name by night and sleeping in the woods by day. The reference to corn or grain fields as favorite haunts again implies confusion with the night hawk.

29. The bluebird, first to be seen and heard in the spring.

30. "The Bird of the Great Spirit,"—the scissor-tailed flycatcher, here reported far from its present range. This beautiful bird of the south middle West is locally called "bird of paradise."

31. Snipe (which may have included the woodcock and sandpipers), woodpeckers of various kinds and colors, "thrushes" with red breasts, swallows, plovers, starlings, catbirds (here named specifically), finches, titmice, and wrens. The "thrush" or "blackbird" with the red breast, of course, was our common robin or migratory thrush. Starling meant the grackles and blackbirds, for the true starling was not yet in America. The finches probably included some of the sparrows, tanagers, even warblers.

32. The ruby-throated hummingbird. Loskiel, too, becomes eloquent about this strange new species.

Finally, one more report from this early period,—from Philipp Waldeck's diary of the American Revolution:*

“Unser Lager steht dermalen auf einem offenen Platze eines mit mancherley Gattungen Gehölzes dik bewachsenen Waldes. Die anmuthigen Gesänge unzählbarer Vögel, erhöhten die Reizung dies für sich schon angenehmen Lager Platzes. Der Gesang dieser Vögel gleicht dem Gesange vieler in Deutschland, als der Nachtigal, der Blutfinke, dem Kanarien Vogel. Diese letztere fliegen wild, sind aber kleiner und hell gelber, als die man bey uns im Käfig hält. Im ansehung ihrer Farbe sind diese Vögel zum bewundern schön. Diejenigen welche zum Geschlechte der Drosseln gehören, haben verschiedene Farben: ganz schwarz mit hellrothen Flügeln, schwarz mit dunkelrothen Köpfen, und grau. Eine andere Gattung, die im Gesange den Hänflingen gleicht, ist die schönste die sich gedenken lässt, Kopf, Brust und Schwanz ist glänzend schwarz, die Flügel dunkelroth. Wieder andere sin see grün mit gelben Brüsten.

“Die Jagd kann man aber mit allem Rechte kleine Jagd nennen, denn sie begreift weiter nichts als Enten, deren Menge zwar nicht zu zählen ist, Feldhüner, die viel kleiner sind als die bey uns, eine Gattung gantz kleiner Vögel, die man ‘Snowbirds’ nennt, und Kaninchen. Hasen sind hier gar nicht, und wie

* From *Waldeck's Tagebuch* or *Philipp Waldeck's Diary of the American Revolution*, edited by M. D. Learned, Philadelphia, 1907. Waldeck was a regimental chaplain with the German mercenary army that served with the British. His diary covers the years 1776-1783, and the above was written in the spring of 1777 while the regiment was encamped in the vicinity of Perth Amboy and Woodbridge, New Jersey. I am indebted to Raymond E. Hollenbach for calling my attention to this account.

man sagt, auch nicht in 'Canada.' Die bey uns so zahlreiche Spatzen haben hier auch noch keine Colonie, und ich habe noch nirgends welche gesehen." *

It can be seen, therefore, how the early colonists and adventurers came to these shores equipped with the bird names of the Old World, and how they applied these quite freely to the New World species which greeted them. When a bird looked familiar and seemed to bear some resemblance to an Old World species, they had a ready name for it. The resemblance was far-fetched at times, but the names carried over. So, for a time, at least until the early part of the nineteenth century, the New World nomenclature for birds was, for the most part, still an Old World nomenclature. But many species did not resemble Old World birds in any way and at those points new names had to be borrowed or invented. Language groups therefore borrowed names from each other, a few names were suggested by the Indians, and all of them borrowed at least a little from the English to which everything had to relate itself anyway.

When the Pennsylvania German pioneers came they brought with them the Palatine names for the European birds known to them, and a certain body of lore

* Waldeck compares the songs of some of our birds with those of the European nightingale, bullfinch and canary. By wild canaries he probably meant the goldfinches, or some yellow warblers. It is interesting to note which birds he thought belonged to the thrush family: the red-winged blackbird, since one of the European thrushes was a "black bird"; red-headed woodpecker; and the mockingbird, or perhaps the catbird. The next species, which he compares with the linnet, is difficult to identify; he has already mentioned the red-wing, and no other bird fits this description exactly. Actually he is describing the scarlet tanager in reverse. Even the redstart and the oriole would not fit the description. Was he thinking of Mittelberger's "Weingarts-Schöszle" which Eben translates as "red-wing"? Enthusiasm and imagination sometimes

about birds in the homeland. These names, and the accompanying lore, were likewise applied quite freely to the New World birds which seemed to resemble the Old World species they had known. Some of these names were dialectal, Palatine or otherwise, and some of them were of the New High German or literary German. When neither a folk name nor a classical name was available, or when the strange bird did not resemble a European species, then new names were formed across the years, describing the color, song, physical features, habits and mannerisms of the new species. Only in rare instances did the Pennsylvania German borrow a name from the English or any other language group. There are very few bird names in the dialect, as of the last century, which came from the English. Many English names are part of the dialect vocabulary now, but they are late-comers, having been taken over bodily only in the last generation or so, to fill in where names were lacking.

The dialectal names which came from across the seas have persisted even until now. The "descriptive names," as we prefer to call them, which are native to the Pennsylvania German community, likewise are of dialect

got the better of these writers. The next reference is vague and may mean most anything. "Feldhüner" probably is his name for the quail; this name was used for the Old World partridges, and Waldeck noted that our quails were "much smaller." The next reference seems to imply that the junco was shot as game in those days; "snowbird" may, however, apply to any bird that is a winter visitant. Perhaps Waldeck was thinking of the snow bunting as he wrote, a bird common in both hemispheres, and of the same family as the European "ortolan bunting" or "Fettamer" which the Europeans netted in great numbers and then fattened for table use. Actually, many birds of the New World were shot for table use,—robins, bobolinks, flickers, bluebirds, grackles, upland plovers, and many smaller species. In more recent years the English sparrow was also killed for food. Waldeck's last reference is to the common European house sparrow or English sparrow, which at that time was not yet established in the New World.

quality; they are really true "folk names" and, such being their quality, they too have endured. These indigenous descriptive names gradually superseded or replaced, in common usage, the names which were High German in character. The High German names persisted for a time, largely because our people were exposed to them constantly. Some of them appeared in the German Bible and the German devotional literature, and some of them were employed in the sayings and writings of their pastors, teachers and printers. Many an early "A-B-C-Buch" contained simple bird pictures, verses and sayings about birds, a story or two, and names such as these—Nachteule, Taube, Adler, Distelfink, Gückel, Mornelle, Storch, Uhrhahn, Yelper, Schwalbe, Gans, Enten, Hühner, Papagey. By the time our people came to what Robacker has called "the language-conscious period," after the Civil War, most of these literary German names were falling by the way.* When Helffrich wrote his *Lebensbild* he still used names like Colibri, Gold-Ar, Pfau, canadischen weissen Eule, Amsel, Blauvögel, Fasannen, wild Gänse, Baumente, Prairiehühnern, Beccassinen, Reiher, Zugtauben, Truthühnern, but such usages were exceptional cases and, for the most part, it was either the dialect or the English from then on.† Only rarely does one hear a High German name now, and those still common have been so modified that most of their earlier classical quality is lost.

Two decades ago Dr. Herbert H. Beck wrote in the

*Earl F. Robacker, *Pennsylvania German Literature, Changing Trends from 1683 to 1942*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1943. The development of our dialect nomenclature for birds roughly followed the pattern according to which, as Robacker explains, our dialect literature developed.

†William A. Helffrich, *Lebensbild aus dem Pennsylvanisch-Deutschen Predigerstand*, Allentown, 1906, published posthumously.



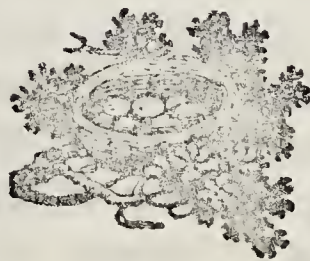
(Illustration from "Hoch-Deutsches Lutherisches A. B. C. und Namen Büchlein für Kinder, welche anfangen zu lernen. Germantown: Gedruckt und zu haben bey M. Billmeyer, 1819." From the library of Henry S. Borneman.)

introduction to his article on "The Pennsylvania German Names of Birds" as follows: "It is doubtful if there exists in the United States a more distinctive or more picturesque set of local names of birds than those current in southeastern Pennsylvania among that people of German-Swiss antecedents traditionally and broadly called the Pennsylvania Dutch. A people such as this, busily occupied with the rough work of making a nation, observed only those birds of the Alleghenian and Carolinian zones which by reason of habit or character were prominent or impressive. Such species were without exception noted and named, sometimes in a way reminiscent of the European avifauna, sometimes originally and with recognition of the bird's habits and mannerisms. Thus it is that outstanding species like the Canada Goose and the Turkey Vulture have several names each in Pennsylvania German, while great families like the Warblers and the Sparrows are not noted in the language. When with the progress of American ornithology the birds of these more obscure and involved groups were differentiated, the more inquiring of the Pennsylvania 'Dutch' came to know them by English or scientific names. Sometimes, though rarely, a bird is given the Pennsylvania German equivalent of its English name. Such cases are of more recent origin and they lack the true character of the names which have come down from more ancient and less admixed sources."

Most of the names on record are purely descriptive names which can be accounted for in no other way than by the fact that our people were keen observers whose peculiar genius it was to speak clearly and frankly of what they saw. No matter how much we may think that the dialect vocabulary is limited in scope, it still is true that the fathers worked wonders with it. They

were not slavish imitators and they did not borrow freely from every tongue that came along; rather they exploited the richness of their "Mutterschproch" and one is amazed to discover how original and ingenious they were.

The early settlers, agents and travellers who came here and opened their eyes on a new world of birds sometimes did not know what to make of it, and so dismissed the matter in rather general terms, as did some of the writers we have quoted. This writer likes to think that it was otherwise with our fathers, that they found something here which tested their powers of observation and which stirred their imaginations. They went to work with a will and, one should add, with eyes and ears open. The result, after the passing of almost two centuries, is that our dialectal names for birds form a body of nomenclature which, for size, accuracy and simple beauty, is unique in the annals of American ornithology.



III

THE DIALECT NAMES

In presenting the dialect names for birds we shall try to give first the more general and common names for a species, following with the less common or the more localized variations. When several names are of equal prominence, one is given with its variants and then another with its variants, and so on. Wherever possible we have tried to note the places where the name has been heard, or where it was or is used. If a region or county is not named, it does not imply that the particular PG name is not used there; we are simply recording what we have found and what we have heard. Attempts to draw boundary lines and to say that a dialect name is used here and not there, so far and no farther, are virtually hopeless.

In some cases translations will be attempted, but not always, for much of the quality of a name is lost when it is translated into English, and some names defy translation. Some of the High German names for corresponding European species will be given to serve as background for the PG names. The reader will see that a number of the dialect names are reminiscent of the German and the German dialect names. A few of them have been taken over from the English. Most of the names are purely descriptive, the bird being named according to its color, prominent physical characteristics,

its song or call, the special quality of its song or call, its habits and mannerisms, its habitat and favorite haunts. Some names will appear to be unjust and undeserved names and now and then we will come across cases of mistaken identity.

The English nomenclature, including the scientific names, is based on Chapman's *Birds of Eastern North America*. One hundred and nine species are mentioned specifically, eighteen additional species are included under these and a goodly number of other species not mentioned might also be included, for the names given here cover these species also. Miscellaneous notes on certain species, bits of general folklore about them and other information have been included with the names for the sake of the deserved prominence which is attached to certain birds. More will be said about bird calls and about beliefs, superstitions, sayings and stories in succeeding chapters.*

LOONS

Common Loon, *Gavia immer immer*

"Wasserschlubber" or "Wasserschlupper"—the general and common name for all diving birds, including the grebes. Sometimes "der gross Wasserschlubber," to distinguish this species from the smaller grebes. Beck gives the form "Wasserschlibber" (Lanc.); the plural as "grosse Wasserschlibber."

* It is the writer's earnest desire that the reader help himself and us by checking the names and other items very carefully, noting variations or differences in spelling and pronunciation, and recording any matter that has been omitted here. What have you heard? How do you say it? It seems to us that there must be many more dialect bird names "out in the field" of which no record has as yet been made.

"Loon" (pl. "Loon," or "die Loona," pronounced as in E) ; also "der Loonavoggel" (pl. "die Loonaveggel") — dialect forms of the E name, generally prevailing. The name is especially prominent in the Pocono region where the bird is a more common visitor on the lakes and water-courses from late fall to early spring. It is an occasional straggler south of the Blue Mountains and is known by the same names in the lower counties.

"Lufthutschel" (Leb.)—"flying colt,"—based on the PG "hutschle," meaning "to whinny." A name that is suggested by the call of the species.

"Blaffvoggel" (Leh.)*—"barking bird." The shaky voice of this species, its loud, far-carrying wail and its weird laughter, usually heard in the spring, has been described by some as being like the demoniacal laughter of a madman, or like the cry of a wolf-pack in the night, or like the combined barking of a dog; the whinnying of a horse and the cry of a child.

"Der Wewwend-Voggel" (Berks)—from "wewwere," an almost untranslatable PG word, which means "stirring," "shaking," "rousing," "swarming," "bustling." The bird's voice and its restless, peculiar manners would suggest this name. All of the above descriptive names find expression in the E "crazy as a loon."

"Quackvoggel" (Leh.)—from the PG "quackse." Probably meant for the black-crowned night heron, and here a case of mistaken identity.

* We spell "Voggel" instead of "Vojjel" (Lambert) for the sake of appearance, to assist the reader and, principally, because, as we have heard it, medial "g" is too strong to justify replacing it with a "j" (or "jj" after a short vowel). We have frequently heard that which came very close to the G *Vogel*. In some other words we use a medial "j" as in "Roijer," from the G *Reiher*, *Reiger*.

The G names, *Wassertaucher* and *groszer Eistaucher* did not carry over into the PG. The European loon was a northern bird also, and probably not well known in the Palatinate.

GREBES

Pied-billed Grebe, *Podilymbus podiceps* p. . . .

“Wasserschlubber” or “Wasserschlupper” (Berks, Lanc., Leh., Mont.)—“er verschluppt sich im Wasser.” This name is shared with the loon, but it is used more frequently for this species. In nearly every case it was this fairly common species which was identified when the PG name was given. Hunters like to tell of the way this bird dives at the flash of a gun and how it disappears by swimming under water. “Schlubber”* sometimes becomes “Schlibber” in the plural!

“Dreckschlibber” (Lanc.)—a name Beck gives. He also gives “Wasserschlibber,” and says that Holboell’s grebe and the horned grebe, less common on the ponds and streams of the region, share these names with the

* The common name has always sounded like “Wasserschlubber” to us, with “bb” replacing the more difficult labial “pp” after “sch.” Hence we prefer “schlubber” to “schlupper” as the more accurate representation. This may be the result of sluggish and slovenly enunciation, as Lambert suggests, but that is the way we have heard it and used it. The same consonantal shift will appear in other places.

Gender being such a variable in the dialect, we have not always indicated it. “Der” (sometimes “d’r”), the nominative masculine singular, occurs most often. “Es” (sometimes “’s”), the neuter article, is used most frequently with diminutive forms. The least number of names take the feminine definite article, and this is usually indicated. Unless otherwise noted, diminutive forms are neuter, all others are masculine.

Plurals, unless specifically given, are the same as the singular. “Voggel” naturally becomes “Veggel” in the plural. Diminutives add “cher” or the “el” ending becomes “licher.”

pied-billed grebe, from which they are not clearly distinguished. The habitat of the species, and their way of sliding off a low mud bank and disappearing in the water has suggested the former of the above names. Known as a fast diver and called by such names as "Water Witch" and "Hell Diver," the bird usually goes by the name of "Wasserschlubber." The loon is better known, locally, by its call, for its antics on water and in the air, and for its comic and almost frenzied behavior when caught on land or on a body of water too small to enable it to take flight.

The G *Steiszfusz*, meaning "to have the foot inserted near the anus," is a general name for a type, applying to both loons and grebes, but it has not appeared in the PG.

TUBE-NOSED SWIMMERS

The Order *Procellariiformes* with its families, the albatrosses, storm petrels and others, is a stranger to the PG community. At best they are but casual visitors to places where our people might have seen them.

Lee L. Grumbine, in his translation of Coleridge's "The Rhyme of the Ancient Mariner"—"Der Reim vom Alte See-Mann,"* renders the words, "till a great sea-bird, called the Albatross, came . . ." in this way,—"Bis e'n grosser See-vogel das m'r 'n Johannis gans he'sst kommt . . ." He also gives the names "See-gans" and "die Hannesgans."

"Seevoggel" is a general name for any ocean-going bird. Lambert translates it as "gull."

The storm petrels or "Mother Carey's Chickens,"

* Lee L. Grumbine, *Der Dengelstock and other Poems and Translations in the Pennsylvania-German Dialect*, Lebanon, Pa. 1903.

specifically the Wilson's petrel, must have been a familiar and welcome sight to our pioneer fathers when they crossed the Atlantic. Living where the ocean's storms attain their greatest power and where there is no shelter from the gale except the wild sea itself, they follow in the wake of ships searching for food, "coursing ceaselessly back and forth, now beneath the stern, now hovering over the foam-flecked wake, reminding one of white-rumped Martins in their easy, graceful flight."* Our fathers probably knew them by the general G name of *Sturmvogel*, or by the specific names, *Sturmschwalbe* and *Petersvogel* (from F *petrel*, "little Peter" because they seem to walk on the sea as did St. Peter). None of these names are current in PG.

PELICANS AND CORMORANTS

Loskiel mentioned the white pelican which, during the summer, frequents largely fresh water and nests in the interior of our continent; in winter it lives chiefly along salt water. We have no names for it except the G *Pelikan*; the general name for a pelican or any "shoveller," *die Löffel-gans*; and the E name itself.

The "Pelican in her piety" (meaning the common pelican of Europe, *Pelecanus Onocrotalus*) has occupied a prominent place in the folklore of the Old World. The legend is that when the brood is slain, the mother wounds her breast and allows blood to drop on her children, thus nourishing them and restoring them to life. Representations of this have appeared in the folk-art of our people. Thomas Aquinas and others referred to Jesus as "the Pelican of Piety" who gives his blood to make those

* Frank M. Chapman, *Handbook of Birds of Eastern North America*, second revised edition, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1932.

dead in sin to live again, and St. Jerome went so far as to say that the pelican was a symbol of the Eucharist.*

The cormorant also is unknown, being chiefly maritime and a casual visitor only. None of the G names appear in the dialect: *Die Scharbe*, *der Wasserabe*, *der Vielfrasz*. *Wasserrabe* is a general G name for a "searaven" or any maritime bird of prey; *Vielfrasz* means glutton.

HERONS AND BITTERNS

Great Blue Heron, *Ardea herodias* h.

"Fischroiher"—general name for any long-legged wading bird, including all the herons and bitterns, so-called "cranes" or any bird that feeds on fish, tadpoles, frogs and the like; even the kingfisher goes under this name. Beck gives "Roiher" for the herons and bitterns. Lambert also gives the word "Fischreiher," which points to the G *Reiher*, *Reiger*, *Raiger* and the OHG *heigir*; he says this means "heron," "crane."†

"Fischkran"—a misnomer, as common as "Fischroiher." We cannot say whether this had its origin in the E "crane" or the G *Kranich*. True cranes having been numerous along the eastern seaboard two centuries ago, the name has persisted, and it has been applied indiscriminately to the herons and bitterns or to any long-legged bird of prey seen around ponds and mill dams or

* Pictures showing the pelican feeding her young are seen occasionally in sections of stained-glass windows in our churches. The writer was privileged to see a very beautiful piece of folk-art in the collection of Henry S. Borneman, Philadelphia, which shows the mother pelican feeding her young with the drops of blood that fall from her breast.

† We have heard "Fischreiher" (or "Fischrei'er," "Fischreiher") only a few times, most often in the plural. "Fischroiher" is the more common name, especially in the singular.

along watercourses. Beck says that "Kranich" is applied generally to all the herons and bitterns in Clearfield County. Many informants have spoken of the way herons and bitterns were killed and mounted in earlier days; they always called them "Fischkran" or "Fish-cranes," but none of them ever saw a real crane! We have found that any big, unusual bird along a body of water is called by one or the other name, being used especially for this species, the immature little blue herons and the American bittern.

"Der langbeenich Fischroiher" (Leh.)—specifically for this species, sometimes for the more common immature little blue heron and the egret.

"Der gross blo Fischroiher" (Leh.). We heard this name given to a specimen taken along the Jordan Creek thirty years ago.*

American Egret, *Casmerodius albus egretta*

"Der gross weiss Fischroiher"—a name shared with the snowy egret, *Egretta thula t.*, both species once supposedly common in the region. Because of reduction in numbers, their range is more restricted now and only occasional stragglers come into the region in the course of their northward wanderings during late summer and early fall. Sometimes the E name "Egret" is heard, but usually in reference to the little blue heron whose

* The common European heron, *Ardea cinerea c.*, was formerly much hunted with falcons (G *Reiherfalke* for the peregrine and gerfalcon). This was the sport of kings. The falcon would climb above the heron for the attack and then "stoop" with great force at her quarry. There is no truth to the legend that the heron, in self-defense, impales the descending enemy upon its beak.

There would seem to be a connection between the G *Reiher* and the G *Reigen* (a round dance, or a row of dancers). During courtship and the early breeding season the cranes have a kind of Indian war-dance.

juvenile plumage is white. Sometimes you hear "grosser weisser Fischkran" or "langbeenicher weisser Fischroiher." The egrets share such names with the next species from which they are not usually distinguished.

Little Blue Heron, *Florida caerulea c.*

"Der glee weiss Fischroiher" (Lanc., Leh., Bucks, Mont.)—this distinguishes the young of this species from any others that go by the name of "weiss Fischroiher." The more general name is usually spoken in exclamation and surprise,—*"En grosser weisser Fischroiher!"* That must be heard to be appreciated! Upon closer observation the statement might be modified somewhat,—*"Es is yuscht en gleener wiesser!"* *

"Der glee blo Fischroiher" (Leh.)—for the adult of the species. We suspect that this is but a translation of the E name. This species is the most common of all southern herons during the period of their northward wanderings, and all we have ever seen in Lehigh County (and in Bucks, Berks and Montgomery) were the immature birds in white plumage.

* We will not be consistent in our use of "y" and "j" in spelling, and shall not attempt to solve the problem as to how and when to use these characters. So, we prefer the use of "j" in "Fischroiher" because it seems to us to be the more accurate representation of the way the name is heard. In most instances we prefer to use "y" instead of "j," hence such spelling as "yuscht," "Marjets," "aryets," "Yaahr." Lambert's spelling of "Johr," "marjets," "arjets" makes them appear like queer birds! We have decided on the use of "aa" as in "Yaahr" and "Haahne" and "Aag" for the "aw" sound in PG.

In "Fischroiher" the emphasis is on "Fisch." The remainder of the word is given no stress and it is not pronounced as though it were spelled "roy-er"; rather as though it were spelled "roi-er." The name might therefore be written as "Fischroi'er," just as we write "Oi'er" (eggs) in preference to Lambert's "Oijer."

Eastern Green Heron. *Butorides virescens v.*

"Der Scheidpok" (E shitepoke)—a name as common as the bird itself! It is surprising how everyone uses these two names without explanation. Warren* gives the name "shitepoke" (as do most E dictionaries), comments on its peculiar character as a word, but does not explain it. Both the PG and E are simply polite forms of the more crude PG "Scheisspok."

"Scheisspok" (Berks, Bucks, Lanc., Leh., Mont., York)—descriptive of the bird's habits and character. Less common forms of this name are "Scheissvoggel," "Scheisser," "Schisser" (from Sumneytown, Mont. Co.).

"Der Aedarmich" (pl. "die Aedarmiche"). Several informants from Lancaster County have given this name. Beck explains that it means "one gut or entrail, applied generally to persons of such loose bowels that food would come in one end only to go out the other. The green heron, on arising, usually evacuates a white stream, 12-20 inches in length." This also explains the use of "Scheisspok,"—that colorful and common PG word meaning "a worthless fellow," "a good-for-nothing," "a rascal," "one of untidy habits." Autenrieth† gives the word "e'darm" and calls it "ein Schimpfwort."

"Der glee Fischroiher" (Lanc., Leh.).

"Der glee Quack" (pl. "die gleene Quack")—borrowing the name of the next species, the black-crowned night heron; heard near Trexlertown, Lehigh County.

* B. H. Warren, *Report on the Birds of the Pennsylvania*, second edition, Harrisburg, 1890.

† Autenrieth, *Pfälzisches Idiotikon*, defines "e'darm" as "Ein schwächtiger Mensch." He also gives the forms, "e'dermig, e'dermlich, e'därmlich—mager, kränklich, einfältig, elend (mit öden, leeren Gedärmen)."

"Schadpok" (Berks)—another form of "Scheidpok." *

"June Woi" (Carbon)—suggested by the time of the bird's arrival, the manner of its flight and feeding habits,—"June hawk."

Black-crowned Night Heron, *Nycticorax n. hoactli*

"Der Quack"—variously spelled as "Gwock," "Gwog," "Quaak," "Quawck"; so named for its heavy "gwock" which is heard at twilight. This night voice has frequently been pointed out to me as being that of the loon, and something bordering on awe and fear would color the speech of those calling my attention to this sound; but in these instances it was a case of mistaken identity.

"Quackvoggel" (Berks, Bucks, Lanc., Leh., Mont.). Both names prevail rather generally as do also "Fischroiher" and "Fischkran" ("Roiher" in Lancaster County) under which this species is included. The immature of this species have also been called "Scheisspok" and anyone who has visited a colony of them will know why.

American Bittern, *Botaurus lentiginosus*

All the names used for the herons apply also to this species. It is strange that we have found no distinctive PG name for this bird which has so many local names in

* A Berks County informant says they called the bird "Scheidpok," "Schadpok," because it vomits freely when excited as though it were spitting at a person. Pelicans and herons feed their young by regurgitation, and will also throw up food that is not digestible or otherwise disagreeable. Young herons, when excited, will throw up the contents of their stomach. In some sections the use of "Scheidpok" is so broad and general that people think of it as a snipe, "fishcrane," night heron, blue heron, in fact any bird of mud and water. Brendle's list gives "Scheidpok" for the blue heron.

E, like Thunder-pumper, Stake-driver, Butter-bump, Bog-bull, Poke, Mire Drum, Indian Hen, Marsh Hen. The bird is an expert at camouflage, is at home in the tall grass of meadows and swamps, and is seen mostly during migration in late spring and early fall. An informant from upper Lehigh County has described the "booming" call of the male bittern as being like the sound of an old wooden pump or the creaking of an old barn door.* Several persons have said that "Scheisspok" and its variations apply also to this species. The European bittern (*Botaurus stellaris*) in the G is *die Rohrdommel*.

STORKS, IBISES AND SPOONBILLS

Only one species of these families, the wood ibis, occurs north of Mexico, and is a very rare straggler into the PG region. The stork, as such, is unknown in America. The common stork of Europe, *Ciconia c.*, is a famous migratory bird of the Old World, and Gleditsch† describes it as "ein groszer Vogel, der sein Nest auf die

* Raymond E. Hollenbach, Royersford, has written to us as follows: "The word 'fisch crane' was specifically used for the 'American bittern' which was common along Jordan Creek at one time. Many of these were carelessly shot and I have seen a number of them mounted; they were always referred to as 'fisch cranes.' In my boyhood days I used to fish frequently at the dam just above Pleasant Corner [Lehigh County] and one of the outstanding things I remember was a peculiar noise that sounded like an old-fashioned wooden pump, such as nearly every farm used to have. At times the sound varied a little and sounded more like the swinging of a creaking barndoor. There was a shallow back channel at the dam, surrounded by a thicket of alder bushes, willows, etc, and it was from this spot that the sound seemed to come. There was many a discussion among us boys as to what animal made the noise—some said it was a toad, some said it was a turtle, some said a bird, and others argued that it really was the sound of a pump, although there was no building in the immediate vicinity. It has only been in recent years that I found out that this was the call of the male American bittern."

† Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, *Deutsch-Englisches Lexicon*, second revised edition, Leipzig, 1745.

Spitze eines Haus-tachs bauet." The stork's arrival in Germany was a harbinger of spring, hence the saying, "Auf Martini wenn die Störche kommen," in reference to an impossible or fantastic time or event (like, "when two Sundays come together," or "doomsday in the afternoon"), for storks would not arrive on the feast-day of St. Martin, November 11th. The legend about the stork bringing the babies seems to be related to the fact of the bird's arrival in the springtime, the season of mating and new life, and to the fact that it nested on house-tops and chimneys. Like the pelican, it was held sacred by some, and storks on the house-top were a favorable omen. None of the G names like *Storch* and *Löffler* appear in the dialect in reference to these birds; usually the E "stork" is heard.

SWANS

The swan has long been popular in Aryan mythology, especially in fairy tales and fables. The whistling swan, *Cygnus columbianus*, can be seen on the Susquehanna Flats and along Chesapeake Bay during March, but the only swans known to most people are those on exhibition in our parks and public gardens. The G *der Schwan* has become "Schwaan" or simply "swan" in the PG. "Die Schwaan" (or "die swan") is heard more often than "der Schwaan." The plural would be "die Schwaane" or "die swans" (E form).*

GEESE

Canada Goose, *Branta canadensis* c.

"Die Schneegans" (pl. "die Schneegens")—"snow goose." This is the common name in all parts of the PG

* Note that G "der" usually becomes PG "die" in the case of a dialect use of E names.

region. The migration of no other bird arouses as much interest or attracts as much attention. Chapman says that "the semi-annual pilgrimage of the Canada Goose appeals to us all with the directness of a personal experience. We see the living wedge of long-necked birds passing high overhead; the unbroken sound-waves bring the sonorous 'honks' with unexpected distinctness to our ears; and we receive an impressive lesson in the migration of birds. They are embarked on a journey of several thousand miles, but they come and go as surely as though they carried chart and compass."* Their flight is the harbinger of the coming and the going of the snow, and will even now arouse much excitement in a PG neighborhood. In the early morning of the very day that these words are written a flight of over a hundred geese came up over the horizon and, in good formation, pushed its way steadily toward the north.

"Wildi Gans" or "die wild Gans" (pl. "die wilde Gens")—"wild goose." This name is just as common as the one already given. "Die wilde Gens sin am fliege!" was a familiar cry in the PG community, and numerous stories and superstitions are associated with their passage. "Wann mer die wilde Gens zaehlt, odder wann mer noch ne weisst, dann verhuddle sie sich,"—that is, they break formation, "mer verhuddelt sie." Also, a person was not supposed to count them or to point to them, for this would bring bad luck. It was said that they would also break formation if the leader was shot, and that if the leader would mislead his followers, they would attack and kill him upon reaching the next feeding ground. Some person, in all seriousness, would ask, "Fer wass fliege die wilde Gens so?" and the unsuspect-

* *Handbook of Birds of Eastern North America*, p. 182.

ing listener would get this answer, "Es is zu weit fer laafe!"

Beck has this to say about the species: "As an impressive and picturesque figure of the vernal and autumnal skies this species has surrounded itself with names prophetic and legendary. As a harbinger of the coming and of the going of the snow it has won the name of Schna Gons; as a result of its clanging note, which in the mass and in the night suggests a pack in full cry, it is called Awicher Yager (Ger. Ewiger Jaeger), to connect it with the story, still current in South Germany, of the restless soul of some riotous huntsman doomed to follow the hounds through eternity. The 'aberglaubig' fear of this evil spirit still exists in parts of Bavaria (this from a native of Bavaria!). Woodchoppers often make crosses on the fresh stump as a protection against the Ewiger Jaeger. In some villages in wooded regions the church bell is rung every two hours throughout the night, nominally as Irrleite for persons lost in the forest; but by ancient tradition and a still persistent superstition, as a safeguard against this spook. Naughty children are warned of the menace of the Ewiger Jaeger." *

Another native of Lancaster County has said that any noise high in the night sky was referred to as "der Ewich Yaeger,"—the honking of the wild geese, or the wind tearing through the trees upon a hillside.† Barba says that "the conception of a wild huntsman (der wilde Jaeger) on a wild hunt (die wilde Jagd), who rides through the sky in storms heading a vast host (das wilde Heer), is common to all Germanic peoples and has found

* From "The Pennsylvania German Names of Birds," *The Auk*, Vol. XLI, No. 2, April, 1924, pp. 288-295. Also from Dr. Beck's personal notes and from his *A Chapter on the Ornithology of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, 1924.

† Reported by M. Russell Wehr.

expression in many forms. Behind it lies a primitive conception of the forces of nature which finally became embodied in the figure of the supreme Germanic god Wodan, god of the storm and of the spirits of the dead. Leading his countless hosts he sweeps across the earth at certain seasons, especially at Twelfth Night, leaving blessings as well as fear and destruction in his wake. In some parts of Germany swarms of migratory birds flying over the country and darkening the sky were spoken of as 'Wodans wilde Heer'. Our ancestors no doubt also brought with them to the new world traditions of 'Wodans wilde Heer'."*

When wild geese were heard or seen flying low at night, the old hunters used to go out into the open fields and set piles of straw afire. The flaming light would attract the geese, causing them to alight and approach the fire, thus affording the huntsman a good shot. Many were taken this way by night. Others were slaughtered at favorite feeding grounds by day. Sometimes a tamed Canada goose, kept in captivity since the day it was winged for the purpose, would be placed in a wheat field as a decoy or "stool pigeon," thus inviting great numbers to their death.

Some have tried to show a distinction between "Wilde Gens" and "Schneegens" by saying that the former were the Canada geese, and the latter, the snowy geese. A

* From an introduction by Dr. Preston A. Barba, editor, in connection with Ludwig A. Wollenweber's story, "Das Wilde Heer," both of which appeared in the *P. D. Eck*, September 21, 1941. The story is that two men went out to find the wild huntsman and, amid amusing circumstances, discovered that the wild host was a flight of "several hundred thousand wild pigeons." So "the seemingly supernatural finds a solution in a natural phenomenon." It is a good story! Another story (not so good) about "The Eternal Hunter—Der Ewige Jäger—A Pennsylvania German Legend of Lancaster County," appeared in *The Pennsylvania German*, Vol. III, No. 4, October, 1902.

man from upper Lehigh County insisted that "Schneegens" meant the "snowy geese,—net so gross wie die wilde Gens un halwer weiss!"* From Lancaster County we have a report that the two dialect names were used for two different species on occasion, and that at other times both names were applied to the Canada geese alone.† The second species referred to in these reports may be the American brant, *Branta bernicla hrota*, which would meet the description. The only other possibility would be the greater snow goose, *Chen hyperborea atlantica*, less common than the brant. In the G we have *Baumgans* which refers to the wild tree goose or European brant; and the G *Schneegans* refers to the greater snow goose (given in some dictionaries as *Anas hyperborea*) and to any "wild goose" such as the graylag, which is the original of our common domestic goose. Autenrieth gives "halgans" for the snow goose,—the G *Hagelgans*, *Schneegans*.

SURFACE-FEEDING DUCKS

Common Mallard, *Anas platyrhynchos* p.

"Wildi Ent" (pl. "wilde Ente")—the general name for all wild ducks and, particularly, for this species. The common mallard is the best known of all ducks in the northern hemisphere, and is the original of nearly all of our domestic breeds. The ducks, like the warblers, are mostly migratory, hence not resident long enough in the PG community to acquire distinctive names. Regardless of species, they were simply called "wilde Ente," or "wilde Ende." "Es gebt yuscht ee sart Ende,—wilde!"

* From a report heard by Thomas R. Brendle, Egypt, Pa

† Reported for the vicinity of Denver, Lancaster County, by M. Russell Wehr.

"Die schtreefich End" (Leh.)—"striped" or "streaked duck," for the female mallard or any other similar species.

"Der Griekopp" or "Griekobb" (Lanc., Leh.)—"green head," for the male mallard; also "Enterich," "Enderich" and "Endrich" for any male duck. The PG for a duckling is "Entche" or "Endche"; for a duck egg "Enteoi," or "Endeoi."

"Die dreck Ende" (Leh.)—a common name for the domestic mallard, or the "Indian Runner," or any duck which likes the swamps and mud puddles; used to distinguish the species from the white ducks,—“Peeks” and “Schgovi.”

A flock of wild ducks is called "en Drupp wilde Ende"; also "en Haufe," "en Lott wilde Ende."

Common Black Duck, *Anas rubripes tristis*

"Die schwatz End" (pl. "die schwatze Ende")—the Lehigh County names for the female of the "black mallard." In Lancaster County it is more like "die schwarz Ent" (pl. "die schwarze Ente"). Distinctions among the various species of ducks are not common; the general name usually must suffice.

Wood Duck, *Aix sponsa*

No PG name for this once common and richly attired "tree duck" has been heard. Helffrich, in his *Lebensbild*, speaks of "wilde Enten, die Baumente von den prachtvollsten Farben . . ."

DIVING DUCKS

Bufflehead, *Charitonetta albeola*

Brendle reports that he heard the names "Budderend" and "Budderkobb" in the upper Lehigh Valley for a

species which, according to description, probably was the bufflehead. A common local E name for this species is "Butterball." *

MERGANSERS

Beck says that the name "wilde Ende" is used for all the edible ducks, including the three mergansers. Brendle says that the name "die weiss End" was heard for the American merganser near Scheidys, Pa. †

None of the G names for Old World species, like *Tauchente*, *der Taucher*, for the European merganser; *Brandente* for the shelldrake; *Haubenente* for the rufous-crested duck, a diver; and *Fasan-ente* for the pin-tail duck, have appeared in the PG.

AMERICAN VULTURES

Turkey Vulture, *Cathartes aura septentrionalis*

"Ludervoggel" (pl. "die Luderveggel")—a name common to all parts of the PG region. Also an expression of disgust and contempt, usually in reference to one who leads a dissolute life, or to a woman of evil purposes and immoral habits,—"*so schlecht as der Dreck am Wek.*"

"Ooshaahne" (pl. "die Ooshaahne," or, rarely, "die

* W. L. McAtee, *Local Names of Migratory Game Birds*, Miscellaneous Circular No. 13, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., October, 1923.

† Again, the spelling "kobb" is used rather than "kopp," with "b" taking the place of "p," for reasons already given. For similar reasons we prefer the spelling of "Budder" to that of "Butter," and "End," "Ende," "Endrich" to that of "Ent," "Ente," "Entrich." Here medial and final G "t" are replaced by "d." We feel that the "d" is sufficiently prominent to justify this representation. This is less prominent in Lancaster County and there the consonantal shift seems less evident; there the G quality of the "t" and "p" seem to be retained much more than in Lehigh.

Ooshinkel")—the most common name in Lehigh County; heard also in Berks and York.

"Oosvoggel" (pl. "Oosveggel" or "die Oosa," Beck)—heard more often in Lancaster County than any other name, and not heard in any other counties; also in Lambert.

"Luderaadler" (Berks, Lanc., Leb.).

"Aadler" (York)—because of a resemblance to the immature bald eagle. "Aadler" occasionally is a name for any large, soaring bird.

"Ooswoi" (Leh.)—also given by Lambert, and probably more common than we have indicated. A rare plural is "die Ooswoije" or "die Ooswoi'e."

"Ludergrapp" (Lanc.)—also in Lambert. "Boonastiel" used this name frequently in reference to exploiters, cheats, parasites, lawyers and politicians!

"Luderwoi" (Leh.)—not as prominent as "Ooswoi" in Lehigh.

"Oosgrabb" (Leh.)—rarely heard in Lehigh. "Die Oosgrabb" becomes "die Oosgrabbe" in the plural. "Die Ludergrapp" becomes "die Ludergrappe."

"Geier"—Lambert, Lins and Horne give this name from the *G Geier, Geyer*. It must have been much more common in an earlier day, and serves as an example of how G forms have fallen by the way as newer dialect forms developed. Beck says that a valley in the Furnace Hills of northern Lancaster County is called "Geierthal," so named by the early settlers because of the turkey vultures in the region.

"Bussard"—an increasingly prominent adaptation of the E name. The E name is heard more and more often in the dialect.

The variety of dialect names is evidence of the popularity of this species. The writer has never heard of

any vultures being shot or trapped; rather, they were left alone to do their work.

The Old World nomenclature has not survived in the New World except for the occasional use of "Geier." G names like *Aas-geyer*, *Hasen-geyer* for the glede kite; *Fisch-geyer*, *Fisch-ahr* for the osprey; *Geyer-falck* for the gerfalcon; *Geier-adler*, *Lämmergeier* for the great bearded vulture or bearded eagle; *Der Braune Geier*, *Bastard Geier* for the griffon-vulture; *Der Bergstorch* for the white-headed vulture; *Aarweihe* (from the old G *Aar*, eagle, compounded with *Weihe* to denote any large bird of prey) for a kind of kite; *Gabelweihe* for a species of "fork-tailed" kite,—these have not carried over for obvious reasons. "Luder" was a more useful and colorful word; and *Aas* combined with *Weihe* gave us the dialect form, "Ooswoi."

As an example of the way in which even dialect forms can be corrupted is the name "Ohna Haahne" given the species by a farmer along the Maiden Creek in Berks County.*

The areas of distribution of the above PG names are by no means mutually exclusive. They over-lap too much and a more detailed study of the localized variations in names would have to be made before any lines could be drawn. It may be almost impossible to draw any geographical lines between dialect islands at this late date, for cultural diffusion within the PG community has gone ahead at great speed and the dialectal topography of the region has been levelled off and smoothed out pretty much by this time. We have simply reported the names as we have heard them, and our fixation of them as to place of occurrence does not exclude the possibility of their use elsewhere. Horne, Lins, Hoffman

* Reported by Raymond E. Kiebach, Reading, Pa.

and Lambert agree on "Ludervoggel" and "Geier"; Lambert, in addition, gives "Oosvoggel," "Ooswoi," "Ludergrabb," and that is all.*

HAWKS AND EAGLES

Eastern Goshawk, *Astur atricapillus a.*

Generally grouped with the accipiter hawks, the next two species, this rare hawk is given those names. Being larger than the accipiters, it is also grouped with the larger, high-flying hawks, and is given those names as well. It is one of the boldest, fiercest and most destructive birds of prey.

"Der gans gross Woi"—a name heard by Brendle in the Finland region of the lower eastern counties, may be applied to distinguish this species from the smaller accipiters. Though it is a rare winter visitant, its general habits give it prominence.

Sharp-shinned Hawk, *Accipiter velox v.*

"Schdoosswoi," or "Schtoosswoi"—the common name for all the "darters": for the goshawk, the "blue darter"; for this species, the "small blue darter"; and for the next, the "large blue darter." The sharp-shinned is a fearless, aggressive bird, flying very swiftly either in the open or through woods, and making sudden dashes at birds, chicks and pigeons. Its short wings are adapted for precipitate flight, hence the expression, "Er hott so

* A. R. Horne, *Pennsylvania German Manual*, Kutztown, 1875. James C. Lins, *Common Sense Pennsylvania German Dictionary*, Kenpton, 1887. W. J. Hoffman, "Grammatic Notes and Vocabulary of the Pennsylvania German Dialect," Washington, D. C., *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. XXVI, Jan.-July, 1889, pp. 187-285.

halwe Fliggel," and the exclamation, "Sell is en Schdoosswoi! Er geht wie en Peil!"

"Der glee Schdoosswoi" (Leh.)—specifically for this species, especially the male (the female of all hawks is approximately one-third larger than the male).

"Dauwewoi" (Lanc., Leh.)—"pigeon hawk," a name shared with the others of this group. The male of the species will go after small birds (up to the flicker in size) and baby chicks; the larger female and the Cooper go after larger birds, pigeons and poultry. When a small hawk sweeps through the barnyard, poultry yard or orchard like a terrifying storm, it is one of the accipiters making a raid.

"Scheierwoi"—"barn hawk." A name in Stoudt's list, probably intended for this species, since it was given along with "Dauwewoi."

"Dauwehabbich" (Berks, Leb.), or "Dauwehaabich." This has also been written for us as "Dauwehoppich."

"Dauwedieb" (Lanc., Leh., Mont.)—Lambert gives this name also; he also gives "Schtoosswoi" and "Hinkelwoi," and says that the meaning of all three is "chicken hawk." Thus he fell heir to the usual mistake of not making any distinction between the large and the small hawks.

"Dauweschdoosser" (Lanc.)—all of the above names, except "der glee Schdoosswoi," also apply to the Cooper's hawk, especially the male Cooper.

"Der glee Dauwewoi" (Mont.)—like "der glee Schdoosswoi." It distinguishes this species from the larger Cooper's hawk. It is frequently applied to the sparrow hawk which is made to suffer for the unfortunate mistake.

"Schdoossvogel" (Lanc.)—a less common name, shared with other small hawks and falcons. Often used

in a very general way even for larger hawks, owls, or any bird that may act like a "darter." Autenrieth gives the word "stoossvochel" for the G *Habicht*; also "taubestösser" for *der Weih*.

Cooper's Hawk, *Accipiter cooperi*

"Schdoosswoi" generally and "der gross Schdoosswoi" in particular, to distinguish it from the smaller sharp-shinned hawk.

"Der glee Hinkelwoi" (Monroe)—this name indicates at least some careful observation and so modifies the usual assumption that the large hawks are the "chicken hawks"; it at least recognizes the fact that there is a smaller "hen hawk." Beck points out that the smaller male of the species is called "Dauweschdoosser," while the larger female is called "Hinkelwoi"; this is the dividing line between the two types of names.

"Hinkelwoi—die grosse Woi sin zu langsam fer Hinklicher fange!" This statement, heard by Brendle in Lehigh County, properly places the real blame on the accipiter hawks who deserve the reputation commonly attributed to the large hawks. This, indirectly, pronounces the larger hawks "not guilty"; so does the next name.

"Hinkelhabbich" or "Hinkelhabbicht" (Leb.). Brendle reports that he also heard these names at one place in western Lehigh County, the only record we have of the use of "Habich" or "Habicht" in that county. From Berks, Lancaster, Lebanon and Schuylkill Counties we have these general names: "Habich," "Haabich," "Habicht," "Haabicht," "Hawicht," "Haawich," "Hoppich," for any hawks.

Eastern Red-tailed Hawk, *Buteo borealis b.*

"Hinkelwoi"—Beck is right when he says that this is the typical "Hinkelwoi" of the Pennsylvania Germans. The sharp-shinned goes after small birds, the Cooper after larger birds, game and poultry; and the larger hawks get all the blame. The above name was applied loosely to all large hawks and the result was something of which our people can only be ashamed. The farmer saw a red-tail, or a red-shouldered hawk, sailing in wide circles above him and uttering his screaming call. Meanwhile a shrewd, low-flying accipiter slipped by and stormed into the poultry yard or after the pigeons. The average person did not see that the damage had been done by a smaller hawk of a different color; and if it was a female accipiter, it was still easier to assume that a bird like the high-flying hawk had done the dirty work. So, a hawk was a hawk, and the farmer declared war against his friends. The large hawk became the "hen hawk," a slow-flying, easy target, whose slaughter was as continual as it was unfortunate, while the smaller, more difficult target got away.

Lambert gives the name, "Rotschwensicher Hinkelwoi," for a "chicken hawk," and this must be the species. From Lancaster County comes the name, "Der Rotschwensich."

Northern Red-shouldered Hawk, *Buteo lineatus l.*

This species, like its near relative, the red-tail, fairly common during the winter months, lives out in the open spaces and near the woods, where mice, other mammals, snakes and insects are its food, but to it the name "Hinkelwoi" is as frequently applied. Both species are common figures on the winter landscape, easily seen, and

thus compelled to suffer for the sins of their bird-killing relatives, the goshawk and the accipiters. Only rarely, perhaps only when driven to desperation by hunger, do they go after game-birds and poultry. "Hinkelwoi" in the eastern counties, and "Hinkelhabbich" in the western counties, covers both of the above species, also the common broad-winged hawk and the marsh hawk of the summer fields and meadows, and even the rarer rough-legged hawk (according to Beck).

Southern Bald Eagle, *Haliaeetus leucocephalus* l.

"Der Aadler—the common name throughout the entire PG region. From Lancaster County comes the name, "der weisskeppich Aadler." Beck says that the few of the species which are to be found along the Susquehanna are but the remnant of "a greater local glory." The writer saw one in Lehigh County a decade ago. Audubon says that, on several occasions, he saw bald eagles fishing in the Perkiomen Creek.

The name, "Aadler," applies also to the golden eagle, once a more common resident in the East, disappearing about a century ago, now only a rare visitant. The occasional reports about golden eagles in the East usually indicate the presence of immature bald eagles, but the old stories about golden eagles carrying away sheep and calves and even babies are still being told in some PG households; they make good conversation and no more!

A feeling of mingled fear and reverence, however, still colors the approach of some of our people to the national bird, the bald eagle. The eagle has always held a place of prominence in the folklore of many people. It was sacred to the Greeks and Romans in the Old World, to some of the Indians in the New. The eagle was the master of the elements, the king of all birds. It

alone could fly into the sun with undazzled eyes. It never grew old (Psalm 103:5), so run the ancient tales; when it began to feel the weight of the years, it would rise into the air and fly upward and upward into the sun until its feathers became white hot. Then it would dive into the sea like a meteor to quench the flames. Retiring to its nest for a while, it would brood there and then emerge, young and lusty, in fresh plumage, like the mythical and immortal Phoenix rising out of its own ashes and renewing itself every five hundred years. By its disappearance into the glare of the sun, it became identified with the sun itself; and as the sun rose daily after going down in the western ocean, so the eagle!

Its pre-eminence led to its use in heraldry in many lands, as the Roman eagle or the imperial eagle of Germany. To the Greeks, it carried Zeus' thunderbolts to chasten mortal men. In Rome, when an emperor was cremated, an eagle was liberated to carry aloft to the "immortals" the soul of the departed monarch. So many primitive peoples release a bird over the grave of the departed, thinking that the spirit takes the form of a bird after it leaves the body. On church lecterns the "flying eagle" (Revelations 4:7) supports the Scriptures. The eagle is the symbol of the Fourth Evangelist because it is believed that John shows the more intimate knowledge of the mind of Christ; thus, the eagle, flying so often into the heavens, becomes the symbol of inspiration. And in some of the devotional books which our people brought with them from the Old World, Jesus himself was the eagle flying into the sun (the presence of God), carrying on his back the poorer children of earth; or, Jesus was "the Sun of Righteousness" arising "with healing in his wings."

The appearance of the eagle always was a favorable

omen; and its loss, defeat or death was an omen of disaster. When this messenger of the gods soared aloft it was a portent of victory: if not, it was an omen of defeat. It was the master of the air, the spirit of the air incarnate, so its appearance had much to do with the weather. The gall of the eagle, mixed with honey, was considered a sure cure for failing eyesight, just as owls' eyes gave new sight and wisdom, and nightingales' tongues improved the voice.*

The northern European folk-tale of the eagle's one defeat appeared in at least one colonial primer that the writer has seen. It is the story of how the birds gathered to elect a king, how the eagle in his turn soared higher than any other bird, and how the little wren, perched on the eagle's back, at the last moment rose a bit higher than the eagle, thus winning the royal title for himself.

Marsh Hawk, *Circus hudsonius*

"Der gross Woi"—in comparison with the goshawk, "der gans gross Woi" (Finland, Pa.).

"Der Schwammwoi" — "swamp hawk" in Carbon County.

"Der weiss Woi" (Carbon)—because of its prominent field mark.

"Der schloossweiß Woi" or "Schloosswoi" (Leh.)—meaning a hawk showing white "like hail." *Schloszweisz* is obsolete G for "white as hailstones," and describes the upper tail-coverts, or the white spot on the rump of this species.†

* Some of this is taken from *The Gods Had Wings*, by W. J. Brown, Constable and Company, London, 1936.

† These names were given to us by Thomas Brendle, whose informant said: "This hawk does not eat pigeons or chickens. It was eaten by older people, as hawks were used for food in the long past."

Sharing the fate of the genus *Buteo*, this species too is known as "Hinkelwoi."

Osprey, *Pandion haliaetus carolinensis*

"Fischwoi" (Berks, Lanc., Leh., Monroe, Mont.)—common name for this species, seen mostly along large watercourses and lakes.

"Fischaadler" (Lanc., Leh.)—like the G *Fischadler*.

"Fischhabbich" (Leb.), also "Fischhaabich," "Fischhaabicht," "Fisch-hoppich." "Hoppich" is the way it was spelled for us.

"Aadler" (Lanc., York)—because of its general resemblance to an eagle, similarity of habitat, and, perhaps by association, for its contests with the bald eagle for whom it does a lot of fishing.

"Meeraadler" (Lanc.)—a G form, like *Fluszadler*.

FALCONS

We have no dialect names for the duck hawk (*Falco peregrinus anatum*), the New World representative of the "Noble Peregrine" of Old World falconry. It is a casual visitor only, seen along the Delaware and the lower Susquehanna.

The true pigeon hawk (*Falco columbarius c.*) deserves mention here because it is a rare visitor in the region, and because it is not the so-called "pigeon hawk" of the PG region. The names "Dauwedieb" (Lanc.), "Dauwehabbich" (Leb.), the general name of "Schdoosswoi," and nearly all of the other names used for the genera *Astur* and *Accipiter*, have been given, supposedly, for this species. This bird is an enemy of all small birds, but it is highly doubtful that any of the names given were based on accurate identification of the species.

Most of them, it seems, were intended for the accipiters and the sparrow hawk, with which this small falcon may be readily confused. Even "Scheierwoi" (Leh.) given specifically for the "pigeon hawk," does not apply here.

Eastern Sparrow Hawk, *Falco sparverius* s.

"Der glee Schdoosswoi—er dutt sich ruhich in der Luft hewe" (Leh.)—accurate identification based on the bird's ability to "tread air."

"Schdoosswoi" (Berks, Leh., Mont.)—"Er fresst ken Dauwe."

"Dauwewoi" (Leh.)—confused with the accipiters.

"Schpatzewoi" (Lanc.)—perhaps just a translation of the E name; but it may also be based on the bird's occasional raids on smaller birds. This falcon is a friendly, colorful fellow, amusing at times, and does not deserve to be classed with the accipiter hawks.

Lest the reader be hopelessly confused, this summary is in order. "Woi" (rarely "Boi," a name which Beck adds to the list) is a general name for all hawks; the plural is "die Woi" (rarely, "Woi'e," "Woije," which Brendle gives for Monroe and Montgomery Counties). In the counties west of Lehigh, "Habbich," "Habbicht," "Haabich," "Haabicht," "Hoppich," "Hawich," "Hawicht" are also heard. The writer never heard these names in Lehigh County; a number of other persons have said the same thing. The names "Hinkelwoi" and "Hinkelhabbich" were applied, usually, to all large hawks, beginning, approximately, with the female Cooper. The smaller hawks, beginning with the male Cooper, and the small falcons, went by the name of "Schdoosswoi," "Dauwewoi," or some form of these two. "Hinkelwoi," as applied to the large hawks, is for the most part an un-

just and undeserved name, and should be used for the rare goshawk and the accipiters.

Only the general G names have survived. *Weihe*, the G for the kite and hawk, can be seen in "Woi" or in the rarer PG form, "Wai." *Falke* or *Falcke*, the G for falcon, does not appear in the dialect. *Habicht* for hawk seems to survive west of Lehigh County in the form of "Habbich." The name "Hinkelhabbich" can be seen in the G for the European goshawk, *der Hühnerhabicht*. Forms of the G *Taubenstöszer* can be seen in "Dauweschdoosser" and "Schdoossvoggel." *Sperber*, G for the European sparrow hawk or kestrel, a bird like our sharpshinned, did not carry over. The G vocabulary is quite full of terms related to hawks and falcons, since falconry once was a great European sport, but most of the names have had nothing to do with the PG vocabulary.

In this instance the dialect names are not as well chosen as in some others. Some reflect no keen powers of observation; rather, they seem to be the result of snap judgments arrived at, perhaps, in anger. Hawks did some damage in the barnyard and that was enough for any PG farmer; the war was on from there, and no time was taken to give the friends of the open fields the names they deserved. Even the law has not yet succeeded in wholly changing the farmer's attitude toward the large hawks, and a hawk is still just a hawk when many a "Dutchman" goes for his gun. This has often been the motto: "Wann mer nat waess was es is, dann macht mer 's dod!"

Old hunters used to say that it was impossible to kill a hawk by shooting at its breast, the feathers being so thick and compact as to prevent the penetration of the shot. To kill a hawk, it was said that the hunter had to fire from the side or from the rear. They were shot

anyway, and their pathetic bodies were nailed up on the side of a barn or shed "to keep other hawks away from the barnyard fowls and from the pigeons." Sometimes they were put up simply as trophies of the hunt, and there would be rivalry in the neighborhood as to who could nail up the largest hawk or the greatest number of "birds of prey"—"Raabveggel." For one reason or another, the carcasses were never taken down; left to hang until decomposed, the feathers and bones finally came down of their own accord.

Brendle and Unger have this to say about the custom: "The eaves of the house, unlit by the light of the sun, were places where, in ancient belief, the protective house spirits dwelt. The eaves are the boundaries of the house; thus far and no farther can the evil spirits come. The belief goes back to the time when some protective symbol was mounted on the roof of the house. We still have these protective symbols. It is a frequent sight to see the carcass of a hawk, crow, or owl, hanging or nailed to the side of a farm building. The reason for this custom is that the other birds of prey will be frightened away by the sight, and this undoubtedly is the present day motive for the custom. Our Teutonic ancestors, however, nailed birds, wings of birds, or carved figures of birds on their barns and sheds to frighten away pestilence and disease." *

An interesting observation concerning this custom is to be found in the translator's note to Papini's *Life of Christ*.† She explains that she has omitted sentences which contained allusions that would surely be obscure

* "Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans," *P. G. S. Proceedings*, Vol. XLV.

† *Life of Christ*, by Giovanni Papini. Translated from the Italian by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York, 1923.

to non-Italian readers. An example of this is in the scene of the crucifixion where Papini says that Christ was "nailed to the cross with out-stretched arms like an owl nailed with out-stretched wings to a barn-door. This revolting countryside custom being unknown to American readers, a reference to it could only cloud the passage." Alas, the translator did not know!

GROUSE

Eastern Ruffed Grouse, *Bonasa umbellus* u.

Early English and German settlers in the New World saw in this species the one that most nearly resembled the Old World "pheasant" and *Fasan*. Hence all names for the grouse were based on the European names for the pheasant.

The dialect name takes three forms, not easily fixed as to spelling and place of usage. In general this is the way they have appeared:

"Fassant " (pl. "die Fassante") or "Fassand" (pl. "die Fassande")—heard in Berks, Bucks, Dauphin, Lehigh, Monroe, Montgomery and Schuylkill Counties. "Boonastiel" uses this form and writes it as "fasont." J. B. Sheetz, in a poem, "In de Goota Olta Tzita," in the *Penn Germania*, January, 1912, uses the phrase, "phasanta olly sot," which implies that this name was used specifically for the grouse and also generally to include the quail. The name "Fassante" also appears under the heading of "Unser Pennsylvanisch- Deutscher Kalenner, 1905," in the *P. D. Eck* of November 5, 1938. *

* "Fersant" takes the feminine singular "die," hence "die Buschfersant" and "die Baerrickfersant." "Fersantehaahne" is of course masculine. Other names, like "Fersantehinkel" and "Buschhinkel," are more vague and of more general reference; though actually feminine in character. the neuter article is used. So we

"Fessant" (pl. "die Fessante") or "Fessand" (pl. "die Fessande")— reported only from Lancaster County, the informants spelling it "Fesond" and "Fesand." "Fassant" and Fessant" often sound pretty much like the same word and it is difficult to draw a line between the two!

"Fersant" (pl. "die Fersante") or "Fersand" (pl. "die Fersande")— heard in Berks, Bucks, Lehigh and Montgomery Counties. Lloyd Moll wrote it as "Fersande" and "Fersandehawne" in the *P. D. Eck*, April 10, 1937. Lins gives "Farsond" for "pheasant," which, about 1887, must have meant the grouse.

Lambert noted two of the above forms, "Fersant" and "Fassant," obviously giving the names generally prevailing, and omitting "Fessant." He gave "pheasant, from the G *Fasan*," as the meaning, and must have had the grouse in mind, for he also gives "Fersantehinkel" and defines it as a "breed of fowls somewhat resembling Rhode Island Reds," in which case he must have been thinking of the new arrival, the ring-necked pheasant. Lambert's definition of "Fersantebeer" as "partridgeberry" shows that the name also was used for the quail (the English generally referred to the quail as a "partridge" and rarely used this name for the grouse).

"Buschfersant" (pl. "die Buschfersante")—used in

have "es Fersantehinkel" and "es Buschhinkel." In using the singular number one always is on safe ground if the indefinite article is used, as "en Fersant." We have heard this used more than any other. Most people, in speaking to us about birds, would say, "Sell is en . . ." There was more emphasis, accuracy and conviction in their speech when they used "der," "die" or "es." So when speaking of the next species, the quail, it was "es Badriesel" (as Lambert gives it) or "en Badderriesel," the one diminutive in character and implication, the other a rather general reference; but when Bob was seen in the field or on a fence post, and when one wanted to call attention to his personality, then it was "Der Badderriesel." Gender in the dialect is a capricious thing!

speaking of the grouse once very abundant in the Pine Swamp, near Eckville, Berks County, at the foot of the Blue Mountain.* From Alburtis, Berks County, we have the name "es Buschhinkel" (pl. "die Buschhinkel") for a "wild pheasant." †

"Die Wildfersant" (pl. "die wilde Fersante")—an early name, reported by Brendle, probably to distinguish this species from the European pheasants, several species of which were domesticated and kept in Old World aviaries.

"Die glee Fassant" (pl. "gleene Fassante")—a more recent name, used in the Finland region, to distinguish this species from the introduced English ring-necked pheasant, a larger bird.

"Baerrickfersant" (pl. "die Baerrickfersante")—from Berks County we have the report that the grouse was spoken of as "en Fersant," rarely as "Baerrickfersant," until the ring-neck came and took the former name; after that, "Baerrickfersant" was more generally applied to the grouse.‡ Marburger, from Denver, says that "Baeryefessant" was their common name for the grouse; "Baerrickfessant" a rarer form.

"Die Globber" (pl.) or "Glopper"—so named because of their drumming. Stump reports that this name was used in the Allemangel section of Albany Township, Berks County,—*"die Buschfersante hen als so arrick gebrummt im Beindschwamm hinne am Eck drowwe in Allemangel un mer hen sie die Globber g'heesse."* Note that "gebrummt" is used rather than "gedrummt" to describe the thumping of the male grouse. Albany Town-

* Reported by Calvin S. Stump, Maxatawny, Pa.

† From W. W. Kemp, Alburtis, Pa.

‡ From Raymond E. Kiebach, Reading, Pa.

ship is near the nationally known Hawk Mountain Bird Sanctuary.

The Rev. Michael Schlatter in his "Journal" tells how, on November 2, 1750, he left the home of Pastor George Michael Weiss in Goshenhoppen and went "to the so-called flying mountains in Oly—which are so called on account of the multitude of wild Indian chickens which abound there."* Dr. Henry Harbaugh adds the note that "prairie-hens, which still abound in the western prairie, were abundant at an early day along the south side of the Blue Mountains." This may be a reference to the now extinct "heath hen" (*Tympanuchus cupido c.*) which is said to have been a common bird from Massachusetts to Virginia until the early part of the last century. Or was Schlatter thinking of the ruffed grouse? Turnbull says that a few heath hens survived in Monroe and Northampton Counties as late as 1869.† Obviously some of the pioneers were not always sure of what they were seeing, whether grouse or quail or heath hen!

Then there is the story of Pastor William Stoy, that erratic preacher of colonial Pennsylvania, who came one day to conduct a service at one of his churches in the central part of the state. When he entered the pulpit he saw that only a few women had gathered to hear his sermon. He mumbled to himself, "Ferwas soll ich zu de alde Weiwer predigen? Sie verstehen es doch nicht! Ich geh Reehiener schiessen!" And with that he walked out of the church. The word here was a form of *Rebhiiner*, G for "Partridge," and Stoy was going to

* Henry Harbaugh, *The Life of Rev. Michael Schlatter*, Philadelphia, 1857.

† Turnbull, *Birds of Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey*, 1869.

hunt for either quail or grouse,—and perhaps both!

G names like *Schneehuhn* for the white grouse or ptarmigan; *Birkehuhn* or *Berghuhn* for the black grouse or heath grouse; *Auerhahn* or *Auerhuhn* for the large black or mountain grouse; and *Spielhahn* for the same species, have not appeared in the dialect. *Haselhuhn* (*Tetrao bonasia*) for the wood grouse or hazel-hen (and the black grouse) did appear in some of the early colonial writings, as already noted, but does not occur in the PG.

We have heard the name “prairie chicken” used in the dialect. Perhaps this is the result of the memory of earlier days when the eastern representative of this species, the heath hen, was present in the region. Again, it may be due to early reports from the West. The name has been used rather loosely and we have found that on several occasions the upland plover or the ruffed grouse were the actual species being mentioned. Lambert gives “Feldhinkel” for the plover, quail and prairie chicken. This word will come up again, but it may be said here that it too was used in a very general way, to include the grouse, the quail, the pheasants, the upland plovers and any large birds of the open fields.

PARTRIDGES AND QUAILS

The true partridges and quails of the Old World belong to the genera *Perdix* and *Coturnix* respectively. In the New World we have no species that closely resembles either of these two, hence the application of the Old World names to the New World species has caused a great deal of confusion. Our common “Bob-white” belongs to the New World genus *Colinus*, which more nearly resembles the genus *Coturnix* than any other, and should therefore be known as a quail (as Northerners generally call it)

rather than as a partridge (the name which Southerners give it). Our people, however, thought that it resembled the Old World partridge of the genus *Perdix*, and that fact has given shape to most of the dialect names for the quail; only rarely does one hear a dialect name for the quail which suggests a resemblance to the European genus *Coturnix*.

Partridge, *Perdix p. p.*

This is the common partridge of Europe, sometimes called the "Hungarian partridge." It has been introduced very widely in the United States and Canada since 1900 and is now well established as a game-bird in many localities. Chapman notes that of those first planted in the northeastern States a small colony survived in Lehigh County. This may explain why some hunters refer to "a 5-ounce quail" (meaning, the Bob-white) and to "an 8-ounce quail" (meaning, the Hungarian partridge). The introduction of this species is said to have been even more successful in the northwestern states and the adjoining parts of Canada. They seem to become more numerous in Pennsylvania from year to year, for more are being stocked and greater numbers are taken by hunters. In Europe this bird frequented cultivated lands, often where cover was scant, and it is doing the same thing in America. This is one of the birds which our fathers must have thought of when first they saw our very common Bob-white. The PG names for the Bob-white therefore apply also to this introduced species.

Bob-white, *Colinus virginianus v.*

"Badriesel" (pl. "die Badrieslicher" or "die Badrieselcher")—this name seems to be most common in Lancaster County. It is one of the names given by Lambert.

Beck gives it and spells it "Bodreesel." In Brendle's list it is spelled "Batreesel." Rauch*, who was a native of Lititz, spells it "Botressel." Horne gives it as "Bodres'l" and gives, in addition, the two G equivalents—*Rebhuhn*, *Watchel*. Lambert, Rauch and Horne give as the E equivalents both partridge and quail. This form of the name has also been heard in Berks, Bucks, Lehigh and Montgomery Counties, but its more frequent occurrence in Lancaster is indicative of the origin of the word, for it is there that we would expect to find the early form of the dialect name. Another form of the plural, "Badriese," for which there is another singular in the form of "Badries," has also come from Lancaster County.

"Badriesli" (the plural of which would probably be either "Badrieslin" or "Badrieslicher")—also given by Lambert, again a diminutive form. Miller gives "Batriesli" (G *Patrieschen*) for "partridge." †

"Badrieseli" (pl. "die Badrieselicher")—a more definite diminutive, heard in Bucks and Lebanon Counties.

"Die Badderries" (or "Badderries") or "es Badderries"—heard near Pennsburg, Montgomery County. This name is a transitional form; it marks a shift from "Badries, Badriese, Badriesel" to "Badderriesel" and its variants. With "Badries" as the original form of our dialect name for the species, it can be seen how "Badderries" would be the next major form, and how the various forms of "Badderriesel" would proceed from there. Our informant in this matter also gave "Badderrieselche" as a rarer form of the name.

"Badderriesel" (pl. "die Badderriesel") or "Badder-

* Edward H. Rauch, *Pennsylvania Deutsch Hond Booch*, Mauch Chunk, 1879.

† Daniel Miller, *Pennsylvania German*, Vol. II, Reading, 1901.

riesel" (pl. "die Badderriesel")—this is by far the most prominent name in Lehigh County. It has also been heard in Berks, Bucks, Lancaster, Lebanon, Dauphin, Monroe, Montgomery and Schuylkill Counties. Hoffman gives this form and spells it "Baderis'l." The name, spelled "Bateriesel," appeared in "'M Shinnerhannes sei Deskripshon von der Ellsdauner Fair," Allentown *Friedensbote*, October 7, 1874. Lloyd Moll wrote it as "Badderriesel" and this is the spelling that we would prefer to use. Two other forms of the plural have also been heard in Lehigh County, "Badderrieselcher" and "Badderrieslicher." Marburger has written the name for us like this: "Pottereesel" or "Bottereesel."*

"Badderriesli" (pl. "die Badderrieslin")—heard in York and Lancaster Counties. "Boonastiel" writes it as "Bodderreesly" (pl. "Bodder-reeslin"). Sheetz, in the poem mentioned above, wrote "Bodder-rieslin."

"Badderrieselche" (pl. "die Badderrieslicher" or "Badderrieselcher")—heard in Lehigh County also. Rare forms are "Badderriesliche" (sing.) and "Badderrieslicher" (pl.).

"Badderesel" (like "Esel" for mule)—reported from Denver, Lancaster County, a single example. We have heard several persons pronounce the name so that it sounded almost like this; in each case, when asked to say it again and more slowly, the pronunciation was like "Badderriesel."

"Badrieselche" (pl. probably "Badrieselcher" or "Badrieslicher")—a form given by Lambert, which may indicate that it was quite common. If so, it should be placed near the top of the list.

* Clifford Marburger, Denver, Lancaster County, Pa.

“Das Bartriesel”—a significant name, pointing back to the G *Partrisen*.*

“Wachtel” (rarely “Wacht”)—the G name for the common European migratory quail (believed to be the quail of the Bible), *Coturnix c.*, heard in Lancaster and Lehigh Counties. My informants claimed they knew no other dialect name for the species. G names like *Berg-huhn* for the red-legged partridge; *Rebhuhn*, *Rephun* for any partridge, especially the common species; *Rebhünlein* for a young partridge; *Wachtel-könig* for the leader of a bevy of quail, and also the name for a land-rail or corn crane; *Wachtelstrich* for a covey of quail; and an expression like “*die Wachtel schlägt*” for “the quail calls,” have not appeared in the dialect except as already noted.

“Feldhinkel”—Beck gives this as a second name for the quail; and Lambert gives it as a name for the quail, plover and prairie chicken. This, undoubtedly, was often used as a general name for a variety of species. Muehlenberg† gives the name *Feldhuhn* for the partridge.

“Der Bob-white” —a dialect version of the E name, heard a number of times in Lehigh County, usually at times when the call of the bird was heard out in the fields,—“Der Bob-white is widder am peife.”

We have suggested that “Badriesel” and “Badries” with their variants are the purest dialect forms because they occur more frequently in the Lancaster area where early settlement took place. Another person might argue that the purer forms should occur farther inland, in

* Given in a poem, “Ee Daag,” by Michael A. Gruber (1855-1943), *P. D. Eck*, October 30, 1943. Gruber was a native of North Heidelberg Township, Berks County.

† Rev. Henry Muehlenberg, *Englisch-Deutsches und Deutsch-Englisches Wörterbuch*, 2 volumes, Lancaster, Pa., 1812.

those parts near the Blue Mountains where conditions have been more favorable to a survival of the early dialect forms. We have heard these forms in northern Berks and Lebanon, but not in northern Lehigh, or in any of the other counties more to the north; in these places a form of "Badderriesel" always seemed more prominent.

Whatever the circumstances surrounding the modification of the dialect name in the PG community, it does seem quite clear that it has come from ancient sources. The line of development is long but direct and quite orderly. *Perdix* is the Greek for partridge; the Latin is *perdix*, *perdicis*. From these came the Old French form *perdiz* which changed into *perdriz*, *pertriz*, *pertrix*, *perdris*, *pertris*, *pertrisel*, *petris*. The modern French is *perdreix*. Here the usual consonantal shift is in evidence. The addition of the "r" at one place and then its gradual elimination at another, so that the word appears now with two of these consonants and then with but one of them, seems in order for a dialect that was spoken rather than written.

The early English forms of partridge were "partrys," "pertriche," "partriche," and the first of these also bears the marks of its source. Lambert is not correct when he says that "Badriesel" comes from the E partridge plus the G diminutive ending of *el*. There is no good reason why the name should have developed this way; and if it had, it would have done so in violation of the usual rules. There is no way of explaining what became of the "ich" or "idg" sound in the original word. Lambert should have remembered that the French and German dialects are older than the

English and that the English itself is but a mixture of these dialects, of others and of the classical tongues.

When William Beidelman, in his *Story of the Pennsylvania Germans*, advanced the theory that the dialect word might come from the French *perdrix* he was on the right path, for back of this word lay forms like *pertris*, *petris*, *pertrisel*. Daniel Falckner, or his editor, used the word *Patrisen* for the partridge. Gleditsch gives *Partrisen* as the name for *junge Rebhüner*, "young partridges." The line therefore runs from "petris" to "Patrisen" to "Badriese"; and from "pertris" to "Partrisen" to "Bartriesel." The variety of other dialect names seems to proceed from these.

The European red-legged or French partridge, *Caccabis rufa*, somewhat smaller than the common Hungarian species, seems to resemble our Bob-white most closely in size and color. Our fathers undoubtedly knew this species as well as any, and knew the local names for it. The French influence upon the Palatine regions having been what it was two centuries and more ago, our fathers came to these shores equipped with modified forms of a borrowed name and applied these to the Bob-white which resembled, more or less, the common species of partridges in the fatherland. The locally prominent species of the Old World gave their name to the prominent species of the New, and that may explain why the name of *Wachtel* for the quail was left behind, with but a few using it in this country.*

*Autenrieth says that "Rahhüner, Rebhühner, Feldhühner, Rebhinkel" were referred to in the word "Vadderlandsverteidiger"—"facetiously 'Kartoffeln' and 'Feldhühner'" (potatoes and partridges,—defenders of the Fatherland!).

PHEASANTS

English Ring-necked Pheasant

Our common wild pheasant is of hybrid blood, a cross between the English pheasant, *Phasianus colchicus c.*, and the Chinese ring-neck, *Phasianus c. torquatus*, with the blood of the latter predominating. The first species, a native of Asia Minor and named for the River Phasis in Colchis, was introduced into Europe by the Greeks and, so it is believed, into England by the Romans. Near the end of the eighteenth century it was crossed with the Chinese ring-necked pheasant, and the hybrid was introduced in the United States. It is said that some were brought to America as early as 1790, but their introduction was not successful until almost a century later. In the Northwest hunting of pheasants was permitted as early as 1892. Here in the East our people first began to take note of them about 1918; several old hunters reported that they did not kill any until about 1924. They now are our most common game-bird in the farming sections of the "Dutch country."

As the ring-neck became more popular and as the grouse decreased in numbers, the dialect forms of the *G der Fasan* were restored to their own once again, after a lapse of almost two centuries. "Fassant," "Fessant," "Fersant," general names for the grouse in earlier days, are now the popular PG names for this species, "Die Fersant" or "es Fersantehinkel" is used in speaking of the female of the species; the cock pheasant is "der Fersantehaahne."

William S. Troxell ("Pumpernickle Bill") used this name for the species in a saying quoted in his column,—
"Sel wor holes die grank 'n fersont!" We have not heard

such a name as "Feldhuhn" or "Feldhinkel" used for the ring-neck, although it would apply and may be used in some quarters, as it was used for the grouse and other species.

TURKEYS

Eastern Turkey, *Meleagris gallopavo silvestris*

"Der wild Welschhaahne" (or "wilder Welschhaahne")—for the male.

"Es wild Welschhinkel" (or "wild Welschhinkel")—for the female.

"Die wilde Welschhinkel"—plural.

Our domestic turkey is a descendant of the wild turkey of southern Mexico, *Meleagris gallopavo g.* When the Spaniards came to Mexico they found an abundance of captive turkeys among the Indians. Some were taken to Spain as early as 1519, and from there they spread rapidly throughout Europe, so that by the close of the sixteenth century they were a regular article of table fare among the better class. It was a strange new bird to the Europeans and it was commonly supposed that the species came from Asia Minor. To our ancestors it was "foreign" or *Welsch*; *Welsch* was the name for anything foreign or imported, hence a name for anything Italian (and sometimes for anything Spanish and French), such as people, language, wine, coins, herbs, nuts, beans, and the like. If something bore a strange appearance it was said, "*Das kommt mir welsch vor.*" French beans were *die wälsche Bohne*; the Italian language was *die wälsche Sprache*; the walnut was *die wälsche Nusz*; and the imported turkey-cock was *ein wälscher Hahn*. Italy was *das Wälschland*; an Italian was *ein Welscher*; any

strange speech, jargon or gibberish was *welsch*; the French Church was *die Welsche Kirche*; and a turkey was *ein calecutischer, indianischer, oder welscher Hahn*. Here we have the earliest G name for our turkey, later succeeded by *der Truthahn oder Truthuhn, die Trut-henne, die Truthühner*.

The early colonists brought this species to eastern North America, thus returning the species to the New World after a European stay of two centuries. Here the colonists found the wild cousin of their domestic bird and gave it the same name. Maize or Indian corn made the same long journey from the New World to the Old, and back again to the New at about the same time, hence the name "Welschkorn." More select varieties were returned to the New World during the colonial period and the dialect name has persisted to this day.

Names like "Türckies" for turkeys and "Türckisch Korn" have appeared in both G and so-called dialect writings in the New World, but "Welschhinkel" and "Welschkorn" are the true and common PG names. It should be noted that the E "turkey" is less accurate than the PG name. "Welsch" with its original reference to the Italian, Spanish and French especially, shows that our people had at least a vague idea as to just where these things had come from, and by what routes.

The wild turkeys were captured by trapping. Indians and colonists would build a trap or structure of brush near the feeding grounds and then scatter corn in a trail leading to the shelter. The turkey would follow the trail of corn, with head to the ground, and would not see the trap until it was too late. The eggs of the wild turkey were also taken for food or for incubation at home. Some cross-breeding resulted as the wild birds of the woods

came in contact with the domestic birds of the poultry-yard and the open fields.*

"Der Guller" and "der Gullerie" were common names for the gobbler that strutted around the barnyard. Children liked to imitate his call with their own "Guller—guller—guller," shaking themselves as they gave it, thus mocking the gobbler and making him answer with more of his own. When the teasing came to be more than the old gobbler could stand, a frontal attack usually sent the children flying out of the barnyard, or over the barnyard fence.

CRANES, RAILS AND COOTS

We have already quoted from early writings which indicate that the cranes, now very rare, once were common along the Atlantic coast during migration. This probably accounts for the survival of a dialect form of the E "crane" in names for long-legged wading birds. We cannot say whether the PG "Krane" or "Grane" (pronounced like the E crane) came from the E or from the G *Kranich*, but the quality of the vowels in the dialect form would seem to indicate that it was taken over from the English, rather than from the German. The reader may decide this for himself.

The rails are retiring and hard to see, and we have no dialect name for them.† None of the G names like *die Ralle*, *der Wiesenläufer*, *der Wachtel-könig*, *der Teichhuhn*, have appeared in the dialect.

* The muscovy duck, *Cairina moschata*, native from Mexico to Brazil and widely domesticated, took the G name of *türkische Ente* in Europe, but here simply a dialect form of the E name, "Schgovi."

† Except that Beck says the PG name "Riedvoggel," (from the E, "reed-bird"), a name for the bobolink, is sometimes used in Lancaster County for the rails, the *Virginia* and *Sora*.

American Coot, *Fulica americana a.*

“Die Schtinkent” or “Schdinkend”—Beck gives this name and writes it as “Shdink Ent”; he says it is so called on account of its foul odor on being drawn. It is sometimes shot in mistake for a wild duck.

“Der Wasserhund”—Beck also gives this name. It probably comes from the G name for the European coot, a water-hen or moor-hen, or any water fowl,—*der Wasserhuhn*. The G names, *Rohrhahn*, *Rohrhuhn*, *Rohrhänlein*, do not appear in the PG.

“Die Dronent”—Brendle reports this name from Emerald, Lehigh County,—“because its flesh has the taste of whale oil.” “Dron,” “drun” are the names Lambert gives for whale oil.

PLOVERS

Killdeer, *Oxyechus vociferus v.*

“Der Gillerie” (Berks, Bucks, Lanc., Leh.)—this name is the most popular and appears more frequently than any other for this species. Lins gives it as “Gileree” and Horne gives “Gilere.”

“Gilleri” (Berks, Bucks, Lanc., Leh.)—a shortened form of the above, almost as popular. Lambert and Hoffman give this form of the name.

“Gillri”—a shorter form, heard occasionally in Lehigh County.

Gilderie” (Berks, Lanc., Mont.)—the most common name of this type.

“Gildrie”—a shortened form of the above, heard in Lehigh and Montgomery Counties.

“Gildri”—a shorter form, heard occasionally in the same counties.

"Gilderi"—not easily distinguished from "Gildri" and "Gillieri." Lambert gives "Gilderi" and "Gildier" in the list of words which he thinks are wholly or partly E in origin.

"Gillrie"—reported from western Berks by Arthur D. Graeff.

Some have claimed that these names for this species are all derived from the E name which is based on the bird's cry, "kill-dee, kill-dee, kill-dee." This cry, sometimes sad and complaining, again sharp and fretful, is so significant that we believe the PG names developed independently of the E name. There is no good reason why our people should have taken over and modified the E name in such a way as to leave us with the above dialect forms, when a suggestion, more immediate and direct, confronted them in their daily life at home and on the fields. What is more, it seems that the dialect forms are just as accurate and faithful representations of the bird's cry as is the E name itself. The suggestion that our people borrowed and "corrupted" the E name in this case seems to show disfavor and is unjust.

We cannot say which was the earliest form, "Gillerie" or "Gilderie." Several persons have warned us about the name "Gilderie" and its variants, saying that the use of the "d" is not quite accurate and that it might be better not to use it in spelling. However, the sound of "d" has appeared so frequently and so prominently that we have put it down. It does appear that forms with the "d" in it have occurred more frequently in Lancaster County, and from this county have come the warnings that the use of this consonant is not reliable. This confirms our suspicion that "Gillerie," or some form of it, is the original, and that the forms of "Gilderie" are more or less corrupt variants of the original. Further proof

of this is the fact that forms of "Gilderie," though common in almost all sections of the PG region, do not occur as frequently as forms of the other. It may be supposed, therefore, that the "ll" did at some times and in some places become "ld" in rapid and careless speech and under the influence of E spelling and pronunciation. Others may argue that the reverse actually happened, and the reader will have to decide for himself.

The dialect name for this species has appeared in many sayings. In Lehigh County they spoke of a barren hillside, the usual habitat of the killdeer, as "so 'n Gilleri-Hiwwel." A poor farm, with mostly hilly land, on which only the poorest crops were raised, was described as "nix wie Gilleri-Hiwwel!" The same expression was used in Berks County and a barren place or farm was spoken of as "en Blatz wu die Gillerie nat lewe kenne." In Lancaster County such a farm was referred to as "en Gillerie-Bauerei," not good for much more than to have the killdeer run around on it! The common goldenrods, growing on barren wastes and poor land, were sometimes called "die Gilleri-Blumme" (pl.).

In Lehigh County we have heard the expression, "so darr wie en Gilleri," perhaps because the bird appeared to be frail, had long legs and gave the appearance of having a long neck. This saying is not quite fair, and neither is the expression, "so 'n Gilleri-Hals!" Graeff has reported that in western Berks the expression, "en Schtadt-Gillrie," was used for "a dude who puts on airs." We have heard the same sort of thing, "er hott geguckt wie en Gilleri," used in speaking of an awkward or foolish person, one "all dressed up with no place to go," a person with his head up in the air, or one rushing aimlessly through life. If a person was short on deeds but given to much speaking, it was said, "Er hott der Kopp

in d'r Haeh katt un hott gegrische wie en Gilleri!" Children were frightened by calling attention to the melancholy and, at times, piercing cry of this bird,—“der Gilleri grickt dich!” This same expression was used more frequently in reference to the whip-poor-will, sometimes in reference to the crow, loon and turkey vulture.

“Der Reggevoggel”—Lambert gives this name (spelling it “Rejjevojjel”) for a plover. Lins and Horne do the same thing, but Hoffman makes a correction and says it is the name for the cuckoo. Brendle has reported this name as current in the vicinity of Green Lane, and Stump has reported it from Berks County. Some years ago, before the writer knew that this name was used for the killdeer, he made a note that the cry of this bird seemed to be more prominent on cloudy or stormy days and before the rain came. The name is not inappropriate. The bird's erratic, crazy flight and its wild cry are so suggestive that one can readily understand why it should be given this name.

It should be noted here that the E name for this bird comes from the Latin, *pluere*, to rain, and that an Old French word, *plovier*, properly means “rainbird.” The European lapwing, a green, crested bird of the plover family, sometimes called “pewit” (a name that must not be confused with our “pewee”), was one of the “rainbirds” of Europe. The G names for this bird were *der Kibitz* (also *Kiebitz*, *Kiwitz*, *Kibbitz*, *Giftz*) and *der Regenpfeifer*. Sometimes these two G names with *der Regenvogel* were used generally for all European plovers. The hoopoe (*der Wiedehopf*) and the laughing gull (*die Lachmöve*, sometimes also called *Kiebitz*, *pewit*), both screaming birds, were also some of the European “rainbirds.” G names like *die Brachhenne* and *der Saathuhn* (for the European golden plover), *Steinwölzer* for the

turnstones, *Wannenweher* and even *Wannenahr* (also applied to the kestrel) for the lapwing, along with *Kiebitz* and *Wiedehopf*, have not appeared in the dialect, for they represented unique European species.

WOODCOCK, SNIPE, SANDPIPERS

The birds of this family go by a great variety of local E names. In the dialect a few names must do for all. The general name is "die Schneppe" (pl. "die Schneppe"), a name which Lambert gives for both snipe and woodcock, and which also includes the sandpipers. Lambert also gives "Wasservogel" as a name for any "water-bird" and this would probably include the snipe, the sandpipers and any other shore or wading bird. From Berks, Bucks, Lancaster, Lehigh and Montgomery Counties we have reports that the name of "Schneppe" is used for any small, long-legged wading bird; that it is applied to all shore and water birds, except the herons, and their kind. Sometimes the name "Wasserschneppe" is used in a similar way for the snipe, the common sandpipers, and any others of this family. Autenrieth gives the word "schnebb" for the G *Schnepfe*.

Woodcock, *Philohela minor*

"Schneppe" (or "Schnebb") is the general and common name. Stoudt gives "die gross Schneppe" and Beck gives "die gross brau Schneppe," definitely for this species. Brendle has also given us the name, "die rot Schneppe," and this descriptive name from the Finland section, "der Schneppe,—er geht arrick hoch in die Haeh un kummt runner am seeme Blatz." The latter statement refers to the remarkable mating evolutions which this strange and now rare bird carries on during the night and in the early morning of spring.

Wilson's Snipe, *Capella delicata*

"Schnepp" again is the common name. Several informants have given "die gross Schnepp" for this species, the jacksnipe as they called it, but it appeared that most of them were thinking of the plump woodcock which, as some hunters have said, is so fat and heavy that it bursts upon falling on the ground. Beck gives the name, "die Englisch Schnepp." We have no other dialect names which might indicate that any appreciable difference was noted between the two species. No special note seems to have been made of the "Aeolian music" made by this species during the mating season.

The G names for the European species show that more of a distinction was made between the two birds. The European woodcock was *die Waldschnepfe*, *die Holz-schnepfe*, *die Buschschnepfe*, *das Waldhuhn*. The European snipe took the simple name, *die Schnepfe*, sometimes *Wasserschnepfe*. Helffrich, in his *Lebensbild*, speaks of a hunting trip to the headwaters of the Jordan Creek, where a great number of birds were taken in the swampy bottom-lands, but it is not quite clear whether his use of "Schnepfen" means snipe or woodcock. In another place, however, he mentions "Schnepfen und Becassinen" and that would make it appear that he was thinking of woodcock in the former instance, and of snipe in the latter. In both the German and French, *Becassine* is the name for snipe, while the French *Becasse* is the name for the woodcock.*

* Gleditsch gives the names *Feigen-schnepfe*, *Feigen-drossel*, *Feigenpicker* for a bird that feeds upon figs when they are ripe, and in this connection gives the E name "Beccafigo," a small European warbler, said to eat figs, much esteemed for table use and snared in great numbers in autumn. The root in the G probably is *becken* or *pecken*, to peck and pick, and *Beck* for beak or bill.

Upland Plover, *Bartramia longicauda*

This is a shy bird of the upland pastures. It was once a common and popular game bird, but it is now very rare. In late summer, after the harvest, hunters would ride out into the stubble fields, on horseback and in wagons, to approach these birds more closely and to get better shots at them. The birds, after feeding in the fields, would be so fat and plump that they burst when they landed on the ground after being shot. Beck says that this "plover's wild chromatic of May, its mellow triple-tongue of the July moon, and its graceful figure standing on a fence post or driving high above the stubble, were formerly features, as prominent as they were picturesque, in the central townships" of Lancaster County. "It was not uncommon as late as 1900," he says, "to find 300-400 birds within a favored square mile, and the plover was then a famous gamebird among the keener and more active sportsmen." When landing on their perch, usually a post or stump, they would stretch their wings high over their backs, then slowly let them fall and gently fold them. This, said an old hunter, was a good field mark, and their spirited whistle of "whip-whip-whee-ee-ee-ou-u" was a sound never to be forgotten.

"Es Feldhinkel" (Bucks, Berks, Lanc., Leh., Mont.)—this is the common name for the species. Lambert gives this name for the plover, the quail and the prairie chicken, and it is used in this general sense also. The writer once heard a farmer in Berks County call an upland plover, perching on a fence post at the far end of a stubble field, a "prairie chicken."

"Die langbeeniche Feldhinkel"—Beck gives this name in the plural, which distinguishes this species from the quail and grouse of the open fields.

Several informants have given the name "Reggevoggel" to include also this species. Lambert, of course, gives this for a plover, and so have the others mentioned in connection with the killdeer. McAtee lists such local E names as lapwing, flying-colt, wild mare, and (for Pennsylvania) the names regan-fegle, regen-vögel, rain-bird. Some have supposed that "der Vogel heilt und lammediert fer Regge." This would apply to the killdeer rather than to this species, but the quality of the Bartramian's call is such that it can be considered suggestive of many things as it floats through the air of a hot and dry August afternoon, or as it comes to you from afar on a late summer's night.

Spotted Sandpiper, *Actitis macularia*

"Die Schnep" (pl. "Schneppe") and "die Wasserschnepp" (pl. "die Wasserschneppe")—the common names for all sandpipers in Berks and Lehigh. Beck says that the name of "Schnep" is used for this species, for the yellow-legs, the greater yellow-legs, the solitary sandpiper, and for all the other less common species of meadow and mudbank.

"Budderschnepp"—a name given by Beck.

"Dreckschnepp"—another name by Beck.

"Yuckschnepp"—from "yucke," "yuckse," meaning to bob up and down, to jerk and fidget. This name comes from the vicinity of Denver, Lancaster County, a suitable name for this familiar, tilting figure along our ponds and streams.*

"Der Tiltarsch"—a colorful name for the "tiltie" as it runs along the sides of our ponds, pauses and then bobs and bows and "teeters" with enthusiasm, after which it runs again, repeating this performance several

* Reported by M. Russell Wehr, Philadelphia, Pa.

times, then flying away in a wide circle and returning to the starting point.*

“Der glee Schnepf” (pl. “die gleene Schnepf”) and “der glee Wasserschnepf” (pl. “die gleene Wasserschnepf”)—Lehigh County names for all sandpipers and for the “tiltie” in particular. This would also apply to the least sandpiper which we have seen a number of times in Lehigh County.

With the exception of *Wasserschnepfe*, none of the G names have appeared in the dialect: *Brachvogel*, *Brachhuhn*, *Dickfusz*, *Brachschnepfe*, for the curlews; *Wasserläufer*, *Uferschnepfe*, *Strandläufer*, *Strandpfeifer*, *Strandreiter* for the sandpipers; *der grosze Brachvogel* (from *Brach* for fallow, unplowed land where curlews and plovers often live and breed, far from water) for the plover and stone curlews; *der kleine Brachvogel* (also *Kiebitz*, *Regenpfeifer*, *Steinwölzer*) for the dotterel; *die Regenschnepfe* for the green shank, an Old World species resembling our greater yellow-legs; *Watenvogel*, *Watvogel*, *Stelzenläufer*, *Stelzvogel*, *Stelzevögel* for any long-legged wading birds; *der gemeine Trappe*, *Trappgans* for the bustard, an Old World bird related to the plovers and cranes (the great bustard, formerly of Britain, Europe’s largest bird). All of these names, of course, applied to European species, some of which had relatives in the New World.†

GULLS AND TERNS

The gulls are birds of the sea, visiting our bays and harbors, sometimes going inland during the breeding

* Reported by Claude Butterwick, Sellersville, and A. Paul Gerhart, Telford, Pa.

† Did the name “Trappe” for this large bird of the crane family have anything to do with the naming of the village of Trappe and the surrounding countryside?

season. Franklin's gull is a bird of the Mississippi Valley, probably the one to which Loskiel referred. We have no dialect names for these birds except the general terms, "Seeveggel" and "Wasserveggel." Our people had little opportunity to observe these species in earlier years, but in more recent years "sea gull" has become the generally accepted name. G names like *Seemöve*, *Mewe*, *das Gänschen*, for the gulls, and *Seeschwalbe*, *Meerschwalbe*, for the terns, have not appeared in the PG.

AUKS AND PUFFINS

These birds are unknown in the PG region. They are great swimmers and divers, some resembling the grebes and loons, but using their wings rather than their feet, and very awkward when on land. G names for the now extinct great auk and for the razor-billed auk are *der Alk*, *der Papageitaucher*. G names for the puffins are *Larventaucher*, *Sturmtaucher*, *Sturmvogel*, *See-ente*, *Tauchente*. These names do not occur in the dialect.



(Illustration from *Erstes Deutsches Lesebuch für Schule und Haus*, Herausgeben von J. E. Hertzog, neue und verbesserte Ausgabe. Philadelphia, 1879, Ig. Kohler. From the library of Henry S. Borneman.)

PIGEONS AND DOVES

Most forms of our domestic pigeons are the descendants from a domesticated variety of the Old World rock

dove, *Columba livia*. Some of them bear a resemblance to their ancestor, while others of various colors and types are related to the special varieties bred by fanciers in both the Old World and the New from stock all over the world. In the G the common pigeon, in all the forms that have come from the wild pigeons of the Old World, takes the name of *die gewöhnliche Taube*. Specialized names in the G are such as these: *die wilde Taube* for any wild pigeon or dove; *Holz-taube* for the wood pigeon or any wild species; *Stock-taube* for a stock pigeon; *Sperlingstaube* for a ground pigeon; *Bergtaube* for a small wood pigeon; *Ringel-taube* for a ring dove.

The PG name for the domestic pigeon is "die Daub" (pl. "die Dauwe"); the male is "der Daubert" and the squab is simply "en yungi Daub." The same species is just as well known by the name of "die Scheierdaub" (pl. "die Scheierdauwe"), because they live and nest at the barn and other out-buildings. Flocks of pigeons on the roof of a barn, flying about the buildings or feeding in the fields, are still a common sight in many places. They are made to shift for themselves, reproduce freely, and are not molested unless their number becomes too great and then the young are captured before they leave the nest and the older ones are shot. Such a flock usually displays a great variety of color and sometimes also a variety in type. Similar flocks are frequently seen in the parks and around the public buildings in the larger towns and cities, and about the old sheds and barns in our villages.

The writer remembers hearing the name "Dauberich" for the male pigeon and "Daubche" for a squab, but cannot recall when or where. Autenrieth gives the name "duwe" for the G *Taube* and "duwerich" for the G *Tauber*, also "krugse" for *der Lockruf der Tauben*,

and "krugser" for *Tauberich*. Stoudt, in his list of names, gave the name of "Ringdaub" for the "ring pigeon."

Eastern Mourning Dove, *Zenaidura macroura carolinensis*

"Die Daddeldaub"—this name, given by Lins, Hoffman and Lambert, is the common PG name for the so-called "turtle-dove."

"Dardeldaub"—the second name given by Lambert, also given by Horne ("Dord'ldoub") and Beck. Several persons from Lancaster County have given this form of the name, but a few of them cautioned the writer that this was a corrupted form and that "Daddeldaub" was the better and more accurate name. Both forms come from the G *Turteltaube*.

"Der Reggevoggel" (Berks, Lanc., Leh.)—the sweet, tender love-song of the male, given with such depth of feeling, sometimes quite mournful and then again as light and spirited as the spring itself, has probably earned this name for the bird. The call is often confused with that of the cuckoo, and a number of persons have told the writer that "Reggevoggel" meant the "rain dove.—the cuckoo!" Brendle, in his list, gives the name of "Lockdaub" for the cuckoo, meaning a "dove" that calls or summons the rain, its mate and so forth. The cuckoo is probably at fault and his reputation has been handed to the "turtle-dove" which is much more interested in his mate than in the weather.

The dove has occupied a place of honor in the lore of many peoples since the day it became a messenger of peace by returning to the ark with an olive branch to show that the wrath of God was stayed and that the flood was at an end. The turtle-dove played an import-

ant part in the sacrificial system of the Hebrews. Solomon referred to both "turtle" and "dove" in his song. The Bible contains many other references, such as: "O that I had wings like a dove . . . Thou hast doves' eyes . . . My dove, let me see thy countenance . . . I did mourn as a dove . . . Ephraim is like a silly dove . . . They shall tremble as a dove . . . He saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove . . . harmless as doves . . . as the doves fly to their windows . . . her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves." To the Hebrews it was a symbol of purity in the purification ceremonies and to Christians it was the symbol of the Holy Spirit.

In medieval times it was thought that the Devil walked the earth in many forms, but the dove was one form he could not assume, for it was the messenger of God. Among the ancient Babylonians the dove was sacred to Ishtar, the many-breasted goddess of fertility and fecundity, and the Greeks identified the bird with the goddess of love, Aphrodite, whose chariot was drawn by doves. The Romans related the doves to Venus because of their prolific breeding and affectionate habits.

The ancient Greeks considered the dull, slate-grey rock pigeons as sacred to the Three Fates or Parcae, women who spun the thread of each man's life and then cut it off when the proper time came. Under some such influence, the dove was related to the destiny of man and became a kind of funeral symbol. Long a symbol of peace, purity, sweet temper, marital fidelity, love and fertility, it also became a symbol of sorrow and death. Some said that you could not die easily if there was a pigeon feather in your mattress, perhaps because the dove was a symbol of life and growth, but to others the dove's appearance was an omen of evil, and among our people the appearance of white doves at a window,

perched on the sill or trying to get into the house, was an omen of death. The whole range of human life and experience was under the influence of this bird in the lore of many peoples, something which, so it appears, cannot be said for any other bird.

Passenger Pigeon, *Ectopistes migratorius*

"En wildi Daub" (pl. "die wilde Dauwe")—this is the one and only name given for this extinct species by those who know and remember. G names like *Wandertaube*, *Zugtaube* for the species, and *Wandervogel*, *Zugvogel* for any bird of passage, have not appeared in the dialect. The singular form of the dialect name is rarely heard, for a person rarely spoke of "en wildi Daub" or "die wild Daub." In this case it was "die wilde Dauwe," for no other name could encompass the enormity of this singular phenomenon on the early American scene. It was here when the fathers arrived on these shores. It shook the earth for a while and then, thanks to man's greed, it was gone. Here is a name to be reckoned with: "Die wilde Dauwe!" *

Champlain saw them in great numbers on the islands off the coast of Maine in 1605. Great flocks of pigeons swept down upon the ripened corn and grain in the Plymouth colony in 1643, and famine threatened the inhabitants. Five years later the pigeons proved a blessing to the colony, for they came after the harvest had been

* Ducks, geese, turkeys, pigeons and chickens are usually spoken of in the plural number, hence "die wilde Dauwe," "die Welschhinkel," "die Ende," "die Gens." Singular forms are more rare, like "es wild Endche," "es wild Welschhinkel." Many birds are spoken of in terms of numbers, flocks or flights. This was the only appropriate way of referring to the wild pigeons which were always seen in the mass, while our mourning doves are usually seen in pairs

gathered and great numbers were taken for food daily. Lawson, in his *History of Carolina*, speaks of the great numbers there in 1701-02, breaking down the trees where they roosted, clearing the countryside of all food, and leaving scarcely one acorn on the ground. Kalm, Loskiel and almost every other early chronicler speak of the incredible numbers of these birds and of their unending slaughter.

In migration, the flights of the passenger pigeon extended over vast areas of the countryside, and their passage would last for several days, sometimes for a week or longer. Beck quotes this record from the Moravian archives, a note made by the pastor of the Lititz congregation: "March 26, 1780. At the sunrise service of Easter the brightness of the lovely morning was suddenly eclipsed by the passing overhead of countless multitudes of wild pigeons flying with their wonted swiftness from south to north."*

Alexander Wilson describes a breeding place which he found in Kentucky, about 1806, as being several miles in width and more than forty miles in length. He found more than a hundred nests on one tree, the ground littered with branches broken from the trees, and droves of hogs fattening on the eggs, squabs and older birds which had fallen or been beaten to the ground. He saw them in flight for several hours one afternoon, flying swiftly and in a mass so deep and wide and long that the heavens seemed everywhere crowded. The flock which rolled over him that day was more than a mile wide and an estimated two hundred and forty miles in length,—a living, moving mass of an estimated two billion, two hundred and thirty million, two hundred and seventy-two thou-

* Given in *A Chapter on the Ornithology of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, from which we quote frequently.

sand pigeons. Wilson calculated that such a flock would consume seventeen million, four hundred and twenty-four thousand bushels of nuts and acorns every day.

John James Audubon saw them in Kentucky in the fall of 1813, a flight that continued undiminished for three days, filling the air and obscuring the light of noon-day as though there were an eclipse of the sun. He saw all the people take up arms against them and reports that for weeks the inhabitants fed on no other flesh than that of the pigeons. He estimated that the flock which passed overhead for three hours, going at the rate of a mile a minute, contained one billion, one hundred and fifteen million, one hundred and thirty-six thousand birds, and that a flock of this size would consume eight million, seven hundred and twelve thousand bushels of food a day. And this was but a small part of a three days' flight!

Watson, in his *Annals*, says that the wild pigeons were innumerable and that flocks passing over Philadelphia would obscure the sun for several hours. Citizens would go up on the housetops and kill pigeons by the hundreds, simply beating them down with stones, sticks and poles. Dozens of them would be killed at a single shot. In the early years there used to be some excellent pigeon shooting in "Penn's woods," westward of Broad Street, and a single shot from an old flint-lock, fired into a tree, would sometimes give a man a load of birds. Pigeons were brought into the city by the cartload and a penny would buy as many as a man could carry home alone. The pigeons were unsuspecting and not very shy, and many were taken in traps baited with grain and in nets with a stool pigeon as a decoy. A man from Carlisle reported in 1782 that the pigeons were snared twice a year and that he saw fourteen dozen caught in a net

at one time. A sea captain in Philadelphia at a time when a flight was in progress, later went home to Ireland and described what he had seen, but his friends called him a liar and the name of "Captain Pigeon" was his reward.

Early in the last century indications of the gradual disappearance of the birds in the East began to attract some attention. Their numbers grew steadily less and their flights less frequent in the face of a diminishing food supply, restricted breeding places, and unabated slaughter. Beck says that the last great flight took place in March or early April, 1846, and quotes the following description of it by Abraham R. Beck: "It was about 12:30 o'clock of a dull cloudy day when the cry came, 'The pigeons are flying!' I ran out to see a vast flight passing northward. The western edge of the flock was approximately overhead. It extended eastward to the horizon. There were four or five pigeons to the square yard of sky—enough to cast a distinct shadow had there been sunshine. They flew in approximately this formation continuously until about 4:30. A mighty detachment left the main flock to settle for the night in nearby woodland, where the mass of their piling numbers broke branches from the trees. The birds were low enough to be within range of the crude shotguns of the village [Lititz] and a number were shot."

William Helffrich, in his *Lebensbild*, speaks of a trip to Lancaster in March, 1847, and gives this story:

"Das schöne Frühjahrswetter liess uns ein Vergnügen erleben, das mir aus meiner frühen Jugend nicht fremd, aber doch, schon seit Jahren nicht mehr geworden war, nämlich den Flug der wilden Zugtauben. Die Tauben waren auf den südlichen Winterplätzen aufgebrochen und auf ihrem Zuge nach

Canada. Da plötzlich änderte sich das Wetter, ein heftiger Schneesturm setzte ein und machte die Tauben auf ihrem weiter westlichen Zuge irre; und nun kamen sie in unzählbaren Truppen in unsere Gegend. Die Stadt war voll, Berg und Thal schwärmte, droben am Galgenberg kommt ein Flug nach dem andern und liess sich nieder, bis wirklich die Bäume beladen waren. Man konnte sagen: Berg und Thal, Feld und Wald, ja die Luft war voll Tauben. Vier Tage lang schwärmte der Besuch im Lande. Dass puffte und paffte aber! an allen Ecken und Enden knallten die Flinten. Kein Wunder, dass die armen Tauben bei solchem Empfang, so schnell die Luft rein wurde und sie den Irrthum ihres Weges einsahen, ein solch böses Quartier eilig verliessen. Sie waren verschwunden, wie sie gekommen waren, und suchten besseres Logis. Es war dies das letzte mal, dass ich die Zugtaube in solchen Mengen in Pennsylvanien sah."

The glory of the passenger pigeon was departing from our land! Helffrich implies that lesser numbers straggled into the region for some time after 1847, but the mass of them was concentrating in the West. The flocks were hunted and hounded across the country, from state to state, and no one offered them shelter. Beck reports that a number were taken in Lancaster County in the eighteen seventies, and that they appeared irregularly during the next decade. He believes that the last one was killed in the county in September, 1891. Beck tells of a small reappearance of the species in Lancaster County in late August and early September, 1910, and bases this statement on the independent observations of four men who knew the species well in the time when it was abundant. The birds were seen in the places

where they once roosted in great numbers and Beck thinks this was "probably the last authentic record of the birds in North America." The last passenger pigeon died in the Cincinnati Zoological Park in 1914. The writer has not found anyone who remembers having seen the bird, but many old people have recalled vividly the stories which they heard their fathers and mothers tell of the day when these birds filled the sky. Now the passenger pigeon is but a memory. Man was its merciless destroyer and our land is the poorer because of this wanton destruction.

The Reverend Eli Keller, whose dialect poem, "Wilda Dauwa," will appear in a later chapter, gives this account of the way wild pigeons were caught in the northern part of Northampton County:

"These pigeons are for good reasons called wild pigeons, not only to distinguish them from the tame varieties, but because it is really a hard matter to 'take them.' And yet, I tell you, *we did take them*,—by the hundred, and by the thousand! So, also, did many others on all sides of us. The market at Easton was often so gorged that we could hardly get a cent a piece.

"First of all we needed pigeons of the same kind, and those *well trained* for the work of catching. There, just back of the spring-house and right over the little run, we had built our pigeon-house. Its size was 4 x 8 feet, and full six feet high. Towards the morning sun it had slats to admit plenty of light as well as heat. A happier family of pigeons than we had, you never did see! Buckwheat was their favorite food, but not much of it was given, to avoid fattening. To this they added, themselves, a goodly proportion of sand and gravel which they

picked up along the running water. This mixture aided digestion, and kept them healthy. These cooped up pigeons were not a little trouble, and during the year a considerable bill of expense. Their use was simply to decoy the pigeons we wished to take.

"We used them in a two-fold way, as 'stool pigeons.' These were sent up, first, when the coming flocks were yet a considerable way off. A good flier rose naturally till his string (about 20 yards long) was taken up; feeling this, he came back as he went up, and never fluttered when once down. This was simply to draw the attention of those coming. In sending up such a sentinel we could at once see whether we had success. In a moment, in that case, they lowered their heads and prepared to come down. If the first was not successful, a second and even a third was quickly sent after.

"Pigeons, when on the ground and seeking food, all move in the same direction. Those falling back, not to lose their chances, fly continually and eagerly across their leaders and thus change front. This movement must also be imitated by the stool-pigeons and is the most difficult part of the business. The stools are differently made, but the common object is to raise a pigeon by means of a long string fastened to it and to let it down again in a way that resembles as nearly as possible a pigeon flying a few steps. Seeing this movement of the stool-pigeon, the coming pigeons are at once (if at all) attracted.

"To train these pigeons took time as well as great and constant care. As a rule, they were blindfolded, so as not to be easily disturbed by their surroundings. This was done by running a fine silk thread

(with a needle) through the lower eye-lids, and fastened across their heads. A very few did all that was required with open eyes; but those that did so made themselves famous by it. To pay from \$5 to \$10 apiece in those days for a good stool-pigeon, especially of this sort, was not considered too high a price.

“Another thing was to have a large and good net. Our own was made of the best linen, and thoroughly ‘homemade.’ We raised the flax ourselves, which was of extra quality, and prepared with all due care. An ordinary net was about 14 x 25 feet in size, and the meshes an inch and a half. The net was surrounded by a thin rope of the best make. The one long side was fastened to the ground with wooden pins, and the other to a rope, say 100 feet in length. By means of that rope, extended on both sides of the net and fastened to two high and flexible stakes, the net itself could be flung to its full length in the twinkling of an eye. This being done, the net was carefully folded up, laid along in a narrow gutter and covered up with a little chaff or stubble. One stout pull at the long rope in the direction of the hooks, would ‘set off’ the net, and that with a rush!

“Another requisite was a hut (for concealment) placed at the end of the long rope. This was mostly made of evergreens, but also at times with the branches of other trees, well covered with leaves. It was about six feet square and nearly the same in height. The contents of it were quite simple. A pigeon-basket (all covered, with a little door at one side), a few ears of corn, and some buckwheat or other small grain in a bag. The grain was, as cir-

cumstance required, scattered on the 'bed' of the net. The corn, by its size and color, drew notice more readily. The smaller grain detained the pigeons, and thus gathered them almost in a heap!

"The great time for catching pigeons with the net was in the fall of the year,—during October, and even November. In the spring time they came in large flocks, and by their coming announced that summer was near. They were hailed with shouts of 'Pigeons! Pigeons!' This greeting as they passed, sounded loud and long, almost from every hillside and echoed out from the valleys. Unless they were very hungry, their flight was high, and their little eyes seemed to peer upward and onward, rather than downward. The work of the summer was before them, and so quickly did they come from the far south that it was no strange thing to find in their craws grains of rice still undigested. Besides this, even when they did come to the ground, they were very shy and hard to take.

"Here and there in the large woods they settled down and went to nest building. Indeed, it was surprising to see how soon these wanderers took to a settled life, how speedily their simple nests were built, eggs laid and hatched, and even the young reared—two in each nest. In those days the wild pigeons were held in such respect and esteem, that they were rarely disturbed whilst raising their young. No special laws favored them, nor indeed were they in need of such protection. But the fall of the year, when the young were even larger and of better parts than the old, was the grand time to take them with the net.

"Soon after the break of day and long before sun-

rise, we were out and ready for the fray. In the morning they were hungry, and it was at times no difficult task in a few hours to take even dozens of them. The process of catching was indeed very simple. When a coming flock was within several hundred yards, the 'fliers' were sent up. Then the 'stool-pigeon' was 'played'—at first as high as the stool allowed, then lower and still lower until the first of the coming pigeons were almost down to it. As soon as a flock was attracted, they lowered their heads, threw backward their wings and came in a graceful circle to alight. If they suspected danger they repeated the circles, and if they came near enough to the ground and were flying towards the spring of the net, the skilfull catcher, for fear of their final escape, took them at times 'on the wing.'

"All being right, they came down thick and fast—one flock often attracting another. The catcher, as soon as the pigeons arrive on the 'bed,' drops the string of the stool pigeon, lays both hands with the bracing of his muscles on the long rope and with a mighty pull 'springs the net.' At this, all hands rush forward and go to work. Every captured pigeon has the back of its neck quickly crushed in with the thumb,—a little flutter, a quiver, and its pigeon life is gone. The beauty of it is that in catching them thus scarcely a feather on their little backs is harmed. The bloodless butchery being done, the net is raised and re-set; the stray feathers carefully picked up; the 'fliers' brought in. Very soon all is ready for another haul, big or little as the case may be.

"What beautiful birds they were! There were the red-breasted males, purple and copper colors won-

derfully blended. There, also, the pale-breasted females,—white and gray, so modestly combined! Their gray backs, wings and tails, all alike, only that the young, being mixed with lighter colors, were beautifully dappled. Bright and far-reaching flocks came along. In the early rays of the morning sun their wings shone like silver. Their grand movements sounded like streams of water rushing through the air. To bring them within reach we did all we could!

“At another time, just at the moment when several hundred were on the descent, or even on the ‘bed’ already, busied in eating, some mishap drove them all away,—far more quickly than they had come. Some hunter in the nearby woods, not knowing of our bright prospects, or not heeding, discharged his gun. The stool-pigeon, hearing the sound of so many wings in the near air, as though made conscious of its sad captivity and treacherous work, set up a flutter as if for dear liberty. Often a pesky hawk swooped down for the prey and tore the faithful but hapless stool-pigeon to pieces.” *

Hunters, such as referred to by Keller, would lie in wait for the birds near sassafras and sour gum trees, the berries of which were looked upon as a favorite food of

* This account, wholly authentic, appeared in *The Guardian* of June, 1882. Eli Keller wrote it in the form of a conversation between an uncle and his nephews. The quotation is a shortened form of the original, with superfluous matter omitted. Keller, born in 1825, undoubtedly based this narrative on personal experiences. The many stories handed down to the older people of our time fully confirm what Keller has said. A number of reports, however, disagree with Keller at the point where he says that the pigeons were shy and hard to take. Forbush says that “the Passenger Pigeon was not a suspicious bird, as birds go; it was easily taken.”

the pigeons. One shot directed at a tree loaded with birds would often bring down more than a man could carry with both hands. Poole gives this report: "Prior to 1880 or 1881 the Passenger Pigeons resorted for several weeks each fall to the southwestern side of Never-sing Mountain, where the roosting multitudes spread from the site of the Highland House to the Tuberculosis Sanitorium. During flights the local gunners would take up a position on the open slopes of the mountain below and fire until their guns became hot. A large rock known as 'Pigeon Rock,' still a landmark in the middle of the Schuylkill River near that point, was so named from the fact that pigeons resorted to it to bathe and drink." *

The pigeons lived on the seeds of the oak, chestnut, beech, pine, hemlock and whatever grains, seeds or fruits they could find. The gradual disappearance of large stands of virgin timber during the past century, which deprived the large flocks of a ready food supply and of suitable breeding places, in part accounts for their extinction. †

* Earle L. Poole, "The Bird Life of Berks County, Pennsylvania," *Reading Public Museum and Art Gallery Bulletin*, No. 12, Reading, Pa., 1930.

† An extended account of the wild pigeon appeared in *Game Birds, Wild-fowl, and Shore Birds*, by Edward Howe Forbush. Much of this is quoted in *Birds of America*, by T. Gilbert Pearson and others, The University Society, Inc., 1917, and the Garden City Publishing Company, Inc., New York, 1936. The last-named volume and Frank M. Chapman's *Handbook of Birds of Eastern North America*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1932, are valuable additions to any bird-lover's library. The writer is indebted to these two fine volumes for many good things. Chapman's book is many an amateur's "Bible."

PARROTS AND PAROQUETS

It is generally believed that the Carolina paroquet, once abundant in the South and believed to have come north into Pennsylvania at times, is now an extinct species. The only members of the parrot family known to our people are those kept in captivity and sold in pet stores. The name, given by Lambert, Rauch and Hoffman and reported from all parts of the PG region, is "der Babbegoi." Horne gives it as "Bobigoi" The G name is *der Papagei*; Gleditsch gives *Papagoy*.

CUCKOOS

Yellow-billed Cuckoo, *Coccyzus americanus a.*

"Der Reggevoggel" (Berks, Bucks, Lanc., Leh., Monroe, Mont., North., Northumberland, York)—this bird is known far and wide as the "rainbird" or "rain-dove." The call of this bird is a sign and summons!

"Der Guckuck" (Lanc., Leh.)—Lins, Horne, Hoffman and Lambert. A number of persons, most of them in Lehigh, said that they never heard this name, only that of "Reggevoggel."

"Der Gucku" (Leh.)—also in Lambert.

"Der Kucku" (Berks, Bucks, Leh.)—probably just a dialect form of the E name, which is being used more and more.

"Die Lockdaub"—given by Brendle, suggesting that this bird is sometimes confused with the mourning dove, although the word "Daub" is here used in a more general sense, meaning simply "a bird," or a bird that resembles a dove.

"Der Lockvoggel"—"er lockt der Regge bei." Also "der Locker." Brendle reports that these forms, together with "Reggevoggel," were used in the Finland region. The bird calls or summons the rain!

"Der Raabvoggel"—this means "a bird of prey." Brendle reports this name as used in Lehigh County "because it lays its eggs in the nests of other birds and destroys their eggs." This species and the next are birds of mystery, but they are not parasitic like the cowbird and the European cuckoos, and do not lay their eggs in the nests of other birds. At least, they do not make a practice of it as do the other species mentioned! They nearly always build a nest of their own and raise their own family. This may be a case in which the informant saw the bird perform these acts and it is therefore worthy of special mention here. The clear name and description could hardly be based on careless observation or hasty judgment.

These birds slip in and out of the trees in such quiet and mysterious ways that one suspects they have been in some mischief. The black-billed cuckoo is often called a nest-robber, preying especially on robins' nests. Audubon says the same thing of the yellow-billed cuckoo, accuses it of robbing smaller birds of their eggs and sucking them, and calls it careless and cowardly. Because of the good these birds do in destroying tent caterpillars it is not quite fair to simply say that they are birds of prey like their European cousins, or parasitic like the cowbird.

"Der Rauwevogel" (Leb., Mont.)—this would hardly be a corruption of "Raabvogel." In truth, we wonder if "Raabvogel" is not a corruption of something like "Raubvogel" or "Raupvogel." The bird feeds on the tent caterpillar ("Raup," "Raub") and may clean out whole nests ("Rauweneschter," "Raupeneschter") of them.

"Der Oijeraussuckler"—given by Brendle, from Montgomery County, again accusing the bird of sucking

eggs.* Such names are notable. Either the people of a generation ago still remembered some things about birds in the old country, or they were keen observers of the bird life around them, some of them especially fascinated by birds of mysterious and secretive habits. We prefer to believe that the latter statement is nearer the truth in this case and that they saw something concerning this species which is worthy of note! Besides being given the reputation of a "weather prophet," the bird is given praise by one name and is condemned by another. They who saw this, and made so clear a distinction between the good and bad habits of a bird, were no "dumb Dutchmen"!

Black-billed Cuckoo, *Coccyzus erythrophthalmus*

This is the less common of the two species. It resembles the yellow-bill in habits and general appearance, but has a softer voice. None of the dialect names indicate that any distinction was made between the two species, and so the names must do for both. It is safe to say, however, that the yellow-bill is the one usually seen and named. Generally more prominent, its call is clearer, stronger and more striking, and its "clucking" earned for it the common name. Some have suggested that the yellow-bill has all the good habits, the black-bill all the bad ones! We cannot say!

The European cuckoo was the harbinger of spring and, being connected with the ancient spring festivals and Freya, goddess of love, he was the very spirit of spring itself. His coming and going was the calendar by which many an ancient European farmer planned his work. In England they used to say that "cuckoo oats

* "Oijer"—Lambert's spelling. "Oi'er" is the way we prefer to write it, for the sake of appearance and accuracy.

and woodcock hay make a farmer run away," which meant oats planted too late in the spring and hay made too late in the fall. The cuckoo brought the weather with him when he came in spring, and as he brought it so it would be.

The peasants of Europe believed that their happiness and prosperity depended upon the circumstances at the time the bird was heard for the first time. In France it was unlucky to hear it first "on an empty stomach." More common everywhere was the belief that a pocket full of money at the time meant increased wealth during the year ahead, while an empty purse presaged heavy losses and poverty. In PG lore the whip-poor-will usually is the bird of the springtime and the same belief has been attached to the hearing of his first call when he announces the advent of spring.

Among some Europeans it was believed that a child born on the day when the cuckoo was first heard would be lucky all its life. It was also customary among many people to roll on the grass when the call was heard,—a sort of health charm, of the same type as the sex acts of primitive savages by which they seek to give fertility to their crops. So, in the lore of our people, it is said that if you turn somersault when you hear the first call of the whip-poor-will, or if you roll down hill (on the grass!), you will not get a back-ache.*

*Simrock says that, in European lore, "the place where one heard the first cuckoo in spring (or where you saw the first swallow) was considered sacred. One stood still and dug in the turf, for such a spot had healing powers." Simrock also says that the European cuckoo was given the G name of *der Zeitvogel* because it was supposed to know the time allotted to men on earth. It could also tell how long a maiden would have to wait for the appearance of a suitor, and how many children she would have. See Karl Simrock, *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie mit Einschluß der nordischen*, second edition, Bonn, 1864.

Again the bird was thought of as being very wise, able to answer many questions about love, health, happiness and destiny. It was so busy answering questions about life, said the Danes, that it had no time to build a nest and was therefore compelled to lay its eggs in the nests of other birds. The bird's appearance every spring led to the belief that it was very old, even immortal, hence the saying, "as old as the cuckoo!" Some believed that it turned into a hawk in winter, thus continuing to prey upon other birds throughout that season as well. The Romans held that the male cuckoo was an adulterer (hence, cuckold), seducing the females of other species and compelling them to lay and hatch his eggs; the idea was reversed also, with the female cuckoo laying her eggs in the nest of another family. Another European legend has it that the cuckoo alone, of all creatures, worked on the day of the festival of the Virgin Mary in spring, when this was forbidden, and that the Holy Mother thereupon condemned the bird to be forever homeless, never to know a mother's love, and leaving her children to another's care.

The Germans said that the cuckoo sucked the eggs of other birds and that it could not sing until another bird's egg had been eaten. The work was generally that of magpies and jays, but the cuckoo was accused of it, for it was often seen with an egg in its bill when it transferred its own from the ground where it supposedly was laid to the nest of the host. Its plundering habits gave rise to the expression in G, "*hol's der Kuckuck!*" and in PG, "*dass dich der Kuckuck hett!*" Its omniscience led to the saying in G, "*dass mag der Kuckuck wissen!*" Its solitary habits, peculiar vocal powers and strange calls, irregular breeding, somewhat hawklike aspects in

form and color, bad manners and queer behavior gave the word "cuckoo" many new meanings.

The reputation of the Old World cuckoos has, therefore, been handed on in considerable measure to the cuckoos of the New World, with even our whip-poor-will taking a share. The ubiquitous "cuckoo clock" still has the Old World bird calling attention to the passage of time in man's short stay on earth. The New World bird has served a happier purpose and its voice in the heat of July and August has often brought welcome news. The clearest and best memory that the writer has of this bird is the way its unmistakable call was heard before a rain-storm and the way it called so insistently between the summer showers, when the air was hot and heavy, to say that more rain was on the way. A shower would come up on a summer's day, then the sun would appear for a time, leaving the air oppressively warm and humid. The cuckoo would begin his call and everyone knew that more showers were coming. So it would continue until evening and then the sky would clear. During the day it would be said, "Es gebt noch meh Regge! Harrich mol wie der Reggevoggel greischt!" At eventide, when the rains were gone, it was said, "Mer hott gewisst as es nat uffhellst darrich der Daag! Der Reggevoggel hott zu arrick gelockt die ganz Zeit!"

BARN OWLS

Barn Owl, *Tyto alba pratincola*

"Die Eil" (pl. "die Eile")—general name for all owls.

"Die Scheiereil" (pl. "die Scheiereile")—heard in Lancaster, Lehigh, Berks and Bucks Counties, but not too common a name. Screech owls are sometimes found in barns and sheds and then they are given this name.

The "monkey-face" is not as plentiful as the screech owl, or at least more secretive, and so it is easily overlooked. The next species is by far the most popular and most PG names are related to it.

"Die glee Eil" or "en gleeni Eil" (pl. "die gleene Eile")—any small owl, especially the screech owl, rarely the barn owl.

"Die weiss Eil"—so named for its white facial disk. Brendle heard this name in the Finland and South Whitehall communities, of Montgomery, Bucks and Lehigh Counties, and got this note from one of his informants: "One lived in a hollow tree eight years. In the morning when it looked out of its hole, we always knew that the weather would change within the next twenty-four hours."

"Die Nachteil"—a name given by Lambert for the screech owl and the nighthawk. It is a general name used for all owls, even for those which are diurnal in habit. A few persons gave this name for the barn owl, always mentioning other species in the same connection. If we had heard such a name as "Daageil" for the diurnal species, we would assume that this name, "Nachteil," was meant specifically for the nocturnal owls. Such not having been the case, "night owl" remains a general name for all species.

HORNED OWLS AND HOOT OWLS

Eastern Screech Owl, *Otus asio naevius*

"Es Schteekeizel" (pl. "die Schteekeizlicher," "Schteekeizelcher")—this is the most prominent of the many names given this little owl. The name has been heard



(Illustration from "*A-B-C-Buch für Sonntags-Schulen. Siebter Abdruck.*" German Publishing House of the Reformed Church, Cleveland, Ohio, 1876. The picture of the barn swallow at her nest, used elsewhere, is also taken from this book.)

in Berks, Bucks, Lancaster, Lehigh, Montgomery and Schuylkill Counties. *

"Es Schteekezli" (pl. "die Schteekezlin," "Schteekezlicher")—a form given by Lambert, used in Lancaster and York Counties. Also "es Schteekezle," in Lebanon County.

"Schteekeizelche" (pl. "die Schteekeizelcher")—Lehigh County.

"Der Schteekeizer"—Lehigh County name. The other forms of this name are all diminutives, but this one is not. This is a stronger and more impressive name, giving real personality to the bird.

"Schteekeisel" (Northampton)—this is the way it was written, with emphasis on the E "s" in the word. With this unique "Schteekeisel" we must also mention "Schdeekeitel," the name given by one Lehigh countian not born to the dialect.

"Die Schteeeil" or "Schdee-eil" (Berks, Leh., Schuylkill)—perhaps, like the forms above, from the G *Steinkauz*. Gleditsch also gives the G *Stein-eile* for a little owl living in or among rocks. The name may also have been suggested by the fact that these little owls sometimes lived in the stone piles and stone fences near orchards and woodlots.

"Die glee Eil" and "die glee Nachteil" (Berks, Lanc., Leh.).

"Die rot Eil" and "die glee rot Eil" (Bucks, Leh., Mont.)—the bird appears in gray and rufous phases of plumage. This name would refer to the latter phase.

"Nachteil" (Berks, Lanc., Leh., Northampton, York)

* There seems to be good reason for spelling the common name thus: "Schdeekeizel." Many have written it using "d" after "sch" because "d" is stronger than "t."

—the general name applied specifically to this species because it is the most prominent.

“Scheiereil” (Leh.)—it is often confused with the barn owl as it leaves its native haunts in the orchard or woodlot to seek shelter in a barn or shed. The passing of the old and hollow trees leaves this bird homeless.

“Die Katze-eil” (Schuylkill)—the ear tufts give this bird a facial expression not unlike that of a cat.

“Die gleene ‘hoot’ Eile” (Bucks)—a plural form, borrowing from the E. Frequently “screech owl” is used as though it were a regular part of the dialect. Rachel Bahn used it that way in her poem, “Der Alt Weide Bahm For’m House.”

Great Horned Owl, *Bubo virginianus* v.

“Die gross Eil” (pl. “die grosse Eile”) and “die gross Nachteil” (pl. “die grosse Nachteile”)—Beck gives this name. We have heard it in Lehigh, sometimes used with “Schteekeizel”; then all other owls except the screech owl were “grosse Eile” or “grosse Nachteile.”

“Die Harneil” (Leh.) and “die gross Harneil” (Leh.)—this “tiger among birds,” with its blood-curdling scream and loud, deep voice, is a bird of the forest and not well known except where it has made raids on poultry.

Snowy Owl, *Nyctea n.*

“Die Weisseil” (Berks, Bucks, Lanc., Leh., Mont.)—a diurnal bird reported several times during a winter and always causing a great deal of excitement when it is found.

“Die weiss Nachteil”—given in Stoudt’s list of names.

“Die Schnee-eil” (Berks, Leh.)—simply “the snow owl.”

Northern Barred Owl, *Strix varia* v.

"Die gross Eil—macht wie en Fuchs wann er blafft." This species, the greatest "hooter" of them all, is sometimes given the local E name of "rain owl,"—"wann die gross Eil greischt gebts Regge." Brendle got this information in the Finland region of Bucks and Montgomery Counties. Henry L. Fischer, in his descriptive poem, "Hesse Dhal," says, "Die Nacht-eil hot gebrillt," which must be a reference either to this species or to the great horned owl.

Short-eared Owl, *Asio flammeus* f.

"Die Feldeil" (pl. "die Feldeile")—or "die gross Feldeil" (pl. "die grosse Feldeile")—a good name for this so-called "marsh owl." Stump, who gave us this name, recalled that these birds were found in the tall grass of pasture land in Maxatawny Township, Berks County, and that a number of them were flushed during several summers.

There is a close relationship between the dialect forms and the G names. The G divides owls into three groups: *Ohreulen* for the eared owls; *Käuze* for those without eartufts; and *Schleiereule* for the barn owls. *Horneule*, *Katzeneule*, *Baumeule*, *Ohrkauz*, *Nachteule* are names for the horned owls. The great horned owl takes the name of *der Uhu*, a name which appeared in some of our "A-B-C books." Muehlenberg and Gleditsch also apply this name to the screech owl, for the name is derived from *uhuen*, meaning, to hoot. The little European screech owl takes these names: *der Kautz*, *Kauz*, *Kautzlein*, *Käuzchen*, *Sperlingseule*, *Waldkauz*, *Steinkauz*, *Steineule*. Some of these names are also given for a gnome owl, a "stone owl," a "church owl," but we do not know whether these are different species or not. The G

nomenclature for birds is very confusing and of poor form when compared with the highly developed ornithological nomenclature now in use in this country! German names for the barn owl are: *Bodeneule*, *Scheiereule*, *Schleiereule*.

The owl has been considered an omen of death since the day when primitive man learned to fear the night and to curse the darkness. The hoot of an owl, coming out of the darkness, has commonly been an occasion for fear and a sign of impending misfortune. The Romans loathed it as a bird of doom and nailed dead owls to the doors of their houses, not as a symbol of victory over evil, but so that one evil might cancel out another. The name *nycta* has been given to owls because of Nyctymene, a Roman girl who was turned into an owl for the crime of lying with her father. The Greeks, on the other hand, revered the small owl (*Athene noctua*) and associated it with the goddess Athena. Because it had big eyes and was found sleeping during the daytime, it seemed that the owl had seen everything and then engaged in deep thinking; so it became a sign of the deity. Some early people thought that eating the eyeball of an owl, or the ashes of charred owls' eggs were good for the sight, and eggs and feathers were used in witchcraft. And because they called from the darkness and had a reputation for wisdom, it was believed that the owl knew something not only about man's destiny, but also about the weather, above love, about the birth of babies and about the tides of war and fortune.

There are many European legends about the owl. One is that the wren fetched fire from heaven and lost all his feathers in the heat. All of the birds, except the owl, gave him a feather to cover his nakedness, hence the owl is despised by all other birds. Again, after the

wren won kingship from the eagle, he was jailed for his sharp practice. The owl was appointed jailer to watch the wren while the other birds held court and agreed upon a verdict. But the owl fell asleep and the wren escaped, so all other birds have only contempt for the owl which is too ashamed to show its face in daylight.

Among our people the hoot of an owl was an omen of death and of a change in the weather. In some instances it has shared this reputation with the whip-poor-will, the killdeer, the cuckoo, the dove, the woodpeckers, the grouse, and some others, as already noted or to be noted later on.

WHIP-POOR-WILLS AND NIGHTHAWKS

Eastern Whip-poor-will, *Antrostomus vociferus* v.

"Der Wibberwill"—a very common and popular name, based on the bird's clear call. Generally our people *heard* the whip-poor-will and *saw* the nighthawk. The name and call of the former were therefore attributed to the latter whose habits rendered it more conspicuous, and both birds were frequently considered to be the same species. This confusion has been quite general and only the more discerning among our people noted that the nighthawk was a different bird.

"Der Reggevogel" (Berks, Mont.)—when the bird's call was heard on a warm evening in spring, it was said that the weather would change during the night and that a warm, slow rain ("en Landregge") would set in the next day.

"Der Nachtigal" or "die Amerikanisch Nachtigall"—the "nightingale." See notes on next species.

"Die Nachteil"—a general name used indiscriminately for almost any night voice. The bird's day begins when the sun goes down. A person would be fortunate to see

him at all. He might be seen in the fields that bordered the woods, flying noiselessly and close to the ground, a silent and ghostly shape moving away from one tree and then coming back to perch on another, giving his clear, crisp and vigorous calls between these trips out for lunch. He is a kind of "night owl" in the sense with which this name is commonly used. The G *Nachteule* was sometimes used for the European nighthawk or nightjar, and Horne used the PG form of this for our nighthawk.

"Der Ziegenmelker"—reported from Lancaster County, this is a G word for "goat-sucker" or "goat-milker." It is not a dialect name. The person giving the name must have had the habits of the nighthawk in mind. The European nightjar, *Caprimulgus Europaeus*, is called a "goatsucker" (also dor-hawk, fern-owl, gnat-hawk, goat-owl, screech hawk, night-churr, goatmilker) because it loiters about cattle at dusk and is in the habit of swarming about the heads of those milking out in the open at eventide, hence the belief that the bird milks goats. Other G names are *Nachtschwalbe*, *Geiszmelker*.

Eastern Nighthawk, *Chordeiles minor m.*

"Der Wibberwill"—used for this species as for the other, hence all names for both must be considered together. The bird flies erratically, almost like a bat, uttering a loud nasal "peent," following this call with a few quick wing-beats, and then repeating the performance. In the spring, after doing this several times, in the course of which it mounts higher and higher in the evening sky, the bird will then dive toward the earth on half-closed wings. When it approaches the earth at great speed, it suddenly checks its descent by an abrupt turn upward and then goes on in a leisurely way to re-

peat its usual performance or to dive again. The booming sound, which some have said can be imitated by blowing across the bung-hole of an empty barrel, is made as the bird comes to the end of its dive and turns skyward again. As Beck has said, "this agile bird with its rushing swoop and boom, is a spectacular figure on June evenings; and again, in late summer, it is impressive as in wide spread, wide open companies it silently flits" over the countryside. Our people having heard the whip-poor-will and having seen it on rare occasions, saw in this aerial acrobat, the nighthawk, a similar bird and therefore gave it the common name.

"Der Moivoggel"—the "May-bird," given for the nighthawk, but really intended for the whip-poor-will whose call is a sign of spring. The bird with the famous "call of spring" takes its place with the robin, the bluebird and the song sparrow as one of the "spring birds" ("die Friehtyaahrsveggel"). The nighthawk would be seen about this time, hence the confusion.

"Der Reggevoggel"—several persons gave this name for the nighthawk and, upon second thought, always decided that it was the bird "that called out his name," the whip-poor-will. The whip-poor-will's call has been heard on a hot, sultry afternoon, in the twilight of a gathering storm.

"Der Schwupp" (Berks)—"the swoop." Also given as though it were simply a dialect version of the E word, thus "Schwoop"; and also as though it were spelled and pronounced like the PG name for a cockroach, "der Schwob." We have even heard it as though it were "Schwaab," a form also used for the cockroach. The name has also been used for the chimney swifts.

"Der Nachtwoi"—heard in Lehigh and Montgomery Counties. A good dialect name for the species, and probably *not* a translation of the E word.

"Der Schlofvoggel"—a name which Brendle heard in the vicinity of Green Lane, Montgomery County. The writer has found this bird during mid-summer, seemingly asleep on the ground, in the cornfields of Lehigh County. Its colors harmonized so well with the surroundings that we almost stepped on it, at which the bird fluttered away through the corn and disappeared.

"Der Faulenser"—"lazybones." A name given in Brendle's list, for reasons similar to that of "sleeping bird," given above.

"Der Grottevoggel"—"toad-bird." The manner in which this bird roosts on the gravel soil of a Lehigh County hillside on a hot summer's day, its colors blending almost perfectly with the color of the ground, makes one think of a toad. Its total appearance is similarly suggestive. Brendle gave us this name.

"Nachtigal"—a form of the G *Nachtigall*, given for this bird and meant to be descriptive of the call of the whip-poor-will. Sometimes one species is named, then another. Brendle gives the form, "Nachtgal," which he heard used at Green Lane, Pa., specifically for this species. Graeff and Miller give "Nachtigall" specifically for the whip-poor-will.* Graeff says that the whip-poor-will, at twilight, commands the countryside, "Bleib doch

* Dr. Arthur D. Graeff, in a letter to the writer. Edwin C. Miller, Macungie, Pa., who died in 1940, published a sketch about "Der Wibberwill," in the *P. D. Eck* in 1935. This fine little story will be presented in a later chapter. Aside from the matter of improper identification, there is no reason why the nighthawk should be called a "nightingale." The whip-poor-will, however, is worthy of the beautiful saying which Graeff ascribes to it, and its call at twilight makes its worthy of the name, "the American nightingale."

schtill!" Miller, carefully differentiating between the two species, called the whip-poor-will "die Amerikanisch Nachtigall." This again proves that some people were careful enough to give the bird the right name, while many more attributed the song of one species to another species of more prominent habits.

"Luftwibberwill"—heard by Brendle in the Finland region of Bucks and Montgomery Counties. This name is significant. The one who used it seems to have understood that the species resemble each other and are easily confused, but also recognized the essential differences between the two. Hence the use of the qualifying word, "Luft."

"Lufthengscht"—"air stallion." This name was sent to Graeff by a Berks County reader of "Scholla." Compare this with "Lufthutschel" or "flying-colt" for the loon. Both are good, strong, colorful PG names.

"Luftfarzer" (could also be spelled "Luftfatzzer")—"one who vents wind while aloft." A name heard by Brendle.

"Farzvogel" (given as "Fatzvogel")—"a bird that breaks wind." * This, like the one above, may be a crude name, but the descriptive powers of the dialect are nowhere more apparent than in words such as these. One must not conclude that the dialect lends itself especially to the crude and vulgar. Rather, one must become convinced that only in the dialect do we have a vehicle by means of which one can give expression to the widest possible range of thought, desire and feeling.

* Reported by William F. Yoder, a native of Hegins, Pa. He says that the boys of his day gave the bird this name, as they heard it "whooping" while going through its aerial acts. We have heard others who took note of another field mark and said that this bird had holes in its wings,—the white bar on each wing.

The persistent calls of the whip-poor-will were a sign that warm weather had come to stay and that one could therefore "go bare-footed." The expression, "The whip-poor-will will get you!" was used to frighten naughty children, and when a person was flirting with danger or at the point of death it was said that the whip-poor-will would surely fetch him, or come and claim him. When a person met with an accident or sudden death, it was said that the person was over-taken as if "by a swoop."

Both birds are credited with the reputation of having "the biggest nests in the world." Those who have seen the nest of the whip-poor-will on the ground or in leaves along a brush fence or in the woods, and that of the nighthawk on the bare ground at the side of an old stump in some "new land," or on shale ("uff Schiwwere") and rocks in the open fields, know that it is no nest at all, but only the earth itself. The writer heard the story that when God was trying to teach the birds how to build their nests the whip-poor-will only said, "Ich waess! Ich waess!" Pretending to know and unwilling to learn, it never did learn how to build a nest.* The facts of the case and the interpretation of the call would be more appropriate for the killdeer. Some have said that the whip-poor-will and the nighthawk are too lazy and sleepy to build nests as other birds do.

The name of "Wibberwillschtock" and "Wibberwillblumme" is commonly given to the plant and flowers of the wild, pink azalea or wild honeysuckle, *Rhododendron nudiflorum*, which blooms during April and early May, at the time when the call of the bird is heard. While in

* From William F. Yoder, native of Hegins, Schuylkill County. He heard this from an "old timer" who explained that this was the reason why the whip-poor-will builds no nest and lays its eggs on the ground.

bloom the wild azaleas bear some peculiar, juicy, pulpy growths on their branches. They are translucent, succulent and watery,—and quite edible, as many a farm-boy knows. These supposedly modified buds are called “Wibberwillebbel” (“whip-poor-will apples”), sometimes “Moi-ebbel” (not to be confused with the fruit of the mandrake) or “Schwammebbel.” Lambert also gives the name, “die Wibberwillblumm,” for the scarlet painted-cup, or Indian paint brush, *Castilleja coccinea*; and Lick and Brendle give this name and that of “Wipperwill” for the same species.* Lick and Brendle say that an old name for the English soldiers, presumably in the days of the Revolutionary War, was “Wipperwill,” and that this saying was used in the Perkiomen Valley in early years,—“Du Wipperwill mach dich uf em Weg!” We have heard the expression, “Du Biwwi!,” used in the same way.

SWIFTS

Chimney Swifts, *Chaetura pelagica*

“Die Scharnschteeschwallem” (pl. “die Scharnschteeschwalme”)—the most common name, heard in Berks, Bucks, Centre, Lancaster, Lebanon, Lehigh and Montgomery Counties. Lambert assigns masculine gender to “Schwallem,” but the only times we heard this was in connection with the rare singular, “der Schwalb.” Even in this it usually was “die Schwalb,” The “em” ending in “Schwallem” does not seem to be as prominent as

* David E. Lick and Thomas R. Brendle, “Plant Names and Plant Lore Among the Pennsylvania Germans,” Vol. XXXIII, *P. G. S. Proceedings*. It should be noted here that Lambert gives the name, “Saldaateschtreiss,” for the scarlet sage. Evidently the “Red Coats” influenced the dialect sufficiently to give some scarlet flowers a name, and to acquire a name of their own in the bargain.

Lambert's use of it would suggest. The ending of the word is usually rounded off, with "allem" flowing together, thus giving us "Schwalm." In nearly every case where the name was written for us, it was written as "Schwalm" or "Schwalm." "Schwalb" and "Schwalm" are general names for any swallow-like bird and sometimes include this species.

It should also be noted that "Scharnschtee" is Lambert's spelling; we prefer "Scharnschdee." Lambert also gives "Scharnschde" and "Schannschde," but we have found that both endings are most frequently long, thus "Scharnschdee" and "Schannschdee." All of these forms have appeared side by side, but the preferable and most common form of all is "Schannschdeeschwalm" (pl. "die Schannschdeeschwalme"). "Schannschdeeschwalb" has appeared as a rare form.

"Die Russschwalm" (Berks, Bucks, Lanc., Leh., Monroe, Mont., Sch.)—this means "soot swallow," a name almost as prominent as "chimney swallow." The bird, of course, is not a swallow but belongs to a totally different order. Lambert spells it as "Russschwallem," which we consider the less common form. The plural is the same in both cases, "die Russschwalme."

"Die Hausschwalm" (Leh., Mont.)—this name is also used for the martins and sometimes for the barn swallows.

"Schwupp," "Schwob," "Schwaab"—the names for the nighthawk, which a Berks County informant also applied to the swifts. The manner of their flight probably suggested these names. We have even heard swifts referred to as "Schpeckmeis" (bats).

HUMMINGBIRDS

Ruby-throated Humming bird, *Archilochus colubris*

"Der Schnarrvoggel"—a form of this word occurs as the name for this bird throughout the PG region. Lambert spells it "Schnaerrvojfel," basing it on the PG verb, "schnaerre," meaning "to jerk." He is correct in this, for all those who have so named this bird have said that it was in reference to its halting and jerky movements. It seems, however, that the pronunciation is somewhat shorter than "Schnaerr—" would indicate, and that the more abrupt "Schnarr—" is a better spelling. By some strange coincidence, this form would seem to be derived from another PG verb, "schnarre," from the G *schurren*, *schnorren*, *schnarren*, meaning to hum, buzz, snarl. Samuel Grob, in his translation of James Whitcomb Riley's poem, "When the Frost is on the Punkin," uses the words, "die schnurrend gleene Feggel," and was evidently thinking of the G *schurren*.* So, whatever the derivation, whether from one or both these verbs, it is true that both are correct and appropriate. This widespread name rests on solid foundations and is as significant to us as the species itself was to those who saw it for the first time when they came to these shores.

"Es Schnarrveggli" (pl. "die Schnarrvegglin, Schnarrvegglicher")—used in Berks, Lancaster and York Counties. Beck says it is used in Clearfield County. Lloyd Moll wrote it this way in a poem by the same name.†

"Es Schnarrveggelche" (pl. "die Schnarrveggelcher")—this form has appeared several times in Lehigh

* Samuel Grob, "Wan Der Froscht is uff de Kaerbse," in Reichard's *Anthology*.

† P. D. Eck, June 24, 1944.

County. A rarer form has sounded like "Schnarrveggele" or "Schnarrveggeli."

Another variant of the above can be presented best by giving it as it was given to us, thus "Schnauveggli" (pl. "Schnauvegglin"). This form has come from York County. It is pronounced as though one began by saying the word "schnaufe" (to breathe) and ended with "veggli." Beck has written it as "Shnaffag'le" and Wehr has written it as "Schnaff-fogel," the first part of both words being short, rather than like "schnaufe." This is to be explained by the strength of the "v" or "f" sound which, in usage, seems to eliminate the "r" so that the double "r" is lost and something like a double "f" sound appears, with the "a" also acquiring a broader quality. It appears that dialect words can become so worn by usage and so modified by spelling based on E sound values that the results are almost total strangers to us. In this case, as in the case of "Badriese" and "Badderriesel," "Gillerie" and "Gilderie," we have early forms and later variations persisting side by side. The early forms can usually be found only in little cultural islands here and there throughout the PG country, or with one family or one individual here and another there. On the surface of things and in the marketplace of life, a general levelling off of the dialect has been in process for more than a generation, with modification, corruption and loss of strength going on apace.

"Der Blummevoggel" (Berks, Leh.)—most common in Lehigh County. Lins and Lambert also give this name.

"Der Blummeriecher" (pl. "die Blummeriechlicher")—also "es Blummeriechliche,"—the little bird that smells the flowers.

"Der Brummvoggel" (Lanc., Leh.)—"voggel" in the plural usually becomes "veggelcher" or "vegglicher."

"Es Brummveegli" (pl. "die Brummveeglin," "Brummvegglicher")—Yoder reports this for Schuylkill County and writes it as "Brummvaegly" to indicate a long "e" or "ae" sound. Beck's form of "Shnaffag'le" indicates the same thing, and several others have pointed out that the "e" is long and not short, thus spelling it as "veegli" or "vaegli."

"Der Hunnichvoggel"—given by Horne, Lins, Hoffman and Lambert.

"Der Hunnicksuckler"—reported by Brendle. All of these names describe a habit or mannerism of the bird. Nearly all of the forms are diminutive in character, because the bird is small in size. It is strange that we have no names descriptive of the bird's colors, or calling attention to its long, pointed beak.

KINGFISHERS

Eastern Belted Kingfisher, *Megaceryle alcyon a.*

"Der Fishroiher" (Berks, Bucks, Lanc., Leh., Mont.)—the same name that is applied to the herons and bitterns. Two reliable informants, both natives of Lehigh County, have pointed out that they never associated this name with the herons. This name was the only name they knew for the kingfisher, and herons were called "Fisch-crane."* All others agreed that the name was used for all the species mentioned. Some noted that this one was not a long-legged wading bird, but still a "Fischroiher."

"Der Fischfresser"—"fish glutton." †

"Der Kaffireeschder"—"the coffee roaster." Perhaps

* Franklin S. Dietz, Coopersburg, Pa., and Raymond E. Hollenbach, Royersford, Pa.

† Raymond E. Kiebach, Reading, Pa.

the most unique of all the bird names in the dialect. The bird's harsh, rattling cry must have suggested this one.*

"Kingfisha"—Marburger reports this name, says that it is a dialect use of the E name, with the end of the word rounded off slightly. Most of our informants have agreed that the E name is, by far, the most common. A number of persons who knew many dialect bird names, knew only the E name for this species.

G names like *der Eisvogel*, *Gelbschnabel*, *Königsfischer*, for the European kingfisher or the "king's fisher," have not appeared in the dialect.

There is a story that the kingfisher, once gray in color, left the ark and soared into the heavens, thus taking on a blue color. It ventured too near the sun and scorched its breast and then, turning to flee, also scorched its rump, thus giving it rufous-colored parts. Noah refused to take it back into the Ark, and so the bird had to sit on the roof and find its own food; hence its present habits. Its moult is said to be imperceptible, hence the belief that the skin would never decay and that it would preserve whatever it touched. The poetic name "halcyon" for the bird, identified with the kingfisher, fabled to nest on the sea about the time of the winter solstice, has left us with the concept of "halcyon days." The bird was supposed to brood about the time of St. Martin's Day, November 11, and at that time the gods would grant "fair weather or St. Martin's summer" and the sea would be calm.† The legend about Halcyone of classical mythology has given the bird its scientific name. The writer does not know if there is a connection

* Name used in Upper Lehigh County. Reported by J. L. Klingaman, New York City, N. Y.

† *Altweibersommer*, *Spätsommer*; PG "*Alterweiiwersommer*"; E "Martinmas summer" or "Indian summer."

between these legends and the old beliefs about a goose killed on St. Martin's Day.* No beliefs or superstitions involving the kingfisher have come to light among our people.

WOODPECKERS

Northern Flicker, *Colaptes auratus luteus*

"Der Gehlschpecht" or "Gehlschbecht" (Berks, Bucks, Lanc., Leh., Mont., Sch.)—this is a very common name everywhere in the region. The bird is popular even if not as abundant as in former days. See the variety of G names for related species at the end of this section.

"Der Grieschpecht" (Berks, Lanc.)—from the G *Grünspecht*. The largest of the European green woodpeckers resembles our flicker in shape and habit, but not in color. It is a very common species in Europe, is at home in the trees and also on the ground, where it feeds on ants, and goes by a variety of local names. In color, it shows more red on its head, and shows much green, mixed with yellow, blue and brown on its body. It is enough to note that our common flicker resembled this European species (*Gecinus Viridis*), just as our downy somewhat resembles the smaller green woodpecker of Europe, and so the name carried over. By the same token, it can be seen why our "yellow woodpecker" was given the name, "Gehlschpecht," for this name set it apart from the green species of the old country.†

* G names for the Martinmas goose are *Martinsvogel*, *Martinsgans*.

† Raymond E. Kiebach, Reading, says that "Grieschpecht" is the name for a young flicker that has not left its nest, or for one that has just left the nest and still is quite unable to fly. He says this name was used in the Host section of Berks County and also in lower Berks and upper Montgomery Counties from which his parents had come. He gives the usual "Gehlschpecht" for the adult flicker; also "Schpecht" for any flicker or woodpecker.

"Der Gehlschpech" (or "Gehlschpeech")—dropping the final "t" and, sometimes, lengthening the last vowel, so that the last part of the name sounds like "Schpeech," the dialect name for the spoke of a wheel. A better spelling would be "Gehlschbeeche." The writer has frequently heard this same pronunciation with the addition of final "t", making it "Gehlschbeeche." All of these forms are from Berks and Lehigh County. Lins was the only one to note this lengthened quality of the last vowel and the omission of final "t" or "d"; he gave both "Shbach" and "Schbachd" (both with the long E "a") as the names for a woodpecker and for the spoke of a wheel.

"Der Hexeschbecht"—Beck gives this name and says it was given to him by the late Jacob Fry of Fry's Mill, along the Muddy Creek in eastern Lancaster County. Beck got many other dialect names from this man and feels there can be no doubt that he knew the flicker by this name. Beck thinks the name must come from some sort of "hexerei" and that it must be connected with this habit of the species: "This is the only one of the several woodpeckers which, during the mating season, selects a good sounding board, often part of a building, and drums on it. They frequently select a rainpipe for their percussion music. There is certainly something uncanny about the sound. Was not this hexerei?" Beck is sure that this name was only used locally. *

"Der Glebbervoggel" (or "Gleppervoggel")—used in Dauphin County, usually in the plural, "die Glebbervoggel," in the days when flickers were more abundant.

* From Dr. Beck's letter to the writer. Perhaps the flicker, during mating season, begins his courtship by trying to "verhex" his bride-to-be! His percussion music, once a more common sound than now, was a pleasant, stirring thing as it rolled between the hills and down the valleys on a spring morning.

So called because of their hammering on dead limbs, hollow branches or tree trunks, and rainspouting, to make a rattling noise.

"Die Keschdeveggel"—a name given by Yoder, Schuylkill County, who says the flickers seemed to be more conspicuous during chestnut time.

"Schpecht" or "Schbecht," "Schpeech" or "Sch-beech" (Berks, Lanc., Leh.)—a common, general name for the flicker and all woodpeckers. The use of the various forms is erratic, and all are grouped here to emphasize the fact of difference in pronunciation. "Sch-beecht" might be included here.

"Holsschpecht" (Berks, Leb., Mont.)—for the flicker and other woodpeckers.

"Der Schpechthaahne"—for the flicker.* Lambert also gives this name for a woodpecker and the flicker.

"Der Nusspicker"—for the flicker, the nuthatch and, specifically, the red-headed woodpecker.

"Die Flippers" (pl.)—this appears to be a form of the E "flickers," but the man who used the name said that the birds were so called because of their undulating flight,—*"sie fliege so nuff un nunner."* He gave the common name, *"Gehlschbecht,"* and knew the E name, so this one was no mistake.†

"Woodpicker" (same in the pl.)—this is the common general name for all the birds in this family. Many writers have used this for want of a better name. It is one of the very few bird names in Charles C. Ziegler's *Drauss un Deheem*. A good PG name for the woodpeckers seems to be lacking; all we have is this name,

* Given by Henry Kinzer Landis, Landis Valley Museum, Lancaster County, Pa.

† Given by Aaron Musselman, Milford Square, Bucks County, Pa.

which is a form of the E, the E itself, and the forms based on the G *Specht*. A name like "Holspicker" does not appear in the PG, and it would simply be a translation. We have found few cases of the translation of E names and these few are quite poor, generally used only by those not born to the dialect. The lack of a good name for this family has been explained by saying that the flicker once was an important gamebird and therefore got specific names, while all the others of lesser importance were passed by.

There was a time when many flickers were shot for food, and the young were watched and trapped in the nests just before they were ready to take wing. "Gehlschbecht-boddboi" was a particular delicacy, and the birds are said to have had a better taste than squabs. Hollenbach writes, "I remember very well that my father liked to shoot these birds, which was not much of a sport, because the flickers congregated in the gum trees, the fruit of which they ate, and all one had to do was to sit and wait for them."* Another has said that lots of them were shot in the fall when they were after "Gummebeere." Stump has told us of a valley in Albany Township, Berks County, which contained many old gum trees in which the flickers nested and to which they came in large flocks in the fall to feed on the berries. Hunters would lie in wait on both sides of the valley and fire into the trees, with each shot bringing down a few flickers. He also recalls that the tongues of the flickers were removed, dried and kept in a small box for use as "charms." It was an old belief, he says, that if you put a flicker's tongue in your mouth and then kissed a child

* Raymond E. Hollenbach, Royersford, native of Saegersville, Lehigh County, Pa.

or a young person, the one kissed would have a kind disposition ever after.*

The noisy drumming of the flickers and the loud, rolling call of the red-heads was an omen of rain; it was said that the flickers were drumming for rain. The song of the flicker, a kind of rapid, but mellow, clucking call, has been interpreted as "Zucker-Zucker-Zucker."†

The following story by Harbaugh will be of interest at this time:

"Speaking of birds reminds me of the 'sweet-apple tree' that stood yonder by the side of the path that led to the back fields, which had one fork cut off years before, and in the somewhat long stump of which a 'yellow hammer' made his nest from year to year. It was glorious sport, and something of a victory, to steal softly up to it and lay ones hands on the hole, and then reach in and catch him. But it was only for the feat, and not for the bird that it was done, and for many, many times was 'yellow hammer' caught and as often left fly again. Indeed, it seemed to be regarded even by him as a sort of privilege that belonged to 'the boys', for very little did he care when he was caught three times a day. Yet it took more bravery to catch him than might at first be supposed, for it was reported and firmly believed by 'all the boys in the neighborhood' that there were sometimes snakes in those holes,—that they went in to eat the eggs and devour the young, and there lay in wait for the old parent bird, which was seized upon the moment its head darkened the hole. Woe then to the luckless wight that should reach in for the bird at such a time. No wonder

* From Calvin S. Stump, Maxatawny, Pa.

† From Finland, Pa., reported by Brendle.

that many a time the boy stood in solemn silence at the tree with his hand near the hole, revolving in his trembling heart, 'a bird or a snake, that's the question!'

"Many a time, on a summer evening after the five o'clock supper, when 'the boys' were returning through the orchard to the 'back fields', already from the threshold of the door the race began with the shout of, 'Who will catch the yellow hammer?' But ill-luck was to the foremost one, for as soon as he raised his hand toward the hole, the rest, envious at his success, began to cry out: 'A snake in the hole!' Alas for the poor fellow! It was more from a sense of shame than from a true desire to catch the bird, that he now ventured to thrust in his hand. But so much the more he feared the snake, so much the more did he rejoice when, having been brave enough to reach in, he was able to hold up the old 'yellow hammer' to the unsuccessful boys." *

Northern Pileated Woodpecker, *Ceophloeus pileatus abieticola*

"Holshack"—a name which Beck reports from Clearfield County. The writer somewhere got the name, "Der Holshacker," but unfortunately forgot to note when or where. Beck says this species is "now locally extinct" (1924). Poole (1930) says it is "a rare resident in the Blue Mountain region" and that he had an excellent view of one of them in 1922 at the base of the Blue Mountain

* Henry Harbaugh, from "Our Orchard," which appeared in *The Guardian*, Vol. VI, No. 3, 1855. We also heard the story about snakes in flickers' holes in our boyhood. Does it have its origin in the fact that the crested flycatcher, which often takes over abandoned holes, lines his nest with a piece of cast-off snake-skin?

in Albany Township, Berks County, "after the bird had been supposedly extirpated from the county for at least 25 years." He then discovered that the species had been unknown in that section until about that time. Reports quoted in the preceding chapter indicate that this bird once was fairly common in the state.

Red-headed Woodpecker, *Melanerpes erythrocephalus*

"Der Rotkopp" (Berks. Lanc., Leh.)—also in Lambert.

"Der rotkeppich Woodpicker" (Berks, Leh.)—sometimes simply "der Rotkeppich" or "en rotkeppicher Woodpicker" (or "Rotkobb," "rotkebbich").

"Der rotkeppich Schbecht" (Lanc.)—given by Beck.

"Der Nusspicker" (Sch.)—this is the bird to which Yoder referred in his story, "Die Sei un die Nusspicker," in the *P. D. Eck* of February 24, 1945. A farmer kept his pigs in the woods and the hammering of the red-heads, which sounded as though the farmer were hammering on the feeding-trough with a stick, so fooled the pigs that they were driven to distraction, stopped eating and gradually wasted away. Yoder has told us that he had this bird in mind.*

"Der Holshacker"—a name given by Brendle.

"Der Globber"—a name which the late Rev. Alfred J. Herman, Maxatawny Township, Berks County, is supposed to have used for this bird.†

The general names like "Woodpicker" and "Schpecht" would also include this species.

* William F. Yoder, in a letter to the writer.

† Reported by Calvin S. Stump, Maxatawny, Pa. These birds are said to have been very abundant at the old Herman homestead near Maxatawny. The blue jays were also plentiful there, and Pastor Herman is said to have called them "birds of paradise."

Harbaugh gives us this story concerning the red-head:

"In cherry time a host of wood-peckers would sally forth from the orchard, seize upon the ripe cherries, and bear them back to their dry limbs, and there devour them. The apple-tree that stood here, being favorably situated for that purpose, became the popular retreat of the cherry pirates. Therefore it came to pass that 'the boys' conceived the idea of setting up a pole through its branches, letting it extend a few feet above the top of the tree; which, when done, proved an acceptable service to the wood-peckers, which delighted to sit against it whenever they returned with a cherry, or before they went when they alighted halfway and hesitated whether it was safe to fly to one tree for a cherry when there was a boy upon the other. Thus sitting against the pole, it was only necessary for a boy, who had silently stationed himself for the purpose at the foot of the pole, under the tree, to strike it hard with an axe to bring the unsuspecting bird giddy, if not quite dead, to the ground. Ah, full many a 'redhead' did we stretch upon the ground during the noonday resting time in hay-making and harvest!"*

These colorful birds once were a familiar sight. You saw them on the oaks and chestnuts, on the old rail fences and on posts, and in the tall, old apple and cherry trees in the orchard. Great numbers of them were shot, probably because of their destructive habits, for they were not eaten as were the flickers. The passing of the

* Henry Harbaugh, from "Our Orchard," in *The Guardian*, Vol. VI, No. 3, 1855.

old trees and fence posts has deprived them of breeding places and their numbers have been greatly reduced.

Yellow-bellied Sapsucker, *Sphyrapicus varius v.*

"Baamlaafer"—"tree walker." Beck reports this name from Clearfield County.

"Grieschbeeche" or "Grieschbeeche" has been suggested for this species, but this Lehigh County name for "a yellow-bellied woodpecker whose belly feathers have a greenish tinge" is not altogether reliable. Nevertheless we record the name for what it may be worth.

The only name we ever got when we called attention to the quiet and inconspicuous bird that was perforating the bark on apple trees, was "Woodpicker." It seems that the more prominent species were held responsible for whatever damage was done in the orchards.

Eastern Hairy Woodpecker, *Dryobates villosus v.*

"Der gross Schpecht"—a name reported by Brendle.

"Der gross blo Woodpicker"—source unknown. These names recognized the fact that this rarer species was larger than the more common downy woodpecker.

Northern Downy Woodpecker, *Dryobates pubescens medianus*

"Der glee Woodpicker" (Lanc.).

"Der glee blo Woodpicker" (Leh.).

"Der glee Schpecht" (Leh., Mont.)—these names give the sociable and common downy proper recognition, for he is smaller than the hairy woodpecker. He is one of the few friends that stay with us all winter, and the downy and the nuthatches together are sometimes given the above names.

"Der scheckich Woodpicker" (Berks)—"the spotted

woodpecker," a name which also applies to the hairy. Also, "der scheckich Schpecht,"—from Brendle.

"Der schiwwerich Woodpicker" (Berks)—"the gray-spotted woodpecker," also used for the less common hairy woodpecker.

The general names like "Schpecht" and "Holschpecht" would apply particularly to this popular species. E forms for all species in this family are heard with increasing frequency.

G names like *Waldvogel*, *Weisspecht*, *Weisschnabel*, *Baumhacker*, *Baumkletterer*, *Baumhäckel*, *Baumspecht*, *Maurspecht*, have not appeared in the PG. Most of them are names for distinctively European species. *Grünspecht* and *Nuszpicker* have already been noted in the dialect. There is good reason to believe that the G *Gälspecht*, *Geelspecht*, *Gelbspecht* were applied to the large European woodpecker, and that helps explain our "Gehlschpecht." Lexicographers show considerable confusion and uncertainty in the use of some G names. G names like *Goldamsel*, *Grünspecht*, *Ammer*, *Emmerling*, *Goldammer*, *Goldammer*, *Hämmerling*, *Gelbvogel*, and *Gelbling* are given variously for such birds as the greater and lesser spotted woodpeckers (*Dendrocopus m.*) the green woodpecker, "yellow woodpecker," "yellow hammer," witwall, golden oriole or loriot, the yellow bunting (*Emberiza citrinella*), the "gold hammer" and the wry-neck (also *Krummhals*, *Brachdrossel*). *Goldamsel*, for example, is given as a name for the witwall, the European spotted woodpecker, and the loriot or European golden oriole. Autenrieth gives "Bempicker" (*Bäume-picker*) for *Specht* and "Gael-amsel" for *Goldamsel*.

Many primitive people have chosen these birds of the woods as their nature gods of storm, thunder and lightning, by reason of their flashing colors and their ham-

mering. Just as the snipe by its zig-zag flight and its aeolian music reminded people of the lightning and the roar of the wind, so the hammering of the great black woodpecker (*Picus martius*), he of the red crest, was the thundering of Thor. Early Romans worshipped the bird as a prophetic divinity whose attributes later were taken over by the god of war, hence the name "martius" for this species. These several associations led ancient Europeans to think of the bird as a rain god, and the name "rain bird" was given this species across all Europe, from Greece and Italy to Scandinavia and Britain. In the G it took the local names of *Giessvogel* and *Regenvogel* and Scandinavians believed that the bird's cries would foretell the weather for two or three days ahead; if the cry was low, the weather would be fine; if loud, there would be rain and storm; and if near the house, the weather would be worse. All we have heard among our people is simply that the woodpeckers' drumming is a sign of rain. Beyond this we have the wider use and acceptance of such signs, spread over a number of species of birds, and interpreted variously according to the strength of the call, the elevation of the bird when it calls, and its distance from the house. Some of these will be mentioned later. Suffice it to say that the woodpeckers are not as prominent in the lore of our people as they have been in European lore, and that other species have been much more prominent among us.

FLYCATCHERS

Kingbird, *Tyrannus t.*

"Der Iemefresser" (Berks, Bucks, Lanc., Leh., Mont., Sch.)—"bee-eater." The large hawks have suffered under the name of "Hinkelwoi" and this bird under the name of "bee martin" and others like it. Bees are but a

small portion of his diet, for he is a flycatcher first of all and cannot help it if a bee crosses his path now and then as he sallies forth from the topmost branch of an apple tree.

"Der Iemevoggel" (Berks, Bucks, Leh., Mont., York)
—"bee-bird."

"Der Iemewoi" (Lanc.)—"bee-hawk." He takes his station on some exposed perch, watches every movement about him "like a hawk" and then dashes into the air to seize a passing insect. This, together with his aggressiveness and his remarkable displays of courage, makes you think of a hawk.

"Der Iemekeenich" (Leh.)—"bee-king." Also the name that is used for a queen bee.

"Der Keenich" (York)—a king, but not a tyrant. He does seem to have a special grudge against the crow, and to see him go out to do battle with a crow proves him worthy of his royal name.

Northern Crested Flycatcher, *Myiarchus crinitus boreus*

"Der Schnokefresser" (Leh.)—"gnat-eater." Hollenbach says that this name was used along the Jordan Creek for the birds which dashed out from the branches of the alder bushes to catch gnats and mosquitoes. He adds that the phoebe, which lived under the old wooden bridges, was one of the "Schnokefresser" species. The boys fishing along the creek gave the birds this name.

"Der Iemefresser"—heard by Brendle in Monroe County. This bird is often confused with the kingbird.

"Der Iemevoggel"—a name we have heard for this species.

"Der Reggevoggel"—also heard in Lehigh County. Several birds given this name because of their call were later identified as crested flycatchers. The call, "wheep-

wheep-wheep," is very prominent and our best memory of it goes back to the hot and sultry summer afternoons in the woods, when gnats and mosquitoes were at their worst, and when the "great crested" was busy between showers. This bird has the mysterious habit of taking a cast-off snake-skin to his nest.

Eastern Phoebe, *Sayornis phoebe*

"Der Biwwi"—the so-called "pewee," famous in song and story! We will not attempt to fix spelling and pronunciation according to locality of occurrence. Many times have we heard one person pronounce the name several different ways. "Biwwi" and "Biewi" (in Lambert) seem most prominent. Keller and Moll have written it "Biwwi."

"Der Piwwi" or "Piewi" (in Lambert), or "Piewie." Harbaugh wrote it as "Pewee" but in the "Harfe" it appeared as "Pihwie." Vogt, Meyer and a number of others have written it as "Pihwie" while Wuchter wrote it "Pivvie." The phoebe's call is contagious, and we have noticed that persons would ordinarily say "Biwwi" or "Piwwi," but when we were out in the barnyard or in the meadow and heard the call then the bird would be referred to with the more imitative names, "der Biewi," "Piewi," "Piewie." Obviously, all these names are based directly on the call of this good friend.

"Der Biewit." It is barely correct to call this bird a "peewit" as Lambert and some others have done, and the G *Kibitz* or *Kiebitz* does not follow. These, properly, are names for the lapwing, a European green plover, and for the European black-headed gull. Only by reason of some strange adoption has this European name been applied to this species and the next. It is better to hold to our own nomenclature in both E and PG, even if

"peewit" is part of the phoebe's call, for "phoebe" is the distinctively E and New World name.

"Der Schnokefresser"—the name given by Hollenbach (and a very good one it is!) for this species and the preceding one.

Lambert mentions the fact that the name "Biwwi," or any of the other forms of this word, is applied to "a queer looking person." Not only is it given to one who looks queer but also to one of queer actions and habits,—hence such expressions as, "Du Biwwi du!" and "Ei, du Biwwi-aarsch!" One may well wonder how these expressions were born. The bird seems nervous and excited at times, but for the most part he is humble, unassuming, friendly, trusting, and just a good neighbor. He is the voice of spring and it was said that when you heard his call and when you had seen two or three barn swallows together, then it was time to take your shoes off and go bare-footed.

Least Flycatcher, *Empidonax minimus*

We have been given the name, "Busch Biwwi," for this species, but this is probably a case of mistaken identification. The bird prefers our lawns and orchards and his strong, business-like "chebec, chebec," is a prominent call that cannot easily be confused with that of the other flycatchers. He is a little fellow but he can speak for himself, even if it does sound as though he had the hiccups,—"Er hott der Schlickser!"

Eastern Wood Pewee, *Myiochanes virens*

"Der Buschbiwwi" (Berks, Leh., Monroe)—this is the bird whose "sad, sweet call" of "pee-a-wee" is heard in the woods through the long and hot summer's day.

When all nature seems to be holding its breath, this lone voice can be heard in the tree-tops, the singer unseen.

All the onomatopoeic names given the phoebe are also given to this species.

G names like *Fliegenfänger*, *Fliegenschnäpper*, *Fliegenstecher*, *Mückenschnäpper*, *Mückenfänger*, *Fliegenpicker*, *Gabel-Schnäpper*, *Bienenspecht*, *Bienenfänger*, *Bienewolff*, for European species, have not appeared in the dialect. A connection may be seen between "Teme-fresser and the G *Bienenfresser*. The G *Kiebitz* does not apply to this family, as already pointed out. Horne erred at this point when he gave "Bewi" for the "pewit" or "Kibitz." Hoffman was more exact and gave "Biwi" for "a pewee" (*Contopus virens*).

LARKS

Northern Horned Lark, *Otocoris alpestris a.*

"Die Laerrich" (sometimes "der Laerrich")—a name reminiscent of the famed European skylark, *Alauda arvensis a.*, and used in a general way for all lark-like birds, specifically for the true larks (Family *Alaudidae*), the pipits (Family *Motacillidae*), and the meadowlarks (Family *Icteridae*). Based on the G *die Lerche*, the dialect name has appeared quite frequently in our literature and, so it seems, usually with reference to the meadowlark, a bird of the same family as the bobolink, oriole, cowbird, blackbirds and grackles.*

"Die Sootlaerrich" (sometimes "der Sootlaerrich")—Lins, Horne and Lambert give this name for a "field lark." They probably were not thinking of the meadow-

* Claude Butterwick, Sellersville, and A. Paul Gerhart, Telford, report that they have seen flocks of horned larks and pipits during several fall and winter seasons in the Telford area. They used the general name, "Laerrich," in speaking of both species and said that this name would include the meadowlarks as well.

lark of our summer grassfields. Brendle got this name from a Lehigh County informant who said that it meant the horned lark. Flocks of these birds visit our open fields in winter, sometimes arriving in late September and early October, when they are seen on the newly-seeded grain fields,—“uff de Sootfelder.” Both this species and its relative, the prairie horned lark, have acquired the reputation of eating the farmer’s newly sown grain. The grain they do eat is the wasted seed, and insects form the bulk of their diet. The PG name points to the G name for this bird’s European relative, *die Saatlerche*. Other G names for the European skylark are *Feldlerche*, *Kornlerche*, *Ackerlerche*, *Brachlerche*; and G names for the European crested or tufted lark are *Häubel-lerche*, *Haubenlerche*.

The skylark, which pours out its song as it soars aloft, breeds over all of central and northern Europe, and winters as far north as Germany. A prominent figure in the sky and fields of the old country, this bird has loaned its name to its American relative.

SWALLOWS

Bank Swallow, *Riparia r. r.*

“Die Sondbonk Schwolm”—given by Beck, with his spelling. We would write “Sandbenk Schwalm” instead. The name describes the favorite nesting place of this species.

“Die Dreckschwalm”—heard by Brendle in Monroe County. This is the common name for the cliff swallow and, sometimes, for the barn swallow. It would apply here since the birds are most numerous along streams.

The general name of “Schwalm” (which is more prominent than “Schwallem” and which we prefer) ap-

plies to all species in this family. It is usually heard as "die Schwalm," rarely, in pointed reference to one bird, as "der Schwalm" or "der Schwalb." Beck always gives "Schwalm" as the first name and puts "Schwalb" second. It may be worth noting that the latter form was reported most frequently from Lancaster and York Counties. Fischer wrote "en Schwalb" in his "Frühjohr's Lied." Harbaugh wrote the plural as "Schwalma" and Hark wrote "Schwalve" (perhaps trying to convey the values of the G *Schwalbe*, *Schwalben*). The slower and more deliberate name of "Schwallem," the form that Lambert gives, is still heard, but we shall not carry it along in the names here presented.

Rough-winged Swallow, *Stelgidopteryx ruficollis*
serripennis

"Cave Shwolm"—as given by Beck. These birds also nest in holes or "caves" along the banks of streams.

Barn Swallow, *Hirundo erythrogaster*

"Die Scheierschwalm" (the very common plural is "die Scheierschwalme")—in Berks, Bucks, Lancaster, Lehigh, Montgomery, Schuylkill and York Counties. Also, "Scheierschwalb," in Berks, Lebanon, Lancaster and York.

"Die Dreckschwalm" (Leh.)—Lambert gives this for "mud swallow" and this is the way it is often used, for this species and the next.

"Die Hausschwalm"—from Monroe County, because these birds are always about the buildings, but used more especially for the purple martins and the chimney swifts.

Northern Cliff Swallow, *Petrochelidon albifrons a.*

"Die Dreckschwalm" (Berks, Lanc., Leb., Leh., Mont.) — the common name used especially for this

species. A number of persons noted that the barn swallow enters its open, mud nest from the top, while the cliff swallow enters its enclosed, bottle-shaped nest through a "spout" at the top or side. The nests of this species are made almost exclusively of mud, shaped like a retort or flask, and grouped in extensive colonies.

"Die Gruckeschwalm"—because of its jug-shaped nest.* Their unusual nests set them apart from all the other species and leave them with this more distinctive name.

"Die Scheierschwalm"—rarely used for this species, although their nests may be found in rows beneath the eaves of a barn or shed.

Purple Martin, *Progne subis* s.

"Die gross Schwalm" (pl. "die grosse Schwalme")—rarely, "der gross Schwallem," "die gross Schwallem," "der gross Schwalb," "die gross Schwalb." Heard in Berks, Lancaster, Lebanon, Lehigh and Montgomery Counties.

"Die gross Hausschwalm" (pl. "die grosse Hausschwalme")—sometimes simply "die Hausschwalm." So called because they like to be near dwellings and also because they will breed in the gourds, boxes and "apartments" that are put up for them.

"Die Schtadtschwalm" (pl. "die Schtadtschwalme")—because they once were such familiar figures in our villages and towns. This name has been heard in Bucks,

* From Claude Butterwick, Sellersville, Pa., and A. Paul Gerhart, Telford, Pa.

Lebanon, Lehigh and Montgomery Counties. Weygandt gives the bird this name.*

The bank swallow, or "sand martin" is also found in the Old World and there takes the G names, *Uferschwalbe*, *Wasserschwalbe*. The G name, *Bergschwalbe*, is given for a "rock swallow" or cliff swallow, but this may refer to a swift, G *Steinschwalbe*. The G names, *Spierschwalbe*, *Speyerschwalbe* (from "spittle" or "saliva," with which some swifts build their nests) and *Turmschwalbe* apply to the common Old World swift. The G *Reinschwalbe*, *Rheinschwalbe*, also apply to the bank swallow, referring to the river by that name. The common European swallow, classed with our barn swallow and having a deeply forked tail, is simply *die Schwalbe*. The European martin ("house martin"), which builds its nests on walls, about windows and almost wherever man will give it refuge, is called *Mauerschwalbe*, *Hausschwalbe*, *Fenster-spyren*. This large swallow, perhaps named after the patron-saint, Martin of Tours, gave its name to our largest swallow.

The barn swallows are the ones usually referred to in the lore of our people. When new barns and sheds were erected, carpenters would take great pride in the "swallow holes" which they cut into the "weather-boarding" that covered the gable ends of these buildings. Done in a variety of designs, usually in the shape of a kind of star, they were called "Schwalmelecher-so dass die Schwalme nei un raus kenne!" A swallow's nest in a building was

* Recommended reading is the chapter entitled, "Purple Parties," in *A Passing America*, Cornelius Weygandt, Henry Holt and Company, 1932. Weygandt writes about birds with deep feeling and real appreciation. His other works, like *The Red Hills*, *The Blue Hills*, *The Dutch Country*, contain many important references to birds and their place in the life of the PG community. We heartily recommend all of it!

regarded as sure protection against the fury of the elements, and everything possible was done to encourage the swallows' annual return to their old resting place. Their coming and going was a sign of the changing of the seasons, and their abundance on the homestead was a mark of pride and sure prosperity. The martins were looked upon with equal respect and, as Kalm noted two centuries ago, people were anxious to have them near so that they might alarm the poultry by their anxious notes when hawks and crows approached, and so that they, by their influence, might protect the houses against the evil spirits even as the swallow protected the barn. Hence the fine little "martin houses," the pride of local craftsmen, which were set up on poles in the yard or attached to the side of the shed near the village store or tavern.

The swallow has been a favorite at all times and in all places! The women of ancient Greece used to catch the swallow, if one found its way into the house, smear it with oil and then release it, thus to remove any bad luck. The birds were sacred to the Greek "Household Gods" and were supposed to bring good luck to a home; this good fortune would disappear if the birds were disturbed and if they forsook their nests. The migration of the swallows has always been a sign, but it especially puzzled the ancients who looked with much favor upon their arrival and with equal sadness upon their departure. Aristotle thought that they hibernated in holes in trees or in the cliffs by the sea. Others thought they submerged themselves by joining mouth to mouth, wing to wing, leg to leg, and after a last sweet song, falling to the mud bottoms of ponds and lakes. There they would winter in the mud and in the spring they would receive a new resurrection!

Aristotle also said that the parent swallows cured the dim sight of their young with the plant celandine, swallow-wort, or swallows' herb (called *chelidonin* because the Greek for swallow is *chelidon*; PG "Schwalmegraut" and G *Schwalbenkraut*; Lambert, "Scheelgraut," "Schellegraut"). Later writers denied this but went on to say that the herb was good for the eyes of hawks and men. Pliny said the herb was so called because its blossoming and withering corresponded with the arrival and departure of the swallows. Wide and varied also is the lore about "swallows' stones" which, so it was anciently believed, were pebbles that the parent swallows brought from the seashore and fed to their young to make them see. These "stones," if found inside a swallow or in a swallow's nest, were supposed to give the bearer unusual powers of eloquence, immunity from all peril and danger, and some very desirable powers over the object of one's affections.*

Hohman, in his *Der Lang Verborgene Freund*, seems to have brought these two ancient beliefs together under the heading of "Die Schelwurzel,—ein Mittel, allen Krieg und Hader zu überwinden und zu enden, und zu machen, dasz ein Kranker, wenn er geneset, weint, und wenn er stirbt, mit fröhlicher Stimme singt; wie auch für dunkle Augen oder Scheinen der Augen ein sehr, gutes Mittel." Hohman goes on to say: "Zu der Zeit, wann die Schwalben Nester machen, oder die Adler nisten, wächst dieses Kraut. So es jemand bey sich trägt, mit einem Maulwurfsherz, der überwindet allen Krieg und Hader. Wenn diese Dinge auf das Haupt eines Kranken gelegt werden, und soll er wieder genesen, so weint er; soll er aber sterben, so singt er mit fröh-

* See Henry Harbaugh, *The Birds of the Bible*, Lindsay and Blakiston, Philadelphia, 1854, page 65.

licher Stimme. Wann die Schelwurzeln blühen, soll man sie stossen und siedend; darnach das Wasser in ein Geschirr thun, und es wieder ans Feuer setzen und wohl schäumen. So es denn einen Sud gethan hat, so seihe es durch ein Tuch, und behalte es. Wer nun dunkle Augen oder Scheinen der Augen hat, der streiche sie damit, und seine Augen werden ihm klar und gut werden."*

The birds were with Jesus in Gethsemane, the sparrows to betray his presence, the swallows to confuse and mislead his persecutors. On Calvary the swallows tried to steal the nails and to hide them, but the sparrows always brought them back again. The swallows, so runs an old Scandinavian legend, flew around the cross and cried "Svale! Svale!" (Console Him, Console Him) and so got their name of "svalow" or "bird of consolation." For their friendship to the Saviour, they are loved and respected of men, while the sparrow is cursed and hated of men (the peculiar hop of the English sparrow is said to be part of this curse).

As with the dove, so here, a duel attitude prevails and some have considered the swallow a bad omen. German peasants have held that many swallows on the roof of a house spelled poverty, and others have held that this was a good sign. The Celts disliked and feared the bird and some Englishmen of more recent time have considered the bird's presence an omen of death.†

* Johann Georg Hohman, *Der Lang Verborgene Freund* Harrisburg, 1840. In another place, Hohman gives this "Mittel": "Wenn man den Stein, den ein Geier in seinen Knieen hat, findet, und den man findet, wenn man recht darauf sieht, und thut denselben in die Speise zweier Feinde, so stellt er den Frieden unter ihnen wieder her." Hohman gives Albertus Magnus credit for that one!

† Based on accounts in *The Gods Had Wings*, by W. J. Brown, Constable and Company, London, 1936.

JAYS AND CROWS

Blue Jay, *Cyanocitta cristata* c.

"Der Haerrevoggel" (Berks, Lanc., Leb., upper Leh.)—also given by Hoffman, Horne, Lambert and Lins. Hoffman, it should be noted, says that his vocabulary consists of words "spoken chiefly in the northern parts of Berks, Lehigh and Northampton Counties." This name for the blue jay has been heard more frequently in upper Lehigh than any other dialect name for the species, and more frequently there than anywhere else. A number of reliable persons have said that they never heard any other PG name for this bird in upper Lehigh. The name is distinctive there, but it has also been reported by reliable observers that it is the most common name for the bird in Berks and Lancaster. Lambert says that the name comes from the G *Herrenvogel*.

"Der Guthaerr" (Berks, Bucks, Lanc., Leb., lower Leh., Mont.)—none of the above named compilers gives this dialect name. As said, persons in upper Lehigh say they never heard it. Beck puts this first in his list, perhaps for no special reason; but Marburger has said that it is the less common form in Lancaster County. However, a number of reliable persons have said that they never heard any other name in lower Lehigh and in upper Bucks and upper Montgomery. "Guthaerr," therefore, is the name in this lower region while "Haerrevoggel" is the name north of, let us say, Macungie. Elsewhere, both names occur, with "Haerrevoggel" being more popular and with "Guthaerr" seemingly the older form. We have observed that, in the regions where both names prevail, older persons tend to use "Guthaerr" while younger persons generally are more familiar with "Haerrevoggel." The reader may interpret all this as he pleases.

There has been much speculation concerning the origin of these names. It is possible that both of them, like the name "Schnarrvogel," have had something like a double source. The common G names for the European jay, *Garrulus glandarius*, are *Häher*, *Holzhäher*, *Eichel-häher*, *Heher*, *Här*." Gleditsch gives the last-named forms, *Här*, *Haer*, and this is notable. This European bird is crested, has black cheeks, shows much black and blue on its body, and has white wingbars and some white on the tail, thus resembling our blue jay. It is conceivable, therefore, that our dialect names have their source in *Här* or in something like *Här-vogel* (although we have not found such a word!).

The other possibility lies with the G words *Gut* (goods, wealth, possessions, land, estate) and *Herr* (lord, master). The G, *der Herr eines Gutes*, means "the lord of an estate," "land-lord," "lord of the manor." Another G name for landlord is *Haus-Herr* or *Land-Herr*; and *Herren-gut* means "a manor or an estate." Although we have not found it, it is possible that there might be such a word as *Gut-herr*, which would mean "lord of the manor." This would certainly apply to the European jay and to ours. Beck thinks that the name, "Guthaerr," comes from the G word "meaning landlord, because of his rich garb and officiousness." Our blue jay acts as though he were boss of the place and looks the part.

It is in a similar way that the name *Rot-herr* has been applied to the bullfinch, a common European cage bird which shows much tile red below. The G names, *Rot-herr*, *Dom-herr*, *Dompfaff*, are applied to the canon of a cathedral, and so were applied also to this bird of princely bearing and color. Is it not possible that a word such as *Gut-herr* might have been in use and then ap-

plied to this bird, the blue jay, so richly colored and so often lording it over all birds around him?

The *G Herrenvogel*, given for the jay, would really mean "a gentleman bird." The jay is dressed like a gentleman even if he doesn't always behave as one. This word would hardly have its source in a form of the *G Heher*, and it again points to the *G Herr*. As in the case of "the king's fisher" so it might even be suggested here that the jay was referred to as "the master's bird" or "the lord's bird." That a *G* name like *Heer-holz* should also be used for a jay only serves to indicate how all the *G* names for this species have suffered change and corruption, and how varied is their origin. *

"Der Dieb"—heard at several places in Lehigh County. The name is based on the bird's ringing call of "Dieb-Dieb-Dieb." The name is also descriptive of this amusing rascal's plundering habits, for he is a "thief" and his fondness for eggs and nestlings and his delight in worrying other birds have given him a bad reputation. Reprobate that he is, dashing and reckless, he calls out his name as he goes in search of trouble. He is also a mimic and a ventriloquist, as this saying from the Finland section of upper Bucks and upper Montgomery points out: "Ebmols dutt aer sei Schproch anneschder schmeisse,—odder velleicht sin 's Mennche un Weibche."

"Der blo Schpecht" (Leh.)—he frequents the large trees of lawn and orchard, and loves to roam the woods in the fall and winter. Hence this name of "the blue woodpecker."

* Karl Breul, *A New German and English Dictionary* (Cassell's New German Dictionary), Funk and Wagnalls Company, New York and London, 1909.

"Der Blokopp" (or "Blokobb")—"blue-head."

"Der Waldhaehr"—given in Lambert, from the G *Waldhäher*. Does the nature of this PG word suggest that "Guthaerr" might stem from a G word like *Guthacher*? or from *Gut-här*? Perhaps a distinction was made between European jays that lived in the deep forest and those that lived in the fields, in orchards, and close to dwellings.

"Heckert"—a name given by Beck, probably from the G *Hecke* (hedge, brush-wood, brush-fence), haunts of the jay.

"Der Grieschpecht"—this name has been given for the jay in Berks, Lancaster and Lehigh Counties. None of the informants were quite sure that the jay really was meant; and most of them thought it might refer to the flicker. Obviously, two prominent species were confused.*

"Der Greisch-schpecht"—because of the bird's screaming, and the noise of a company of them can make when they are up to some mischief. †

Eastern Crow, *Corvus brachyrhynchos* b.

"Die Grabb" (pl. "die Grabbe")—less commonly "Krabb" and "Krapp." Lins wrote "Krob"; Horne, "Grob"; Hoffman, "Krap"; and Rauch, "crop." Lambert, who gives the first two names mentioned, says the name comes from the dialectic G, "krapp." This, un-

* Dr. Arthur D. Graeff once submitted the name "Grieschpecht" to the readers of his "Scholla." Out of twelve replies by interested readers, only one person identified this name with the blue jay; the others named the flicker. Two persons identified the blue jay with "Guthaerr"; six did not know and four named the night-hawk, cardinal, hawk, chipmunk! One reader thought that the "Guthaerr" was a member of the crane family.

† Reported by Raymond E. Kiebach, Reading, Pa.

doubtedly, is a folkword, based directly on the call of the species. The G, *gemeine Krähe*, is not nearly as appropriate a name. Beck indicates a rare use of the G name and spells it "Kraa." This bird and the PG name for it are known wherever the dialect still prevails.

It has been said that the crow is the only bird which cannot or does not sing, but flocks of crows have made enough noise in the PG community to leave us with the word, "Grabbefrallick." The word is used in speaking of the noisy gathering of crows in a field of corn, or about a dead animal, or when they are on their way to their winter roosting places. Anyone who has heard them in the woods during the winter, or fighting among themselves before they scatter in pairs in the spring, or when they find a hawk or an owl in their vicinity, knows what the word implies. Hence any uproar in the community, any noisy gathering of people, a party or a dance, all were referred to by this name. A certain family reunion, a very noisy gathering in which the participants were as poor as their habits and character were questionable, was once referred to as "so 'n Grabbefrallick."

A crow's nest is often a bulky, wretched affair, and so the name "Grabbenescht" has applied to many things of similar character, including the freakish hat that a certain woman wore in church last Sunday. The wild geranium or cranesbill is called "Grabbefuss" and "Grabbeschnawwel"; and "Grabbefuss" has also been applied to the bird's-foot violet. Anything that looked revolting and disagreeable was said to be as ugly as the naked posterior of a young crow.

We have no dialect names for the fish crow and the practically unknown raven, but the same names would

apply. The dialect version of Poe's "The Raven" uses "Grabb" as the name for this bird. The name "Ludergrapp" (or "Ludergrabb") is sometimes given for a "carrion crow," but this refers to the vulture, except in rare instances when, as the writer saw and heard it, flocks of crows gathered about a dead horse lying on the winter's snow, and people spoke of them generally as "die Ludergrabbe."

The ravens were the great carrion eaters of ancient times and their name has constantly been associated with disaster and disease, with death and putrefaction. Among the Greeks they were an emblem of prophecy; and it is said that Odin, supreme deity of the later Norse pantheon, and Woden, the Teutonic god of wisdom, poetry and war, god of agriculture and god of the dead, came out of "raven cults." Among our people the raven was replaced by the crow, hence the expression, "The crows will fetch you!"

French peasants used to say that the bad priests became ravens and that the bad nuns all turned into crows. Among the Greeks the saying, "Go to the crows," really meant, "Go to Hell!" In Wales, one crow over a house was an omen of death within that house in the ensuing year; and "crow's-feet" beneath the eyes were a reminder of approaching death and decay. The magpies of Europe, those bold, handsome and ruthless robbers, unknown in eastern North America, were considered birds of evil omen also. Witches rode on this bastard offspring of the raven and the dove. They had a drop of the devil's blood on their tongues, feared "the cross," and would forsake any tree on which a cross was cut.

Our crow has not had a good reputation. Its destruction of the eggs and nestlings of smaller birds, its raids on hens' nests in the poultry yard and orchard, and its de-

struction of newly planted corn and the ripening ear, have given it a bad name. A crow would be shot and nailed on a tree or post to frighten the rest of the flock, and sometimes it took its place with a hawk or an owl on the gable of a barn. Great numbers are shot sometimes, when loose companies are wandering over the countryside or when a long line heads for the roosting places, and are left to lie where they fall. Nests of spoiled hens' eggs, injected with poison, would be set out as lures and many crows would be taken that way; or nests of eggs would be set in small bowers of brush along a fence, with a trap placed in the one entrance to the nest, and crows would be trapped that way. Their call and the manner of their flight has been connected with the weather, and these beliefs will be presented later.

TITMICE

Black-capped Chickadee, *Penthestes atricapillus a.*

"Der Winterveggel" (Monroe)—"winter bird."*

"Der Tschickedie"—a PG form of the E name, based on the liquid whistle and the chuckling notes of the bird. Hark used such a name in his poem, "Im Buch Vann's

* The new arrivals of late February, March and April were generally known as "die Friehtyaahrsveggel,"—such as the song sparrows, whip-poor-wills, robins and bluebirds. The arrivals of the late spring were called "die Summerveggel,"—such as the swallows, orioles, chipping sparrows and goldfinches. Those that stayed until early fall, like the goldfinches and some of the field sparrows, and the arrivals of early fall, like the field larks and the juncos, were called "die Schpotyaahrsveggel." The common winter residents, like the downy woodpeckers, the bluejays, titmice, chickadees, nuthatches and cardinals, were called "die Winterveggel." Of these, "Summerveggel" was the most prominent name, for these birds were most numerous and prominent. Other general names, applied in all seasons were "Buschveggel," "Raabveggel," "Wasserveggel." Various families were given characteristic names of this type, based on color, mannerism or habitat.

Shnayd." Some form of the E name is usually heard and used.

Tufted Titmouse, *Baeolophus bicolor*

This is one of "die Winterveggel" but we have no specific dialect name for it. This seems strange for both the titmouse and the chickadee are such friendly, jolly fellows, and they bring so much good cheer on dull winter days. Several titmice have been regular visitors at the writer's home from November to April. Wehr says that until recently this bird, like the cardinal, was comparatively rare in the Denver region, but that its range has been expanding northward and that it is now much more common. Landis has given the name of "Meise" for this species, but this is simply the G name. Other G names for the species are *Haubenmeise*, *Pieper*, *Koppmeise*, *Blaumeise*, *Bartmeise*, *Kohlmeise*, *Brandtmeise*, *Spiegelmeise*, *Bergmeise*.

NUTHATCHES

Northern White-breasted Nuthatch, *Sitta carolinensis* c.

"Nusspicker"—Brendle gives this name and says it applies also to the downy woodpecker. Yoder gave this name for the red-headed woodpecker, but said that the nuthatch and the flicker were included under this name. This may be a hybrid word, based partly on the G and partly on the E; again it may be derived wholly from the G which has these names for the species: *die Spechtmeise*, *die Nuszkrähe*, *der Nuszpicker*, *Nuszhacker*, *Nuszbeiszer*, *Nuszhäher*, *Nuszbrecher*, *Blauspecht*.

"Der glee blo Woodpecker"—given by Beck.

The saying, "Wann der Nusspicker globbt, gebt's

Regge," probably refers to a real woodpecker like the red-head or the flicker, rather than to this bird which simply calls "yank, yank."

CREEPERS

We have no dialect names for this species. The G names, *Baumpicker*, *Baumreiter*, *Baumläufer*, *Baumkriecher*, *Grauspecht*, *Baumhacker*, *Kriechling*, would apply, in some form, to this species and also to the nut-hatches and the woodpeckers. Some dictionaries give these G names for all the species named. This species is one of "die Winterveggel" but it does not seem to be well known.

WRENS

House Wren, *Troglodytes aedon a.*

"Der Zaahschlipper" (or "Zaahschlibber")—heard in Berks, Bucks, Lancaster, Lehigh, Montgomery, Schuylkill and York Counties. These two forms are most common and prevail so generally that no geographical lines can be drawn between them.

"Es Zaahschlipperli" (or "Zaahschlibberli") and "es Zaahschlipperle" (or "Zaahschlibberle")—the diminutive forms, heard in Berks, Lancaster, Lebanon and Lehigh Counties.

"Der Zaunschlibber"—less often, "Zaunschlipper." A name, more G in quality and character, heard in Berks, Lancaster and Lehigh Counties.

"Der Zaunkeenich"—given by Lambert. We have not heard it used in the dialect. Horne also gives this name.

The PG "Zaahschlipper" comes from the G *der Zaunschlöpfer* (also *Zaunschlupfer*, *Zaunschliefer*), a

name used for the common European wren and also for the hedge-sparrow, a small wren-like European warbler. The hedge-sparrow, *Accentor modularis*, is a bird which frequents or creeps through the hedges. It is frequently confused with the wren, but is often given the distinctive G name of *der grosse Zaunschlüpfer*. The PG "Zaunkeenich" comes from the G *der Zaunkönig* (king of fence or hedge), a name which also is applied to both European species. All of these G names are used interchangeably. Our wren resembled these species and was related to one of them, hence the dialect name.*

"Der Mauskeenich" (pl. "Mauskeenich" and, sometimes, "die Meiskeenich")—seemingly quite prominent in Lancaster County; heard also in Monroe County. Both this name and "Mausekeenich" have been heard in York County.

"Der Meiskeenich" (same in the plural)—heard near Finland, Pa.

"Der Mausevoggel" (York)—these names were probably suggested by the bird's color, habits and habitat. Like a mouse, it can creep through very small holes in boards, rails, posts, tree trunks and bird houses. The way it spends its time in shrubbery, bushes and brush, so that "now you see it, now you don't," again makes you think of a mouse. The bird's bold, aggressive nature, not to be measured in proportion to his size, makes him a king wherever he goes.

"Der Beesvoggel—aer henkt sich an die Grabbe-fliggel un losst nat geh!" Brendle heard this near Finland, in Montgomery County. With his amazing energy

* Lambert writes the PG name as "Za-schlipper, Zo-schlipper" to indicate nasalization where the final G "n" has been lost. For a discussion of nasal vowels see Lambert, page xix. We join with others in writing "Zaahschlipper."

“Der Zaun oder Schnee-König *

Es wolte einst die Schaar der Vögelein,
Beherrscht von einem eignen König seyn,
Und luden alle Vögel, grosz und klein
Zum höchsten Fluge in den Wettstreit ein.
Nun schwungen all Vögel sich empor
Und allen that es weit der Adler vor;
Ihn huldigt' schon der ganze Vögelchor
Doch sieh! do flattert unter ihm hervor
Ein Vogel, der noch über ihn hinfloh,
Und listig ihn ums Königreich betrog.
Es hatte nemlich der so schlaue Kleine
Sich zwischen die befiederten Gebeine
Vom Adler und von Allen unentdeckt,
Sehr schlau und unversehen versteckt.
Un als der Adler in dem höchsten Flug'
Nach einem Vogel, ders ihm gleich thät, frug',
Sich auch bereits als Aller Herrn betracht,
Wird er vom kleinen Schelm nur ausgelacht.
Den der flog aus des Adlers Federn vor,
Und thats im Fluge nun, dem Adler selbst zuvor.
Nach dem Vertrag wolt Er nun König seyn:
Und wurd's: doch blos zu seiner ewgen Schande.
Denn alle grosse Vögel in dem Lande
Verhöhnten ihn, wohin er immer flog.
Und jetzt fühlt die, so kleine Majestät,
Wie schlecht Betrug und Schelmerey besteht.
Jetzt lebt sie, um vor andrer Vögel Necken
Geschützt zu seyn, in Zaunen, Dorn und Hecken.

Lehre.

Wer ohn Verdienst nach Macht und Ehren strebt,
Der in der Folge nichts als Schimpf und Schand'
erlebt.”

* “Dieser Vogel ist der allerkleinste den man in Deutschland hat.”



Der Zaun oder Schneekönig. *)

(The above illustration is taken from *Ein wohl eingerichtetes deutsches A B C—Buchstaben- und Lesebuch zum Gebrauch deutscher Schulen . . .* Germantown: Gedruckt bey Michael Billmeyer, 1796. The text is taken from a section on "Auserlesene Fabeln" in the same book. From the library of Henry S. Borneman.)

and courage, the wren will try anything and will always put up a good fight. Officious and dictatorial, but not a bad fellow!

"Der Baasvogel" (Mont.)—the master or boss. This points back to the name of "Keenich" (king), because the bird is officious, "bossy," and inclined to be dictatorial in the vicinity of its nesting site. This name is to be distinguished from the preceding name which lays emphasis upon the bird's courage and its seemingly cross and angry disposition.

"Schpetzli" (Lanc.)—this name is used for any small bird.

"Zo-schlipper"—this form is given by Lambert, so written to show that the vowel is nasalized because the final G "n" in *Zaun* has been lost. The writer does not recall that he ever heard this form, but enters it here for the sake of the record. If this form of the name is still in use, note should be made of it!

The story of the wren's contest with the eagle, and the way in which, by some clever deception, he won the title of "king of birds," will appear elsewhere. The wren of ancient lore is said to have been the golden-crested wren, *Regulus r.*, of England and the continent, and the fire-crested wren, *Regulus ignicapillus*, of the continent. Only much later did the "Jenny Wren," *Troglodytes t.*, replace it in folklore.* One of these was the *Zaun-könig* referred to in the ancient tale. To us the wren is just a busy and cheerful fellow who will make himself at home anywhere. As one old PG grandmother explained, he is so small that he alone can pass between the closely-set pickets in a fence ("Zaun") but, like a naughty boy, he is known far and wide for all the good and bad things he will attempt, and we love him still.

* From *The Gods Had Wings*. W. J. Brown.

THRASHERS AND MOCKINGBIRDS

Mockingbird, *Mimus polyglottos* p.

"Der Schpottvogel"—this is a general name heard throughout the PG region, used for a "mocking" bird. It has been given for "the mockingbird" in Berks, Bucks, Lancaster, Lehigh, Monroe and Montgomery Counties. As already noted, reports indicate that this species was rather common in southern Pennsylvania and New Jersey two centuries ago. All reports for the last fifty years show that the bird, not being migratory, is but a rare straggler from the south. Beck says that the species was reported as breeding in the southern part of Lancaster County in 1869. Stone reports that it is "a very rare summer resident, very irregular in the southern countries, and breeding south of 38 degrees latitude."* The dialect name, undoubtedly, was first applied to the prominent species in the early years. More recently it came to be used for all "mocking" birds, and now it applies only to the next two species. Several persons have reported seeing the true mockingbird, but, if these reports are reliable, they must have seen lone stragglers.

The family *Mimidae* is distinctively American, but there are corresponding and appropriate G names like *Spottdrossel*, for "a mocking thrush"; *Spottvogel*, for "a mocker" or "one who ridicules"; and *Spötter*, for "one who mocks." Gleditsch, in 1745, gave *Spottvogel* and *Spötter* for "a mocker," with no reference to any bird. Such names may have been applied to certain European species, like the "mock nightingale" (a black-capped warbler, *Sylvia atricapilla*), the jay, the magpie and the

* Witmer Stone, *The Birds of Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey*, 1894.

starling, but it seems they were used more generally in reference to persons. At any rate, it means that our people came here equipped with general G words which they readily applied to the mockingbirds found here. We cannot agree with those who think that the PG name for this species is simply a translation of the E name. It is certain that our people were just as quick to recognize a mockingbird as the English were, and this means that the E and PG names developed separately. The G origin of the PG word also explains why this name for a presently uncommon bird has persisted for more than two centuries, that is, the name is older than our people's knowledge of the species. Lambert gives "Schpottvojjel" (his spelling!) and retains the double meaning, "mockingbird" and "one who ridicules."

Landis gives the name "Spielfogel" (from the G *spielen*, to play, as in music), a very appropriate name for this "national song-bird" whose vocal powers have made him famous the world over.*

Catbird, *Dumetella carolinensis*

"Der Schpottvoggel"—this is the general name now applied to this species. Yoder says he has found, after the passing of forty years, that the bird which they always called "Schpottvoggel" at Hegins really was the catbird.†

"Der gro Schpottvoggel" (Leh.)—a name which distinguishes this species of the mockers and which sets this bird of slaty gray and black apart from the more colorful mockingbird and the brown thrasher.

"Der Katzevoggel" (Berks, Bucks, Lanc., Leb., Leh., Monroe, Mont., Sch.)—the common and distinctive

* Henry Kinzer Landis, Landis Valley, Lancaster County, Pa.

† William F. Yoder, Hegins, Schuylkill County, Pa., in a letter to the writer.

name. Many persons use both the general and the specific name for this bird, hence "Schpottvoggel" and "Katzevoggel" are the same bird. Lambert and Lins gave "Schpottvoggel" as the general name, and "Katzevoggel" as the specific name. Hoffman was satisfied with "Schpottvoggel" for "mockingbirds."

"Der Katzemaunser" (also "Katzemiaunser")—"aer schmeist sei Schtimm anneschder un am End macht aer 'mee-eee'." Brendle heard this in the Finland-Sumneytown region. It suggests that the bird is a ventriloquist as well as a mocker, and calls attention to the voice which has given the bird its common name. Part of the name is based on the G *miauen*, *maunzen*,—to mew, meow, or complain. In the PG it is used to describe a monotonous complaining about inconsequential matters,—“So en G'miauns bin ich leedich!” “Miaunse” and “Katzemiaunse” and “Katzeg'miauns” are used in the same way.

"Der Reggevoggel"—one report from Berks County, not wholly reliable, gives this name. The informant thought that he had heard persons refer to the "catbird" and "der Schpottvoggel" by this name. The nature of the bird's voice may have suggested this.

"Katzevoggel" may seem to be a translation of the E name for the species but, as in the case of the dialect name for the killdeer, it is the writer's opinion that this name, descriptive of the bird's voice, developed independently. The dialect name would come naturally to any discerning person hearing this bird's call, apart from any influence or suggestion of the E name.

Brown Thrasher, *Toxostoma rufum*

"Der Schpottvoggel"—given specifically for this bird by informants in Berks, Bucks, Lancaster, Lehigh and

Montgomery Counties.* As a specific name, it is used for this species more often than for the catbird. Several persons have said that it refers to this bird, but that it also refers in a general way to the other two species. "Aer schpott all die Veggel aus!"—so said one man. "Der Schpottvoggel saagt: 'Pitty! Pitty! Fui! Fui!'"—such was Yoder's report from Schuylkill County, with the note that " 'Der Schpottvoggel' is, of course, the mockingbird" (actually, he was thinking of the brown thrasher in this instance as his description of the call indicates).

"Der brau Schpottvoggel" (Leh.)—a distinctive name for this species.

"Der Drescher"—from Berks and Monroe Counties. The G name for a thrasher or thresher is *der Drescher*. This PG name is probably only a translation of the E name, for the E "thrasher" is another name for "thrusher" or "thrushel" and "throstle," based on the superficial way in which this bird resembles the thrushes. It is sometimes called "song thrush," "mocking thrush," "brown thrush." The name has no connection with threshing or thrashing, as of grain.

"Die Drossel" (Lanc.)—based on the G, *der Drossel*,

* Raymond E. Hollenbach, Royersford, has made this pointed comment: "I notice that Lins uses the name 'shbudfogel' for mockingbird. This is rather strange for there are so many birds common in our locality for which there is no Penna. German name and yet here is a bird that does not occur in our locality and he has a name for it. I wonder if he did not really intend this name for the 'brown thrasher' which is a bird of the mocking bird family and is very common in upper Lehigh. These birds are so outstanding in their song and their activities that they cannot help but be noticed, and one of my outstanding memories of fishing days along Jordan Creek are these brown thrashers on the topmost branches of the trees, bubbling over with their mimics and varied songs. My memory is a little hazy but it seems to me I have heard the name 'Schpudfogel' applied to this bird." From a letter to the writer.

for a thrush. Lambert also gives it this way. Also, "der Drossel," specifically in reference to the lone singer on the top branch of an apple tree in the orchard.

"Die Droschel" (Lanc., Leh.)—a form of the above, first in Lambert's list. The plural is "die Droschle," sometimes, "die Droschele."

"Droschdel"—given by Beck.

"Heckedreschli" (York)—reported by Brendle.

"Schpottdrossel" (Leh.)—this may be a pure PG form, based on the forms given above; or, again, it may be based on the G *Spottdrossel*.

THRUSHES AND BLUEBIRDS

Eastern Robin, *Turdus migratorius m.*

"Die Amschel" (pl. "Die Amschle," sometimes "die Amschele")—a young robin is called "es Amschliche," "es Amschelche," "es Amschli," "es Amschle," "en gleeni Amschel" (pl. "die Amschelcher," "Amschlicher," "Amschlecher," "gleene Amschle," "gleene Amschele"). No other bird is as well and as widely known in PG land as this universal favorite. It is always known by this one dialect name, based on the G *Amsel*, the name for the European blackbird, *Turdus merula m.*

Beck has said that "the Palatines like the Puritans blundered ornithologically in naming this common species. Everywhere in the Pennsylvania German region it is called Omshel, which originated from a fancied resemblance to the German Amsel. Omshel is probably the only other commonly used name for *Planesticus migratorius m.* besides the more general one based on the Puritan identification of the bird with the English Robin." It is correct to say that the "robin" of the New

Englanders is a misnomer, but to say that our people blundered ornithologically in naming this bird is, at best, only a half-truth.

Our "robin" or "migratory thrush" is not related to the European robin, *Erythacus rubecola*, a small warbler of the family *Sylviidae*, to which it bears some resemblance in color but not in size. This small Old World warbler, especially abundant in Great Britain, got the name of "robin redbreast." In Germany this bird was called *das Rotkelchen*, *Rotbrüstchen*, *Rotbrüistle*. The E name was then applied to our migratory thrush, hence "robin" for our bird, but the G name was not so used. Instead, our early fathers took the name of their common, black, singing thrush, *die Amsel*, (*Turdus merula m.*) and applied it to our common New World thrush, hence "Amschel" for our bird. The reader will decide whether our people blundered ornithologically or not in the naming of our bird! "Unser Voreltre hen die Veggelsnaame nat aus d'r Fauscht g'suckelt wie Deel vun de dumme Englische!"

Some comment on the English robin is in order here. First in the affections of most Englishmen, it is a bird that is a friend to all, stays with them during the sharpest winter, and frequents their homes. As such it goes unharmed and its person is sacrosanct. Once it really was a "sacred bird"; its red breast, like the black woodpecker's red crest, made the bird sacred to Thor, the god of lightning and thunder. In ancient lore the bird was the "fire-bringer" and penalties for harming it or its nest were that the home of the wrong-doer would be destroyed by fire or lightning, or that the cows would give bloody milk. The robin and the wren, "God's cock and hen," were sacred to the fire gods, and both were killed for ceremonial purposes on Candlemas Day, Feb-

ruary 2. Of various forms are the legends that the red-breast will cover the face of a dead person with moss; that he may cover the whole body if he thinks that the corpse might remain unburied; that his breast bears the marks of the fires that scorch him as he, in mercy, brings drops of water to cool the tongues of those condemned to the "fiery pit"; and that his breast was stained red by the blood of Christ when the bird tried to pull the nails out of the cross.

So, our robin is first in our affections, and the first robin in the springtime is a good sign and a welcome friend. It matters little that he is sometimes called "en Kaerschedieb," for his call of "cherry-cherry-cherry" (as Brendle heard it near Finland, Pa.), is a sufficient reward for all the cherries ("Moikaersche," "Bullkaersche," "Schwatzkaersche," "Siesskaersche," "Glaaskaersche," "Sauerkaersche") that he claims. They say that there was a time when many robins were killed for food, but, as with the flickers, good laws put an end to the unhappy practice. A good friend and a reliable informant, who must remain anonymous, has told us that the first flesh which he was given as a child was robin's flesh,—so that he would have a voice like a robin. He tells us that robins were not killed at any other time by the members of his family. What is more, he confesses to the shooting of two robins in his lifetime, so that the first meat which his two daughters would eat might be that of the robin,—"so dass sie singe kenne wie die Amschle!" *

* The same person told us that old hunters would rub the blood of a freshly killed deer on their legs so as to acquire the swiftness and strength of the deer. The flesh of robins, squabs and flickers was fed to people during convalescence so that they might acquire the virility of these birds. Reference to this will be made under the discussion of the cock. In the old country, the tongues of nightingales were taken internally with the idea that the voice of this beautiful singer might be transferred to the person.

Wood Thrush, *Hylocichla mustelina*

"Die Buschamschel" (Berks, Bucks, Leh., Mont.)—because it is related to the robin and because the thrushes and the immature robins resemble each other. Habitat suggested this form of the name.

"Die scheckich Buschamschel" (Leh.)—by an informant who gave the name "Buschamschel" for the towhee, and this as a distinguishing name for all the "wood thrushes."

"Der Buschvoggel" (Leh.)—a general name for any bird of the woods, but applied especially to this species. Lambert gives this for "thrush."

"Der scheckich Buschvoggel" (Leh.)—a more distinctive name given to the thrushes and also to the ovenbird.

"Der Nacktigaall"—a name which Brendle heard for this species along the Swamp Creek in Montgomery County. Horne wrote the dialect name as "Noctagawl," another variation in the pronunciation.

"Der Nachtigaal" and the "nightingale" — names which Brendle heard in Monroe County. Note that this name for the nightingale, the common European "wood" warbler, was given to two species of "Buschveggel" here,—the wood thrush and whip-poor-will.

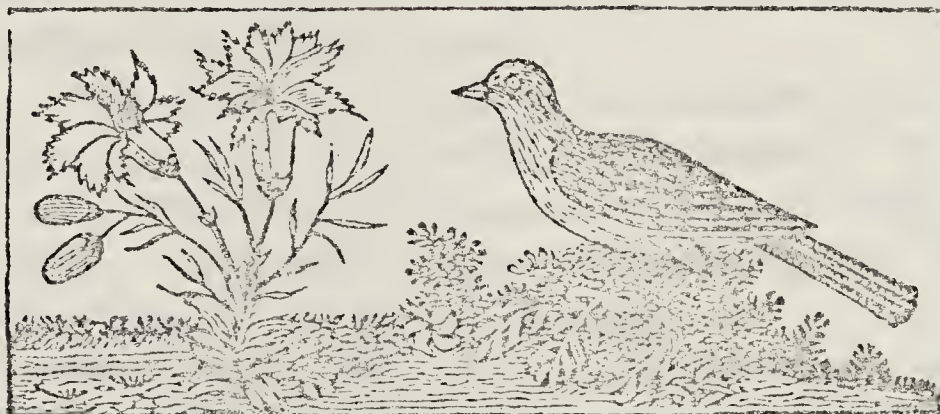
"Die Nachtamschel"—a good name, also from Monroe County,—"night robin," or "night thrush."

"Der Frosch" (Lanc., Leh.)—like the PG name for a frog or a tree-toad. Possibly a corruption of the E name (or of the PG for "thrush").

"Der Holsfrosch" (Lanc.)—which seems to be a dialect version of the E name, "thrush," with the PG "Hols," for "wood."

"Es Holsfroschel" (Lanc.)—probably a combination

N Nelke n Nachtigall



Im Frühling, wenn die Nelke blüht,
Hört man der Nachtigallen Lied.

(Illustration from *Hoch-Deutsches Lutherisches Abc—und Namen Büchlein für Kinder*. Harrisburg, Pa. Gedruckt und zu haben bey G. S. Peters. The title is taken from the title-page. The outside cover carries this title: *Hoch-Deutsches A. B. C. und Buchstabir-Büchlein für Kinder*. Harrisburg, Penna. Gedruckt und zu haben bei Scheffer und Beck, 1852. From the library of Henry S. Borneman.)

of "Hols" and the PG "Droschel" (or the E "thrush" or "throstle").

"En Holsdroschel" (also "Holsdruschel")—based on "Droschel" and so named to distinguish this species from the brown thrasher.

"Der Heckedroschel" (pl. "die Heckedroschle")—from York County.

"Der Drossel" and "die Drossel"—both forms used generally for the thrushes in this family. Lambert writes it as "die Drossel."

"Die Droschel"—given in Lambert for any thrush. The plural is "die Droschle," "Droschele." Names for the young would take the same endings as those for a young robin. Autenrieth gives "druschel" (pl. "druschele") and "drusel" for the G *Drossel*.

"Die Amschel"—a name which Lambert gives for both robin and thrush. We have also heard "der Amschel" used here, as elsewhere, when a reference is emphatic, direct and pointed. The male being the most prominent as a rule, a kind of personalized reference to a bird takes "der." This applies even in the case of hawks, where the female is more prominent than the male. When speaking of birds not seen at the moment, the "die" comes into use more frequently. Gender in the PG follows no rules, and we are only making notes!

All these names would also apply to the other species of thrushes in this family. We have heard no distinctive names for the hermit thrush, the veery and the others.

Eastern Bluebird, *Sialia sialis* s.

"Der Blovoggel"—only this one PG name for a bird that is familiar to everyone. When the writer asked persons about dialect bird names they invariably began

naming them this way: "Amschel," "Grabb," "Blovog-gel,"—." The next name might be "Schpatz" or "Zaah-schlibber" or "Biwwi" or "Eil" or "Woi." With so few persons knowing many dialect or E names, most seemingly limited to a knowledge of about six names, the above three would always be among those named.

Brendle has noted that, in York County, the name sounds more like "Blovo'el," using a very soft medial "j" or dropping it altogether. We do not like Lambert's form, "vojjel," for reasons already stated, and medial "j" is a controversial sign anyway. We will agree here that the form "Vo'el" may appear anywhere in the PG region and that its use is not restricted to York. On occasion, when ones ears are sharp enough, "Vo'el" is heard, with medial "g" seemingly lost. The medial "g" is not lost in careful deliberate speech, and, as we have commonly heard it, is so prominent that "voggel" is the best representation. Autenrieth wrote "vochel"; so did Schandain.

The bluebird is such a friendly, cheerful fellow in the spring, and there is such deep feeling in his song on a day in late fall, that we are sure it matters not at all to him whether we call him "Blovo'el" or "Blovoggel."

PIPITS

American Pipit, *Anthus spinoletta rubescens*

"Die Laerrich" would apply to this species, as we have already noted in connection with the horned lark. Some have thought that the PG "Sootlaerrich" might apply to this species, but this is only a remote possibility. We think that the horned lark has been more prominent in early fall, at seed-time; and the only time we have seen the pipits is from late January to early March. The dialect names must stand for what they are worth. The

other observation to be repeated here is that, in common usage and in our dialect literature, "die Laerrich" refers to the meadowlark of the summer fields, whose clear, sweet whistle is a familiar sound. The name, "Winter Laerrich," given by Brendle for a "winter lark," may have referred to this species.

WAXWINGS

Cedar Waxwing, *Bombycilla cedrorum*

"Der Kaerschevoggel" (Berks, Leh., Mont.)—the "cherry bird," because they are fond of fruit and berries.

"Der Kappevoggel"—given in Lambert. Named for their conspicuous crest. No one seems to have noticed the wax-like wing tips. In the G we have *Seidenschwanz* for the Bohemian waxwing, a species common to the northern parts of both the Old World and the New, and a name that also calls attention to the garb of the species in this family.

SHRIKES

Northern Shrike, *Lanius borealis* b.

The only name for this "Butcher Bird" is the G which was reported from Lancaster County,—*der Würger* (the strangler, destroyer, etc). Other G names are, *Neunmörder*, *Würgengel*.

STARLINGS

Starling, *Sturnus vulgaris* v.

This is an Old World bird, introduced in New York City in 1890 and 1891. From there it has spread very rapidly across the continent. They were first seen in Weisenberg Township, Lehigh County, during the winter of 1915-16, and were called "die neie Veggel." They were first seen in Maxatawny Township, Berks County,

about the year 1920, and were called "die neie Veggel fer die Schpatze audreiwe." Beck reports that the species began breeding in Lancaster County in 1912. Brendle reports the names, "der glee Schtaar" and "die schwarz Amschel," the latter a name reminiscent of the G *Amsel*. The dialect version of the E name seems to prevail throughout the PG region, thus "Schtarling," "Schdarling," "der schwatz Schtarling," "die dreckiche Schtarling," "die schwarze Schtarling." The name "Schtaar" (pl. "die Schtaare, die gleene Schtaare"), based on the G *der Star, Staar, Stahr, Starmatz*, is also commonly heard, but more often in reference to the larger, true blackbirds. The best and most descriptive name which we have recorded for this species, a name that seems to say about all that needs to be said, is "die wieschde, dreckiche, umleidliche, verfochtne, gehlmeiliche Schtaerndunnerwetter vun Schtarling!"

VIREOS

Red-eyed Vireo, *Vireo olivaceus*

"Der Henkvoggel" (Monroe)—"hanging bird." A name suggested by the hanging nest of the bird, or by the way the bird hangs from the thin branches of trees while singing and while gathering food from the under surfaces of leaves.

"Der Preddicher" (Berks)—the informant admitted this was his translation of the E, "the Preacher," a name commonly given to this species.

Chapman interprets the bird's call as being "You see it—you know it—do you hear me?—do you believe it?" Wehr thinks that he has heard the bird say all this in the PG! Graeff has noted that it sounds as though

the "preacher bird" were saying, "Lees die Biewel! Lees die Biewel!" *

WOOD WARBLERS

As a family the warblers are known only in the mass, generally seen during migration as they fill the tree tops on a spring morning. Beck notes that they are generally called "Finke" (G *Finke*, finches) and "die gleene Veggel." "Schpetzlicher," "die gleene Schpetzlicher," "die gleene Veggel," are the only names which we have heard for the whole family. Only a few species are noted specifically.†

Eastern Yellow Warbler, *Dendroica aestiva a.*

"Der glee Gehlvoggel"—"little yellow bird."

"Zelaatvoggel" and "Zelaatschpetzel"—"salad bird." These names were mentioned by persons who, it seemed, could not think of the name, "goldfinch," to which these dialect forms properly belong.

Oven-bird, *Seiurus aurocapillus*

"Der Buschvoggel" and "der scheckich Buschvoggel"—a name this species shares with the thrushes. No special note seems to have been made of bird's ringing call of "Teacher, teacher, teacher."

Northern Yellow-throat, *Geothlypis trichas brachidactyla*

No name has been heard for this species, but Wehr

* At another place, in "Scholla," Graeff said that the oriole singing near the bedroom window early in the morning exhorted the pious, "Lees die Biewel, Lees die Biewel" (Read the Bible).

† George MacReynolds, in *The Birds of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, with annotations*, Doylestown, Pa., 1937, lists 32 species of wood warblers. Beck gives 36 species for Lancaster County and Poole lists 39 species for Berks County. Warren, in his report, and George M. Sutton, in *An Introduction to the Birds of Pennsylvania*, Harrisburg, Pa., 1928, each report on 39 species. So large a transient family, yet so few PG names!

has noted that the bird's call of "wichity, wichity," reminds him of "hexerei, hexerei, hexerei, hex."

Yellow-breasted Chat, *Icteria virens* v.

Berky has noted that this bird of mysterious character and a strange assortment of calls may be classed with the mockers and called "en Schpottvogel." *

We have not heard any dialect names for the American redstart, the yellow palm warbler, the chestnut-sided warbler, myrtle warbler or any of the others. The kinglets, American representatives of the Old World warblers, have also gone unnamed. The common G names for the Old World Warblers, like, *Sänger*, *Singvogel*, would not apply to the warblers of the New World, which are not as musical. Rather our warblers have weak voices, are difficult to see and to study. G names like *Rohrsperling*, *Rohrspatz*, *Rohrdrossel*, *Grasmücke*, *Weidenzeifig*, *Rotschwänzchen*, for European species, have not appeared here; neither has *Rotkelchen*, the name we noted for the European "robin." Only the G *Nachtigall*, for the nightingale, the common European warbler with the famous night voice, has appeared in other connections in the PG as already noted. G names for the kinglets (sometimes called "wrens" because of a superficial resemblance), *Königlein*, *Heckenkönig*, *Goldhänlein*, *Goldhänchen*, *Goldhähnchen*, did not carry over.

WEAVER FINCHES

House or English Sparrow, *Passer domesticus* d.

This sparrow is common throughout Europe and the British Isles. It was first introduced into this country at Brooklyn, New York, in 1850. Chapman says that during the next twenty-five years it was introduced in a

* Ralph W. Berky, Bally, Pa.

number of other cities, and during that period the species was largely confined to the cities of the Atlantic States, on the streets of which they found a ready food-supply. This pest has since spread to all parts of the country, and the diminution of their food-supply as the automobile replaced the horse seems not to have bothered them at all. They are quarrelsome and troublesome, dirty and noisy, carriers of pests and diseases wherever they establish themselves. And they will establish themselves anywhere, and all other birds will then have no peace. Perhaps they will yet redeem themselves by feeding even more extensively on the Japanese beetles.

"Die Schpatz" (pl. "die Schpatze")—this is the common name. It is as harsh as the bird itself is offensive. This name is rarely used in referring to the "song sparrows." Lambert makes it "der Schpatz," but we are not familiar with this form and have not heard it. The cock sparrow is called "der Schpatzert" or "der Schpatzahaahne." "Schpatzehinkel" has been heard for the female sparrow or hen. The species is usually spoken of in the plural as "Schpatze" (or "Schbadze"), "Schperlinge" (Lanc., from the *G Sperling*), "Schparwe" (Lanc., from the *G Sperber, Sperwer*), "Schbarlinge" or "Schparlinge" (Berks), and "Schbaerre" (Lebanon).*

"Englischer Schpatz" (pl. "die Englische Schpatze")—also a very common name for the species, probably based on the E name. Also "die Englisch Schpatz."

"Englisch Schpetzel"—a rare form of the name.

"Die Deitsche Schpatze"—the plural form, reported

* The two last names were given in the *P. D. Eck*, March 22, 1941. Autenrieth gives "spetzert" for the male *Sperling* or *Spatz*. Horne gives "Shbarling" (his spelling).

from upper Lehigh County, pointing back to the European sparrow or "German sparrow."

"Die Geilsdreck Schpatze"—a name based on their feeding habits, reported by Butterwick. Once they fed almost exclusively on the horse manure on city streets.

"Die Hausschatze"—heard occasionally in Lehigh County.

The basic G word in most of these forms is *der Spatz* (pl. *die Spatzen*). *Der Sperling* (pl. *die Sperlinge*) is the other common G name; and the cock sparrow and hen sparrow are known as *Sperlingsmännchen* and *Sperlingsweibchen* respectively. A passerine bird is called *ein Sperlingsvogel*. "*Er trägt Spatzen unterm Hut*" was a common expression, meaning, "He takes off his hat to no one." We have heard a form of this in the dialect but then it meant that the person was concealing some trick or scheme, or that the person had "something up his sleeve." Another G saying, "*Das wissen die Sperlinge auf den Dächern*," meant that everybody knew about the matter, even the sparrows on the roof. Akin to this is the belief about birds carrying news because they have a bird's-eye view of everything and get around,—"*a little bird told me.*" "Pumpernickle Bill" still has his "Fegelcher" bringing news for his daily column in the Allentown *Morning Call*.

Spätzle, G name for a favorite Swabian dish, may not have anything to do with sparrows, but the form of the word is present, and in the dialect it became "Schpetzle", tiny dumplings or noodles (the dough was made that way sometimes) made by dropping little bits of dough into boiling water; other stock was added, such as meat, to make a soup or some other favorite dish. Years ago, among our people, sparrows were killed (shot, with

"Schpatzeschrot") for food. A large potato was halved and hollowed out in the center; the dressed sparrow was inserted, the halves of potato put together, and the whole baked in the oven. A soup, called "Schpatzesupp," was made by boiling the breasts and legs of sparrows, potatoes and onions; seasoning, butter and milk were added to make another tasty dish. The flesh did look a bit "blue" sometimes, hence the expression, "Des is so maager as Schpatzesupp." A mixture of all kinds of food, a soup or dish made of left-overs, or anything on the table not quite up to standard, was also known as "Schpatzesupp." "Schpatz" and "Maadervoggel" were the names for a mason's hawk. Of quarrelsome people it was said, "Sie fechte un raase wie die Schpatze."

MEADOWLARKS, BLACKBIRDS AND ORIOLES

Bobolink, *Dolichonyx oryzivorus*

"Der Riedvoggel"—"reedbird." One of the names which this bird assumes during his long journey to his winter home. This is probably based on the E name, reedbird. Beck, who gives this name, says it is also used, but rarely, for the local rails, the *Virginia* and *Sora*.

"Der Buttervoggel"—a name which Lambert gives for "reedbird." Hoffman also gives it for reedbird or "butter bird," another local E name for the fat little bird of the fall migrations

"Der Grammesvoggel" (also "Krammesvoggel" and "Grammes")—names which Brendle heard in the vicinity of Sumneytown, Pa. They are based on the G, *der Krammetsvogel*, *Turdus pilaris*, a fieldfare or thrush that breeds in the birch forests of Europe and winters in great Britain. It bears a superficial resemb-

lance to the female Bobolink, to the male Bobolink during and after the post-nuptial molt, and to the female cowbird. The bird's coloration, its song and habitat, probably suggested this name reminiscent of the Old World thrush.

"Der (glee) Schtaar"—for this species, the cowbird and blackbirds.

Eastern Meadowlark, *Sturnella magna m.*

"Die Laerrich" (sometimes, "der Laerrich")—a name used in Berks, Bucks, Lancaster, Lehigh, Montgomery and Schuylkill Counties. In dozens of instances this name was always applied specifically to this species.

"Die Laerrick" (Berks and Lehigh)—a form of the plural which we have heard a number of times, with a clear "k" sound at the end. The rarer singular was "der Laerrick."

"Die Winterlaerriche"—a plural form, heard by Brendle, for "winter larks." They have been reported as uncommon local winter residents in the lowlands of the lower counties, returning to the uplands in early March. The writer has seen the species on the winter's snows in Delaware and on the eastern shore of Maryland, but has not seen them in Lehigh County during the winter. This name would also apply to the horned lark and pipit.

This species is the "Laerrich" of PG prose and poetry. When Edward Hermany wrote "singe wie'n Laerch im Moi!" and Fischer wrote, "Guck, wie dart en Lerchli schwingt," they were undoubtedly thinking of this bird, for its voice was very prominent in the freshly cultivated fields of spring and the grass fields of early summer. G names like *Heu-lerche* for a "meadow" lark, and *Wiesenlerche*, *Heidelerche*, for the pipit, have not appeared in the dialect in this connection.

Eastern Red-winged Blackbird, *Agelaius phoeniceus* p.

"Der Schtaar" (pl. "die Schtaare")—a general name for all the blackbirds, heard in Berks, Lancaster, Lehigh, Montgomery and Monroe Counties. Harbaugh's beautiful lines about "e' Staar" in the poem, "Haemweh," referred to this species. The plural form is most commonly used.

"Der rotfliggelich Schtaar" (pl. "die rotfliggeliche Schtaare")—heard in Berks, Lancaster and Lehigh Counties, usually in the plural.

"Der Rotfliggel"—a name reported by Brendle, whose Finland informant said that the bird's call was "waa-grie, waa-grie."

"En rotg'fligg'lder Schtaar" (Leh.)—the name which Beck gives is similar to this. We have also heard "der rotg'fligg'lt Schtaar" and "der rotfligg'lich Schtaar" (pl. "die rotfligg'liche Schtaare").

"Die grosse Schtaare" (Leh.)—usually used in speaking of a large, mixed company of red-wings and grackles, to distinguish them from the smaller starlings and cowbirds.

"Schwammschtaare" (Bucks, Leh., Mont.)—so-called because they make their home in the meadows and swamps, among the tall grasses, weeds and reeds. Tall meadow weeds (*Erigeron annuus* and *ramosus*) were called "Schtaareschtengel" in Lehigh County.

"Die Schwammveggel" (Leh.)—a general name, which would apply to various species of meadow and swamp, given specifically for this bird. "Schwammvoggel" is the rarely used singular.

"Der Grickeschtaar" (pl. "die Grickeschtaare")—based on the E "creek." A name given by Brendle.

"Die Wasserschtaare"—another name based on the habitat of the species.

"Der Flammvoggel"—"flame bird," because of the male's bright scarlet "shoulders." A name reported by Brendle.

Baltimore Oriole, *Icterus galbula*

"Die Goldamschel" (with the other forms of this being the same as those for "Amschel")—A very common and popular name, about as widely known as "Amschel" itself. From Finland comes the report that the call of this bird of splendor is "Ever-so-beauty." The name is undoubtedly based on the G *Goldamsel* for the European "golden oriole." We have already called attention to this G name in another connection. Other G names like *Pirol*, for the common European oriole, resembling our Baltimore; *Vogel-Pirol*, for the same species and for a "yellow thrush"; and *Vogel-Bülow* for the oriole, yellow thrush and "witwall," have not appeared in the dialect. Here the confusion in G nomenclature again becomes apparent, and explains why the dialect name is applied to a bird that is not of the thrush family.

We have also heard the name of "Henkvoggel" for this species, but cannot locate its source. The pensile nest of the species and the manner of their perching on very thin branches of trees, would suggest this name.

Orchard Oriole, *Icterus spurius*

"Die schwarz Goldamschel"—a name in Brendle's list, based on the fact of the darker plumage of the male which shows much black and chestnut as compared with the orange, yellow and black plumage of the Baltimore.

Purple Grackle, *Quiscalus quiscula q.*

"Die Schtaare"—the general name which usually appears in the plural, for these birds, like the red-wings and starlings, travel in great companies, especially in the fall. The red-wings and grackles seem to send a few scouts ahead in the spring; a few days later the main company arrives. After a season of dramatic courtships, they break up in pairs for the nesting period. After that the slow gathering of great flocks of these birds, is a sign of the coming of fall.

"Die schwatze (schwarze) Schtaare"—a name especially for this species, to distinguish it from the red-wings.

"Die grosse Schtaare"—to distinguish them from the red-wings and the starlings.

"Die grosse schwatze Schtaare" (Berks, Leh.)—the ultimate in names for this large bird.

"Die schwarze Veggel" (Lanc., Berks)—"blackbirds."

"Die grosse schwarze Veggel" (Berks, Leh.).

"Die langfliggeliche Schtaare" (Berks) — "long-winged" blackbirds.

"Die langschwensiche Schtaare" (Leh.) — "long tailed" blackbirds

"Die Welschkarn Schtaare" (Berks)—because they pull up the corn in the fields and damage the ripening ears.

Cowbird, *Molothrus ater a.*

"Der Kihschtaar" (Berks, Lanc., Leh.)—so-called because they follow cattle about in the pasture, to feed on the insects that are aroused. They follow you when you till the soil and when you mow grass in the meadow.

Their manner of walking, characteristic of the family, is a familiar sight on the farm. This is the so-called "wandering Jew" among American birds. It builds no nest but lays its eggs in the nests of other species.

"Der glee Kihschtaar" (Leh.)—probably meant to distinguish this species from the larger grackles and red-wings of field and meadow. The name has also been applied to the starling and the female bobolink. Cowbirds have been called "bobolinks" and grackles have been called "Kihschtaare." There is a G name *Kuhstar*, for the "cow bunting," but this must refer to our American bird, for the family *Icteridae* is distinctively American.

"Der Grickeschtaar" (pl. "die Grickeschtaare")—the birds are also seen in the meadows and along the creeks. Names based on the habitat of the red-wing would apply loosely to the bobolink, cowbird and even the grackles. We have heard "black" birds of the meadow called by a variety of general names.

TANAGERS

Scarlet Tanager, *Piranga erythromelas*

"Der Blutfink" (Berks, Lanc., Leh., Monroe, Mont.)
— "blood finch." The tanagers are a distinctively American family, very closely related to the finches. *

* Henry S. Borneman, in "Pennsylvania German Illuminated Manuscripts," *P. G. S. Proceedings*, Vol. XLVI, speaks of the wide range in design and color evident in baptismal certificates and other illuminated manuscripts, and says that "birds of curious shapes and colors unknown in nature appear everywhere. Doves, parrots, cardinals, warblers, tanagers, eagles, and ever so many others with the gayest but unnatural plumage appear in the borders." Plates 20 and 24 show the usual "twin birds" of nondescript variety. Plate No. 11 shows red birds with green and yellow wings and minus feet; the ring-neck may suggest the "dove." Plate No. 7 shows strange parrot-like birds, and plate 26 shows a crested bird of many colors. Plate No. 5 has a red bird with black wings which would pass for a scarlet tanager.

"Der Blutfinsch" (Leh.)—a variant of the above, based either on the G *Fink*, or the E "finch."

"Der Blutvogel" (Lanc., Leh.)—"blood (red) bird."

"Der Rotfink" (Mont., Sch.)—"red finch." Also the cardinal.

"Der Rotvogel" (Leh.)—"redbird." Usually used for the cardinal.

"Der Flammvogel" (Berks, Leh.)—"flame bird," same name used for the red-winged blackbird. A male tanager in the top of a tall, green oak looks like a bit of bright, scarlet flame.

GROSBEAKS, FINCHES, SPARROWS, BUNTINGS

Eastern Cardinal, *Richmondia cardinalis c.*

"Der Rotvogel" (Berks, Bucks, Lanc., Leh., Mont.,

Plate No. 12 shows birds which resemble the goldfinch and scarlet tanager. Plate No. 14 has a red bird with black wings and the usual black on the forepart of the head, which would suggest the cardinal, but no crest is shown. Plate No. 31 shows two "tanagers" with crests and with black on the forepart of the head,—a mixture of "cardinal" and "tanager." Plate No. 22, "A Song of Summer," shows two large birds, odd in shape, size and color,—just birds! In this manuscript, Susanna Heebner of Montgomery County, 1807, used the text of Paulus Gerhardt's German poem, "Geh aus mein Herz und suche Freud in dieser lieben Sommers Zeit," which is notable for the G bird names, "Lerche," "Täublein," "Nachtigall," "Storch," "Schwäblein," "Glucke." The greater number of birds appearing in PG folk-art are "just birds," used because our people loved nature and design and color. If the illuminators were copying American species like the cardinal, tanager and goldfinch, why do we not see more of the robin, bluebird and swallow? "Just birds" and the faint memory of European species seems to have influenced their work for the most part, giving us the strange varieties mentioned. For a use of the "peacock," see plate 5 after page 38 in Vol. 7, *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, 1942.

Sch., York)—more often applied to this species than to the less easily seen tanager.*

“Der Rotfink” (Sch.).

“Der Blutvogel” (Leh.).

“Der Kornkracker” (Berks, Lanc.)—based on the local E name of “corn cracker,” a name applicable to any seed-eater or finch. The “seed-eaters,” distinguished by their stout, conical bills, are the largest of bird families and are distributed all over the world. They are the most highly developed of all birds. The order *Passeres* contains more species of birds than any other, and this family, *Fringillidae*, is the highest and the largest. Some of the family, especially the grosbeaks, are known as *Kernbeiszer* in the G. Several reliable observers have expressed the opinion that the cardinal was not well known among the early PG people, but that its range has been expanding northward, and this accounts for the use of a name like “corn cracker” and the more frequent use of the E name. It is true that the E names, standard and local, are filling in the blank spaces in the dialect vocabulary, and that they are gradually replacing the established PG names.

“Der Guthaerr”—Graeff, who knows that this is the common name for the blue jay, is sure that he has heard several natives of western Berks use this name for the cardinal.†

* The following is a translation of an advertisement in *Der Bauern Freund*, Sumneytown, Pa., May 20, 1829: “Wanted. A number of young gray Mocking Birds and also a number of Red Birds (called Baltimore), for which 50 cents apiece will be paid if brought to printing office of Bauern Freund.” This appeared in “The Perkiomen Region,” Dec. 1, 1921, Vol. 1, No. 1, and the editor, Thomas R. Brendle, then of Green Lane, Pa., added the note that “the Cardinal is still called Baltimore by people around Sumneytown.”

† Dr. Arthur D. Graeff, Philadelphia, in a letter to the writer.

Indigo Bunting, *Passerina cyanea*

"Der Blovoggel" (Lanc., Leh.)—this name was given by persons who knew both this bird and also the bluebird.

"Der glee Blovoggel" (Leh.)—this bird is smaller than the bluebird.

"Bloer Zitt"—a name which Brendle heard in Monroe County.

"Indigo Voggel" (Berks)—probably a form based on the E and no more.

Eastern Goldfinch, *Spinus tristis t.*

"Der Zelaatvoggel" (Berks, Bucks, Lanc. Leh., Monroe, Mont.)—"salad bird," because it commonly feeds on the seed-bearing lettuce plants. Variants of this, which might be spelled as "Selaatvoggel," "Zolaatvoggel," "Zulaatvoggel," have been heard in Lancaster and Berks.

"Es Zelaatschpetzel," preferably "Zelaatschbetzel." Some insist that it should be written "Zelaatschbedsel." Heard in Lehigh, Lancaster and Schuylkill Counties. This and its common variant, "Zelaatschpetzli," are based on "Schpetzel" and "Schpetzli," names for any small bird, especially one that superficially resembles a sparrow. Hence this means "the little salad bird."

"Der wild Kanaeri" (Berks, Mont.)—"wild canary," based on appearance and song.

"Der Dischdelfink" (Berks, Lanc.)—"thistle finch," because the birds like to feed on the seed-bearing plant and use the thistledown to line their nests. Sometimes simply, "Dischelfink." Based on the G, *Distelfink*, *Distelvogel*, for the European goldfinch, *Carduelis c.*, a species more colorful than ours. Lambert also gives this name.

"Der Gaardevoggel" (Leh.)—"garden bird," because it frequents our gardens when the lettuce seed is ripe. "Gaardeveggel" is frequently used for the goldfinches and the chipping sparrows, since both are busy in the summer gardens.

"Es Gaardeschpetzel" (Leh.)—also used for both species mentioned.

"Der Goldfink" (Lanc., Leh.)—probably based on the G *Goldfink*, *Goldfinck*, rather than on the E name.

"Der Goldvoggel" (Leh.)—"golden bird."

"Der Gehlvoggel" (Lanc., Leh.)—"yellow bird."

"Es Zippche" (Leh.)—a name for the chipping sparrow, based on the nature of the bird's call. Sometimes used generally for any small bird and for the goldfinch when seen in the garden where the chippies are.

"Es Zelaat Zeppche" (Leh.)—based on the PG "Zippche," and distinguishing between the goldfinch and the chippy.

"Es Zelaatveggeli" (Berks) or "Zelaatvegg'li"—all the other diminutive forms based on "Voggel" would also be possibilities here.

The G *Distelfink* or *Stieglitz* was a prominent and favorite species, and its figure, in various shapes and colors, has appeared quite frequently in PG folk-art.*

Red-eyed Towhee, *Pipilo erythrophthalmus* e.

"Der Schewing" (Berks, Leh.)—also given by Lam-

*See frontispiece in, *The Dutch Country*, Cornelius Weygandt, D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1939. Also see "Pennsylvania German Illuminated Manuscripts," Henry S. Borneman, *P. G. S. Proceedings*, Vol. XLVI, pages 17 and 36. The "yellow warbler" referred to by Borneman probably was the "Distelfink,"—see plate number 12. Plate number 16 shows a bird which somewhat resembles the European goldfinch, or even the green finch and siskin.

bert, who says the name is imitative of the call of the bird.

“Der Schewink” (Berks, Leh., Monroe)—based on brisk “chewink” call which has also given the bird the E name “chewink.”

“Die Grundamschel” (Berks, Mont.)—“ground robin,” because the bird is always busily at work on the ground beneath thickets and bushy undergrowth where it makes its home.

“Die Buschamschel” (Leh.)—because it resembles a robin to the casual observer. It shares this name with the thrushes.

“Der Joe Wink” (Berks, Leh.)—E spelling, as of a man’s name, but given the dialect pronunciation. This name has occurred in lower Berks and in upper Lehigh, and is based on the bird’s call. The Lehigh County informant said that this name was used because “Wink” was a common family name in the community.

“Der Buschvoggel” (Leh.)—several informants specifically indicated this species for this name, but it is a general name which must be shared with the thrushes, ovenbird, vireos and other forest species.

“Die scheckich Buschamschel” (Mont.)—A name which, according to Brendle, was quite frequently used for this species near Salfordville, Pa. The prominent colors of the species would suggest this type of name, but it is a name that must be shared with the thrushes and the ovenbird to which it is more appropriate.

Eastern Vesper Sparrow, *Pooecetes gramineus* g.

We have heard no specific dialect name for this distinguished species. It is the most common sparrow of the dry, upland fields and the dusty roadsides, running along and then singing from an elevated perch. Its

sweet evening song, which Chapman has called an "inspired and inspiring melody," ranks it with the song sparrow as one of our very best singers. We have called attention to this species and to the more terrestrial grasshopper sparrow and the only answers we got were, "Sell is en Grundschnetzliche," or "Sell is en Feldschnetzliche."

Slate-colored Junco, *Junco hyemalis h.*

"Der Schneevogel" (Berks, Bucks, Lanc., Leh., Mont., Sch.)—"snow-bird." The appearance of this bird in the fall presages the coming of the winter's snows. When a flock of them appeared in the yard or along the roadside, they were greeted with, "Die Schneevogel sin schunn do!"

"Es Schneeschpetzel" (pl. "die Schneeschpetzlicher")—Lehigh County.

"Die Schneeschpatz" (Berks, Sch.)—more commonly spoken of in the plural, "die Schneeschpatze."

"Es Schneeveggeli" (pl. "die Schneevegg'lin," "Schneevegg'licher," "Schneeveggelcher") or "Schneeveggele"—heard in Lebanon and Lehigh, employing the various diminutive forms based on "Vogel."

This bird belongs to the "Schpotyaahrsveggel" and "Winterveggel" group.

Eastern Tree Sparrow, *Spizella arborea a.*

This "Winter Chippy" has, upon occasion, shared in the names of the chipping sparrow and the junco, but no one seems to have taken special note of it as a distinct species.

Eastern Chipping Sparrow, *Spizella passerina p.*

"Es Zittche" (Berks, Lanc., Leh.)—based on the

"chip," or "chirp" of the bird,—PG "zipp." Plural, "die Zittcher."

"Es Zippche" (Berks, Leh., Northampton)—also based on "zipp." Lambert gives both forms, and lists this one first, but it seems to be less prominent than "Zittche." Plural, "die Zippcher" (sometimes becoming "Zeppcher").

"Es Zitt" (rarely, "der Zitt")—Monroe County.

"Es Zittli" (Mont.).

"Der Zittvoggel" or "es Zittveggelche" (Leh.)—pl. "die Zittveggel," "Zittveggelcher," "Zittvegglicher." Also in Brendle's list.

"Der Zippvoggel" (Mont.)—based on the call which Brendle has written as "tzipp—tzipp—tzipp."

"Es Zebbche" (pl. "die Zebbcher")—this is a variant of "Zippche," "Zippcher." "Die Zebbcher fange die Grautwarrem!"

"Es Zitzli" (pl. "die Zitzlin") and "es Titzli" (pl. "die Titzlin")—from York County.

"Es Schpetzel" (Berks, Lanc., Leh.)—also "Schbetzel" and "Schbedsel." A name fully as common as "Zittche," used especially in reference to this species, and then also for any other small bird of yard and garden. It appears that this delicate name is reserved especially for the song sparrow family, and that it is not used for the English sparrow. That this name should be used for birds of this type, and that "Schpatz" is used for the English sparrow, reveals how our people felt about the two groups of birds.

"En Schpetzli"—again a general name, but applied especially to the chippy. A number of chippies or other small birds were "Schpetzelcher," "Schpetzlicher," "Schpetz'lcher" (not "Schpatze").

"Es glee Schpetzel"—from Finland, Pa., to distinguish this species from the other song sparrows and the goldfinch.

"Es Zelaatschpetzel" (Leh.)—the same name used for the goldfinch. Chippies and goldfinches, seen together in the garden, were called "Gaardeveggel."

"Es Gaardeschpetzel" (Leh.)—used for this species to distinguish it from the common "song sparrow." Also used for the goldfinch.

"Der Sootvoggel" (Leh.)—"Wann die do sin no kann mer sae'e." The bird's arrival in early April meant that it was warm enough to sow oats.

Field Sparrow, *Spizella pusilla* p.

Only the general names, "Feldschpetzlicher" and "Grundschtetzlicher," have been heard for this species.

White-crowned Sparrow, *Zonotrichia leucophrys*.

We saw a few of them in Lehigh County one spring morning and it was said, "Sell sin yo weisskeppiche Schpetzlicher!"

White-throated Sparrow, *Zonotrichia albicollis*

A number of them appeared under a pear tree at our home in Lehigh County on a late afternoon in fall and they were called, "Weissshelsiche Schpetzlicher." The writer's father did not know the E name for the species and so this name would qualify as an original PG designation, just as "weisskeppiche Schpetzlicher" would qualify as an original name for the species mentioned above. The name has since been heard in Berks County.

Swamp Sparrow, *Melospiza georgiana*

This species is probably mistaken for a "song sparrow." It is more retiring and rarely seen except in the meadows, and then it passes for a song sparrow. The

name, "Grickeschpatz," given by Brendle for the song sparrow, is quite appropriate here but we have no specific name for this species.

Eastern Song Sparrow, *Melospiza melodia m.*

"Es Grundschnetzl" (pl. "die Grundschnetzlicher")—"ground sparrow." The most common name for an abundant species, so-called because its nest usually is on the ground. This name has been heard frequently in Lehigh and Berks Counties; also in the form of "die Grundschnetzl," but rarely.

"Der Frieheyaahrsvogel" (Berks, Leh.)—a general name for any arrival in early spring and, more especially, for this species whose first song is a sign of the coming of spring.

"Es Deitsch Schnetzl" or "die Deitsch Schnetzl" or "en Deitscher Schnetzl"—names which Brendle heard in Lehigh County.

"Der Boddehupser"—"the bird that hops on the ground." A name that Brendle heard in Monroe County. "Grickeschpatz," a name in Brendle's list is equally appropriate for this sweet singer of our meadow lands. Both are distinguished names for an old favorite!

"Schnetzl" usually means this species or the chipper, although it is used for other sparrows and other small birds. This name takes various forms like, "Schnetzle," "Schnetzli," "Schnetzliche," "Schnetzliche," "Schnetzle," "Schnetzle," "Schnetzle," "Schnetzli." The names based on "Schnetzl" are more commonly associated with the English sparrow and her young. Also reported from Lancaster County are the names "Schbeps," "Schbebs," "Schbebsli," with various spellings. From York County we also have "Schnetze" or "Schbetze" for any sparrows.



Der Hahn weckt uns des Morgens früh
 Mit seinem Kickericki,
 Der Hund beschützt bei Tag und Nacht
 Das Haus, den Hof, das Vieh,
 Die Hühner legen Eier uns,
 Zu würzen unser Mahl,
 Und dort im Teich erfreuet sich
 Der Enten große Zahl.

(Illustration from *Das Neue A B C—und Buchstabil-Buch*, zum Gebrauch für Deutsche Volksschulen in Pennsylvanien und andern Staaten. Für Kinder, welche anfangen zu lernen. Sumneytown, Pa. Druck und Verlag von E. M. Benner. Edwin M. Benner, Sumneytown, 1861. From the library of Henry S. Borneman.)

BIRDS OF THE BARNYARD

The dialect names for doves and pigeons, turkeys and ducks have already been noted; and attention has been called to the guinea fowl ("Es Ginnihinkel," "der Ginnihaahne," "die Ginnihinkel") and the peafowl ("Es Pohinkel," "der Pohaahne," "die Pohaahne," "die Pohinkel").

The domestic geese were as prominent as they were useful. A flock of geese ("En Fluck Gens," "en Drupp Gens," "en Haerd Gens") was a common thing in many a PG barnyard, in the lanes, orchards and fields. The cackling of the geese was a familiar sound and sign, a mark of prosperity, a note of alarm at the approach of strangers, a warning and a challenge to all who dared to cross their path. The goose was a table favorite on the festival days of November and December, and at such times the breastbone of a yearling goose was found especially useful. The feathers were used for deluxe pillows and "feather beds" ("Fedderkisse," "Fedderdecke," "Fedderbetter"); and before the day of fountain pens the quill was the common instrument of writing ("Fedder," "Schreibfedder"). Even the fat was useful, as many a PG boy well knows. It was used as a healing salve and heated fat was rubbed on the chest for cases of congestion, croup and colds. Warm fat was taken internally for colds and as a tonic and laxative.

The goose was called "die Gans" (pl. "die Gens"); the gander was "der Gansert" (or. "der Ganserd"), also "der Genserich" (a word descriptive of the passions and mannerisms of the gander, sometimes used generally in reference to persons or in describing the feelings of a person). A brooding goose was called "en BrieHgans," a name also used for a person given to much sit-

ting about the house. The gosling was called "Gensel," "Gensle," "Gensli," "Genselche," "Gensliche."

Cocks and hens were the most prominent of all the barnyard fowls,—*"der Haahne un die Hinkel."* Layers were called *"Lekhinkel"* or *"Laeghinkel"*; broody hens were *"die Briehglucke"* (a brood-hen with chicks was *"die alt Gluck mit de Biebllicher"*). Any person, especially a woman, that sat around or acted like an old "cluck" was named accordingly! Baby chicks were called *"Bieplin," "Biebelcher," "Biebllicher," "Biebcher," "Biebies"* (sing. *"Biepli," "Biebelche," "Biebliche," "Biebche," "Biebie"*). A cockerel was known as *"en Haehnche"* and a pullet or any young chicken was called *"en Hinkli," "en Hinkelche"* or *"en Hinkliche."* At feeding time the birds were called with *"Kum Bie-bie-bie-bie!"* Varieties of birds were commonly given names which are simply dialect versions of the E names, like *"Laeghoorn," "Lekharn,"* for the Leghorns; the Barred Rocks were *"die schiwweriche Hinkel"* (Lambert gives *"schiwwerich," "schifferich," "schiwwerschteenich," "schiffer-schteenich," "siwwerschteenich,"* for speckled and barred fowls). Bantams were called *"Bandihinkel," "Bandihaahne."* The game-cock was *"en Fechthaahne"* (also a name for any quarrelsome person); a cock with ruffed plumage was *"en Schtrupphaahne"*; and fancy breeds usually were given forms of their E name, like *"die Hambaeryer."* Any fowl without a tail (and one of a variety somewhat larger than a Bantam, bred on some PG farms) was known as *"der Baarzer," "Baarzerd," "Batzert,"* or simply as *"en Schtumpschwans."* *

The rooster or cock, *"der alt Mischthaahne,"* is a bird of special distinction,—the husband of many wives,

* Lambert gives adequate lists of words based on "Gens" and "Hinkel" which it is not necessary to repeat here.

master of ceremonies in the barnyard, a table favorite when the preacher comes for a visit or when the children come home, respected and worshipped since the day when his sacred ancestor left the jungles of India and the wastes of Persia to enter into the life and lore of the western world. He is a bird of character and his crowing in the stillness that precedes the dawn, one calling and another answering from a neighboring roost until the valley rises from its sleeping, has given him a name that is above every other name in the bird world.

The rooster was sacred to Apollo, the Sun God, because it was supposed that his crowing summoned the god from his sleep and sent him to his daily task of driving the chariot of the sun across the heavens; and also because his red comb was thought of as a representation of the sun. Perhaps this identification of the cock with the sun accounts for the old belief that hens' eggs will not hatch if there is a thunderstorm during the period of incubation, for then the storm clouds obscure the sun, the giver of life. Again, the rooster was connected with the early Roman god, Mercury, the god of trade and commerce, because it was believed that the bird summoned men of all trades and sent them about their work.

The Roman Mars, god of war, has had first claim upon the bird because of the bird's pugnacious nature, and this explains the use of the figure of a cock on helmets and shields. Cock-fighting has been a favorite sport for thousands of years. The Greek Miltiades ordered an exhibition of cock-fighting that it might stimulate courage in his troops before battle. The sport led to the specialized breeding of game varieties and, though illegal now, some still play cocks when they can't play the horses!

In the Christian tradition the cock took his place on the church steeples, largely because a cock crowed at the time that Peter denied his Lord. The cock would also be a suitable sentinel, to warn the believers at the hour of the second Advent, and as ready to greet the returning Messiah as he was ever ready to greet the returning sun. It may also be supposed that early converts to Christianity, steeped in the pagan tradition, saw an advantage in having this representative of the sun (therefore a weather talisman) in so prominent a place. Again, it was believed that the crowing of the cock marked the time of the end of the world, that if he ceased to crow the end was near, that his crow summoned the heroes and saints to enter into their particular glory, and so forth.

There is also an ancient belief that the powers of darkness cannot face the cock, and that ghosts, who begin their wanderings when the witching hour strikes, must cease from their evil works when the cock crows and proclaims the return of daylight. So, it is said, the cock crows all night on Christmas Eve, for then no other spirits may be abroad and this "trumpeter of the morn" sees to it that all is clear.

Much has been made of the virility of the cock and men have sought in various ways to transfer this abundant virility to themselves. "Cock Ale," broth made by stewing a red cock (anything white was suggestive of anaemia!)* was a favorite remedy for persons of poor health, just as moderns give chicken broth to the sick. When a peasant woman of Transylvania first left the house after childbirth, either a cock or a hen, depending

* Perhaps this is why some people prefer brown eggs to white, thinking that the brown eggs are "stronger" ("mehner Grefte") and taste better.

upon the sex of the child, was cut in half and attached to the doors posts so that she would walk between them, thus to absorb some of the properties supposed to radiate from one-half of the bird to the other. Similarly, among other peoples, the broth of a stewed cock or the blood of a red cock applied to the person would give extra strength and courage to the person and provide immunity from danger and the attacks of wild beasts. So, the cock had a place in the folk medicine of our people, and several references to this will appear later.

Among our people the cock's most prominent role was played in the barnyard from whence he greeted the dawn and summoned the children to work and study and prayer in the early morning hours. As such, "der Hahn" was a feature in almost every early "A-B-C Buch" that we have seen. Likewise, "der Wetterhaahne" was a prominent mark and sign on many a PG building. The name was applied to any person not having opinions of his own, to one (especially a preacher) who is all things to all men and who, like a weathervane, always turns as the wind blows.* When the rooster atop the lightning rod on the barn turned into the face of the east wind it was said that the wind had changed and that it was now blowing from "the land of rain." Any person that looked or acted like a rooster was given an appropriate name; young men were said to behave like young roosters and old men, wise in the ways of the world and the flesh, were called "so alte Haahne!" And when a baby sister arrived in a certain family to take her place at the side of an older brother, the young lad was promptly told, "Nau bischt awwer aa nimmi leeh Haahne im Kaerb!"

* See the story, "Wetterhahne," in *Pennsylvania German*, edited by Daniel Miller, Reading, Pa., 1903, p. 238.

MISCELLANEOUS NAMES

Bird names have been given to or associated with a variety of things, but nowhere more prominently than in the matter of plant names*:

"Schwalmegraas" — orchard grass or "Bungert graas."

"Fersante-beer"—partridge-berry or checkerberry. A general name given by Lambert. The favorite food of grouse, ("pheasant,"—Lick and Brendle).

"Gensaage"—daisy fleabane ("goose eyes"). Also, "gleene Gensblumme."

"Dauwebeere"—berries of pokeweed. Berries of poke and sassafras were favorite foods of the wild pigeons.

"Dauwekreppche Zelaat"—catchfly ("pigeon-crop salad").

"Dauwegropp"—fumitory ("pigeon's crop").

"Haahneschwans"—prince's feather. Lambert also gives "Fleehgraut" for this species and for "daisy-fleabane" and "common smartweed".

"Habbichgraut"—hawkweed, given in Lambert.

"Voggelfuss," "Grabbefuss"—bird-foot violet.

"Gensblumme"—the wild or ox-eye daisies.

"Grabbe fuss," "Grabbe schnawwel"—wild geranium or cranesbill.

"Hinkelfuss Graas," "Hinkelfuss," "Voggelfuss"—finger grass.

"Haahnefuss"—crow-foot.

"Haahnekamm"—cockscomb, red amaranth, pig-weed.

* Most of these names are taken from "Plant Names and Plant Lore among the Pennsylvania Germans." David E. Lick and Thomas R. Brendle, *P. G. S. Proceedings*, Vol. XXXIII, which see for additional details concerning species named.

"Hinkeldarrem"—chickweed, starwort.

"Endeschnewwel"—pickerel weed ("duckbills").

"Roter Hinkeldarrem"—red chickweed, pimpernel.

"Wibberwill Blumme," "Wipperwill"—painted cup, wild azalea.

"Voggelsdrauwe"—frost grapes, "Reifdrauwe."

"Voggelskaersche"—wild black cherry and common wild cherry, some varieties of which were an important food of the passenger pigeon.

"Amschelmeiler" — cultivated snapdragons (and iris).

"Gilleri Blumme"—goldenrods.

"Schwalmegraut" (also "Schellgraut," "Schellegraut," "Scheelgraut")—also "Schwalbenkraut"—celandine.

"Schtaareschtengel"—tall meadow grasses and weeds in which the red-wing nests. Not given by Lick and Brendle.

"Wibberwillschtock" — wild honeysuckle, pinxter, wild azalea.

"Voggelsbohn," "Veggelsoi'er Buhne"—"bird's egg bean," a variety of speckled bean.

"Voggelsbeere"—berry of the mountain ash, "Voggelsbeerebaam."

Two "birds" of special interest must also be mentioned here. One is the mythical "Elbedritsch," said to travel in companies on a cold winter's night,—a rare, elusive bird which has been the occasion for much sport among our people. More will be said about it later. The other is "die Schmutzamschel" or "die Fettamschel"

(also "Schmutzlicht," "Fettlicht," "Schwimmlicht," "Schwimmlichdel"), a lamp in which lard, tallow, used fats or oil were burned.

The "fat-lamp" or "Fettlicht" seems to have been the more primitive of two types of lamps. It was a make-shift affair, consisting of an open dish, a saucer or small pie-tin, and a floating wick of twisted paper or cloth. Sometimes the wick was inserted in the center of a circular piece of paper which floated on the melted fat, hence the name, "Schwimmlicht." It could not easily be carried around and, so we are told, was used chiefly during wakes or night vigils with a corpse ("Wachnacht"). It was easily constructed and cheap to use, but gave off a lot of black, greasy smoke and the odor of burning fat. The "Schmutzamschel" or "Fettamschel" was a more permanent piece of early household equipment. It was a covered vessel, with the wick protruding through a spout. It was equipped with a handle so that it could be carried about in the house (when it was not suitable to use candles), and it was also equipped with a pin or wedge on a few links of chain fastened to the handle, so that the lamp could be attached to the mantel over the fireplace by driving the pin into the wood mantel. In the latter case it became a kind of hanging lamp which gave better light than the candles on the mantel while the mother tended the kettles on the hearth. If light was needed in another room the lamp was taken along and pinned to the door-post or window-frame. Some have thought that it got its name because it was black (like the *G Amsel*) from smoke and grease, or perhaps because it looked like a bird with its tail, body, beak, and the handle from which it was swinging. The other possibility as to the origin of the name is the one suggested by Lambert, that it

comes from *Fett Ampel*, the G for a lamp, especially a hanging lamp, in which fat is burned; *Fett Lampe* would be another G name for the same thing. Since the name "Amschel" was so common a name in the dialect and frequently used in various common expressions, just as "Voggel," "Schpatz," "Grabb" and others were used with other words to form names for this or that, it is possible that "Ampel" with "Fett" and "Schmutz" suggested "Fettamschel" and "Schmutzamschel." It would not be correct, however, to say that these are corruptions of the earlier name. Rather, an old word is put to new use, a new word is born, and we are left with PG words as distinctive as they once were common.*

A few more names and usages, and then we leave this matter. "Gensfuss" was the name for a pentagram, a quilt design, and a girl's game played on boards with pieces of corn or with buttons as tokens. "Blovoggel" also was the name for a game in which all the players were given bird names and the one who was "it" had to guess which one was the bluebird. "Feiervoggel" or "Feierveggelche" was (and is, of course!) the name for the firefly; "Hitzvoggel," the name for the August cicada, and "Summervoggel," in addition to being a name for any bird of the summer months, was a name for a butterfly; and "Lichtel" was the name of a moth.

Birds in general and especially those of the barnyard were known as "Feddervieh" and "Hinkelvieh," rarely as "Schaerrveggel" (for the "scratchers"), "Entveggel" and "Schwimmveggel" (for the ducks and geese). A

* Our information on the uses of "Fettlicht" and "Schmutzamschel" was received from Calvin S. Stump, Maxatawny, Pa., who as a little boy saw these various types of lamps used by his grandmother in the old "Watch House" (a frontier outpost and house of refuge built during the French and Indian War) in Albany Township, Berks County, where his family lived.

male bird was called "Mennche," and a female bird, "Weibche" or "Weiwel." "Veggelmischt" was the name for guano, and various bird names compounded with "Dreck" formed the names for the droppings of birds. Parts of a bird, of course, had their specific names like "Schnawwel," "Feddere," "Fliggel," "Glooe," "Oi'er," "Schwans," "Fiess," "Beeh." Other things usually associated with birds were generally given names based on a form of "Voggel" or "Veggel."

Family names like "Dauweschpeck," "Hinkel," "Finck," "Spatz," "Hahn," "Fegley," "Storch," and "Fogel" are heard, and we must not forget to mention "Till Eileschpiggel" ("Till Owl-glass"). "Voggelfrei" meant to have no debts, or to be free of all cares and responsibilities, like "Er geht Voggelfrei," or "Wann m'r heiert is m'r nimmi Voggelfrei." Places have been given bird names, like "Eiledaal," "Aadler's Kopp," "Welschhinkel Loch," "Geierdaal," "Grabbe Baerrick." "Galyevoggel" (like "Galyedieb," "Galyeschtrick") is a name for a scoundrel or rascal, and "Windfliggel" is a name for a hussy. "G'schpassvoggel" is the name for a comical person or one who loves fun, just as "Schpottvoggel" is the name for a mocker, scoffer and cynic. "Fassdaub" (pl. "Fassdauwe") is the name for a stave of a barrel or cask.

Newspapers have been named for the eagle, like *Der Lancaster Adler*, *Der Unpartheyische Reading Adler*, (*Der Reading Adler*), *Berks County Adler*, *Easton Adler*, *Montgomery County Adler*, *Pottsville Adler*, *Carbon Adler* (the paper founded by E. H. Rauch in Mauch Chunk, 1858), and *Der Westliche Adler von Lancaster [Ohio]* (later *Der Ohio Adler*). Many of these papers carried the picture of an eagle with outstretched wings on their title page, and the original

Reading Adler of 1796 pictured an eagle flying into the sun, carrying in its beak the banner of "Freyheit" (Freedom). *

* Daniel Miller, "Early German American Newspapers," *P. G. S. Proceedings*, 1911, Vol. XIX (1908).



IV

BELIEFS, SUPERSTITIONS AND SAYINGS

The beliefs, superstitions and sayings which follow have been gathered from a number of sources. Their occurrence is as varied as our presentation of them here. We make no attempt at interpretation and at fixation as to time and place. Here they are as we found them and heard them. Proper sources are given credit in the case of items which we did not hear with our own ears.

BIRDS AND THE WEATHER

The most significant role played by birds in the life of the PG community was that which had to do with the weather and the change of seasons. The birds were nature's clock, calendar and almanac. The day began with the first crowing of the cock and the song of "the early bird"; it came to a close with the vesper songs of birdland, the chickens going to roost, and the night voices from the orchard and the woods. The migration of the birds, that arrival and departure which was as reliable as it was mysterious, marked the change of the seasons. Any prominent song or call and any significant or peculiar habit or mannerism were the signs of a coming change in the weather. The barnyard fowls and the birds of the heavens, the driving winds and the driven clouds, the appearance and the disappearance of

the sun, moon and stars, the vast expanse of clear, blue sky in summer and the gray skies of winter, the falling mists and rains and the snow and sleet which swirled over the landscape,—all these were the visible parts of an invisible power, and it was believed that the birds could share some of the secrets with mortal men. They were one with the elements and, like nature itself, they spoke a strange and varied language. To them who had eyes to see and ears to hear was it given to know the mysteries of the weather, of life and love and destiny, of health and fortune and death.

There was faith and therefore belief, mystery and therefore superstition; and all were as honest as the people themselves. Beyond all this, they loved life, said what they pleased and did as they pleased. And always the birds were a sign by which their life was guided.

1. The early moulting of domestic fowls is an indication of an early winter; or, if chickens moult in August, the winter will be severe.

2. If the chickens moult in October, the winter will be mild. "Wann die Hinkel sich im October mause, gebt's en leichter Winter."

3. Birds gathering in flocks unusually early in late summer and the early departure of birds indicates an early winter, that is, it means winter will arrive ahead of schedule,—*"es wintert frieh ei."*

4. If the chickens moult first on the forepart of their body, the early part of the winter will be severe; if they moult first on the rear, then the end of the winter will be severe. (F)*

5. If the chickens grow feathers on their lower legs and feet it is an indication of a severe winter. (F).

* Edwin M. Fogel, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans*, Philadelphia, 1915. (F) indicates this source.

“Wann die Hinkel schibbiche Bee hen, gebt's en kalter Winter.”

6. Heavy down on the geese is a sign of a severe winter,—“en harter Winter.” Heavy coats of fur on animals and birds are still considered as signs of a hard winter.

7. If, in fall, the feathers on the legs of the partridges extend almost to the claws, we may expect a severe winter. (S)* During the winter the toes of the ruffed grouse are provided with a fringe of strong, horny points which serve as snowshoes. Grouse and ptarmigan have toes and tarsi more or less feathered.

8. If the geese stand on ice on St. Martin's Day (November 11,) they will walk in the mud on Christmas Day. (S) If the weather on St. Martin's Day is cold, fair and dry, the winter's cold will not last long. (S)

9. If the geese waddle in the mud between Christmas and New Year, they will do so every month of the following year, that is, “open ground” at that time means “open ground” all year. Related to this is the belief that an “open cemetery” between Christmas and New Year means an “open cemetery” all year, that is, many burials, or many open graves during the coming year.

10. If there be ice in November that will bear a duck, there will be nothing thereafter but sleet and muck. (S)

11. If, when snow is on the ground, the turkeys go afield, or the guinea hens hallo, then there will be a thaw,—“no geht der Boddem uff.” (S)

* John Baer Stoudt, “Weather Prognostications and Superstitions among the Pennsylvania Germans,” *The Pennsylvania-German*, July, 1905, and September, 1906. (S) indicates this source.

12. The hooting of a screech owl in fall is a sign that a severe cold spell is on its way; in winter it portends a thaw and mild weather; in summer it is a portent of rain. If the owl calls from the swamps and lowlands, it is a sign that bad weather or warmer weather is coming; if it calls from the hills, the weather will be clear and much colder.

13. If, in winter, the crows congregate and scream and caw on the "summer side" (south side) of the hills, it indicates rain; if on the "winter side" (north side), it indicates snow. (S)

14. If the crows call before seven o'clock on a rainy morning, it will be clear by noon, that is, "rain before seven, clear before eleven."

15. When the crows fly in one direction in a steady and almost endless stream, a storm will follow in the next twelve hours.

16. Crows flying high up in the air foretell unfavorable weather. (S) We have heard the exact opposite of this: when the crows fly high, the weather is and will be clear and favorable; if they fly low and erratically, bad weather is impending. When the crows were flying low and in scattered formation, as if they were confused and lost, it was said that the air was heavy, the sky lowering and that bad weather was coming. Crows usually did this when the weather already was bad and the sky overcast or misty. "Was fliege die Grabbe so arrick! Es gebt gewiss widder wiescht Wetter!"

17. Wild geese flying toward the south in early fall indicates that a cold wave is on the way. Their flight was a sign of the coming of the snow, but if they flew very fast, steadily and in good formation, as though pressed for time and eager to arrive in the Southlands,

it was a sign of a sudden cold spell,—“es waert schnell arrick kalt!”

Wilson's description of the flight of the Canada geese is to the point here: “The van is led by an old gander who, every now and then, pipes his well known ‘honk,’ as if to ask how they come on; and the honk of ‘All’s well’ is generally returned by some of the party. Their course is in a straight line, with the exception of the undulations in their flight. When bewildered in foggy weather, they appear sometimes to be in great distress, flying about in an irregular manner, and for a considerable time over the same quarter, making a great clamor. On these occasions, should they approach the earth and alight, which they sometimes do to rest and recollect themselves, the only hospitality they meet with is death and destruction from a whole neighborhood already in arms for their ruin.” *

18. Restless and noisy geese are the sign of rain or an impending storm; or, if the geese and ducks splash their wings in the water, it is going to rain. Any restlessness among domestic fowls, the cawing of the crows, and the noisy quarrels of the English sparrows, were signs of coming rain.

19. When it began to snow in the fall it was said that the people along the Blue Mountains were plucking their geese. (F). In English lore it was: “The Old Lady is plucking her geese.”

20. The cry of the peacock, the hooting of the owl at dusk (before dark) and immediately after daybreak, the call of the whip-poor-will, the killdeer, the cuckoo and the turtle-dove, and the drumming of the grouse

* Quoted in B. H. Warren's *Report on the Birds of Pennsylvania*, second edition, Harrisburg, Pa., 1890.

and the woodpeckers, all are indications of rain,—“die gleene Fassante brumme wann's Reggewetter gebt.”

21. If wild geese fly high in the air, warmer weather is coming; if they fly low, it means colder weather. (F) The northward flight of the Canada geese in late winter and early spring was a sign of warmer weather.

22. When the swallows fly high over the fields, it is a sign of favorable weather; if they fly low over the meadows and ponds, it is a sign of rain. The writer heard this in Lehigh County. Fogel quotes the following from the Tyrol: “Fliegen die Schwalben hoch, bedeuten sie gutes Wetter; fliegen sie nahe am Boden, kommt Regen.” (F)

23. If the robins sit on the topmost branches and sing, it indicates clear weather; but if on the lower branches, rain. (S)

24. When the wrens whistle around the house, rain is sure to come. (S)

25. When the heron flies up the stream, it searches for water; if it finds some it will stay for some time and rain may be expected, but if it returns soon, it has found no water and a dry spell will follow. (S)

26. The appearance of wild ducks, or herons, anywhere except along large watercourses, indicates rain for several days. (S)

27. “Hocke die Hinkel rum maudrich un schtill,
Langer Regge kumme will.” *

28. “Picken die Huehner noch abends spaet,
Regen schon am Himmel steht.” *

29. “Kraecht der Hahn abends auf dem Mist,
So bleibt das Wetter wie es ist.” *

* Given under “Alde Wedder Regel” and “Alde Bauere Schprich” in the *P. D. Eck*.

30. Chickens take extra pains in "oiling" their feathers just before a rain. (S)

31. If the chickens run and seek shelter when it begins to rain, the rain will not last very long,—*"Die Hinkel schpringe so arrick fer unnich's Dach (fer in's Druckene), es gebt yuscht so'n Hoiseecher!"*

32. When the chickens walk around in the rain, it means that more rain is coming or that the rain will continue for some time. Also, when the chickens stand in the rain with their tails down, it will be a long rain.

33. When the chickens in the rain have their tail feathers down, it will continue to rain until they raise them. (S)

34. When the roosters sit on the fence, it is a sign of rain. (F)

35. The crowing of the cocks before nine in the evening indicates rain. (F) Usually, it indicates rain by morning.

36. The cry of the peacocks in the evening indicates rain. (F)

37. If it thunders on Sunday, goose eggs will not hatch. (S)

38. If there are thunderstorms early in spring, the geese will be easily raised. (F)

39. Thunderstorms in early spring tend to addle hatching eggs. Warm weather in connection with early spring showers would tend to spoil eggs, milk and meats for careless people.

40. *"Fliegen die Schwalben dicht auf den Wegen,
Giebt's bald einen langen Regen;
Wenn Sie hoch am Himmel schweben,
Wird es trocken Wetter geben." **

* Given under *"Alde Bauere Schprich,"* in the *P. D. Eck*, May 9, 1942. Compare this with No. 22 which is of a similar nature.

41. "Wann die Hinkel sich puttre dann gebt's Regge," that is, when domestic fowls take a dust-bath, it is a sign of rain.

42. The first robin (or the first bluebird or song sparrow) indicates the approach of spring. The first call of the whip-poor-will and of the phoebe also is a sign of spring. This holds true for any "Friedhyaahrsvoggel." The arrival of other species later on indicated the approach of subsequent seasons, as indicated in an earlier chapter. One swallow did not make a summer, but when several were seen together it was a sign that summer was at hand.

43. "Wann die Goldamschel ihr Nescht hoch henkt dann gebt's en ruhicher Summer, awwer wann sie es nidder henkt dann gebt's en schtarmicher (windicher) Summer,"—that is, if the oriole hangs her nest high in the tree, or in the tree-top, the summer will be quiet, but if she hangs it low, or on the lower branches, the summer will be stormy or windy.

THE GOOSEBONE

In ancient lore the goose layed golden eggs and some form of the story is to be found in the mythology of many peoples. During the Middle Ages the goose played an important part in the domestic economy, for goose-grease and feather beds were valuable commodities, and have been almost until the present time. The ancient Saxons traditionally ate the goose on Michaelmas, the feast of the archangel, September 29, perhaps because it originally was sacred to Woden in his capacity as god of storms. That it had something to do with the weather may be gathered from this story in the *Book of All Forbidden Arts, Unbelief and Sorcery*, written in 1455 by a

Doctor Hartlieb, "Physician in Ordinary to the Duke Albrecht of Bavaria"—

"First I will write of the goosebone. On St. Martin's day or night, when they have eaten the goose, the eldest and the wisest do keep the breastbone and let it dry till the morning, and examine it in every particular, before and behind and in the middle. Thereby they judge of the winter, if it shall be cold, warm, wet or dry, and are so firm in their faith that they wager their goods and chattels thereon. And thereon have they a special lot-drawing that shall not and cannot fail, to tell whether the snow shall be much or little; all this knoweth the goosebone.

"Moreover I will write thee a thing that lately a great victorious captain told me, in whom prince and peasant put great confidence, one for his deeds, the other for his wisdom. This good man on St. Nicholas Day in this year 1455 said to me, 'Dear Master, how shall the winter be this year as ye star gazers opine?' I was quick and hasty as I still am and spake, 'Lord Saturn goeth this month into a fiery sign, likewise other stars are so disposed, that in three years no harder winter shall have been.' This dauntless man, this Christian Captain, drew forth out of his doublet that heretical unbelief the goosebone, and showed me that after Candelmas an exceeding great frost should be, and could not fail. What I had said he said yet more, and told me that the Teutonic knights in Prussia waged all their wars by the goosebone; and as the goosebone showed, so did they order their two campaigns, one in summer and one in winter." *

* Quoted in *The Gods Had Wings*.

The note is added elsewhere that "while the Teutonic Order obeyed the bone, so long had they great worship and honor, but since they have left it off, the Lord knows how it stands with them,"*

The countryfolk of Hampshire used to claim that they could foretell the weather from the breastbone of a duck killed in October. If the bone was dark in color, a severe winter would follow, whereas if it was light, an open winter might be expected.†

Fogel quotes the following from a London source: "If the breast of the roast goose when held up to the light shows dark upon the whole rather than otherwise, we shall have a severe winter throughout; if mottled variable, the lighter aspects betokening snow, the darker, frosts. The general transparency of the bone denotes an open winter, the front part foretelling the state of that season before Christmas, the inner part the weather after Christmas."

St. Martin's Day, November 11, was the original "Gensdaag." It was believed that a goose eaten on this day would insure the health of the entire family or household for the coming year; then the breastbone of a yearling goose was taken and examined and the weather predictions were made. The first third of the bone represented December, the second third January, and the last third represented February. Dark colorations on the several parts of the bone meant that cold and snowy weather would obtain during the corresponding months; lighter parts indicated an open and mild winter. All this was later transferred to "Beetdaag" (Thanksgiving Day) and in many quarters, in keeping with the New

* See John Baer Stoudt's "Weather Prognostications, etc.," in *The Pennsylvania-German*, July, 1905.

† *The Gods Had Wings*.

England tradition, the turkey replaced the goose as the table favorite, with the goose becoming the Christmas fowl. Of course, it always was true, and always will be, that "en guti gebrodne Gans is en guti Gaabe Gottes!"

Of such was the pattern according to which the famous goosebone "prophets" of our time made their predictions,—the late Elias Hartz of Reading and the late Willoughby "Goosebone Man" Troxell of Indian Spring Park, Lehigh County. A young goose, raised during the preceding summer, was killed and eaten on Thanksgiving Day. A day later the famous predictions were issued, based on the peculiar shape, color and markings of the breastbone. The matter has received much publicity and the old controversies continue as to who or what knows most about the weather,—the goosebone, the groundhog, the almanac, the bees and wasps, the hairy caterpillars, other birds, or the government's Weather Bureau!

HEALTH AND DESTINY

1. Cure for snake bite: cut a live chicken in two and apply the warm, raw flesh to the wound; or place the vent of a live chicken upon the wound and it will draw out the poison,—and kill the chicken! *

2. Cure for warts: fry hens' feet in lard and apply to the warts. *

Hohman's "Ein Mittel um die Warzen zu vertreiben" is as follows: "Brate Hinkelfüß und reibe die Warzen damit; hernach grabe sie unter die Dachtraufe."

* W. J. Hoffman, "Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Washington, D. C., Vol. XXVI, pp. 329-352, 1889.

Also, "Popular Superstitions," *P. G. S. Proceedings*, Vol. V.

3. Cure for epilepsy: drink the warm blood of a freshly killed turtle-dove. It is better if the head is cut off and the blood taken directly from the neck.* The dove was considered a protection against evil spirits; its blood would drive out the evil and give new life. Hohman's prescription "für die fallende Krankheit" was as follows: "Nimm eine Turteltaube, schneid ihr den Hals ab, und gieb dem, der die fallende Krankheit hat, das Blut ein."

4. Another cure for warts: catch a fowl, rub the warts with the feet of the fowl, then let the fowl run away. The idea of transference is implied here.†

Another cure for warts: rub the warts with the blood of a black chicken.

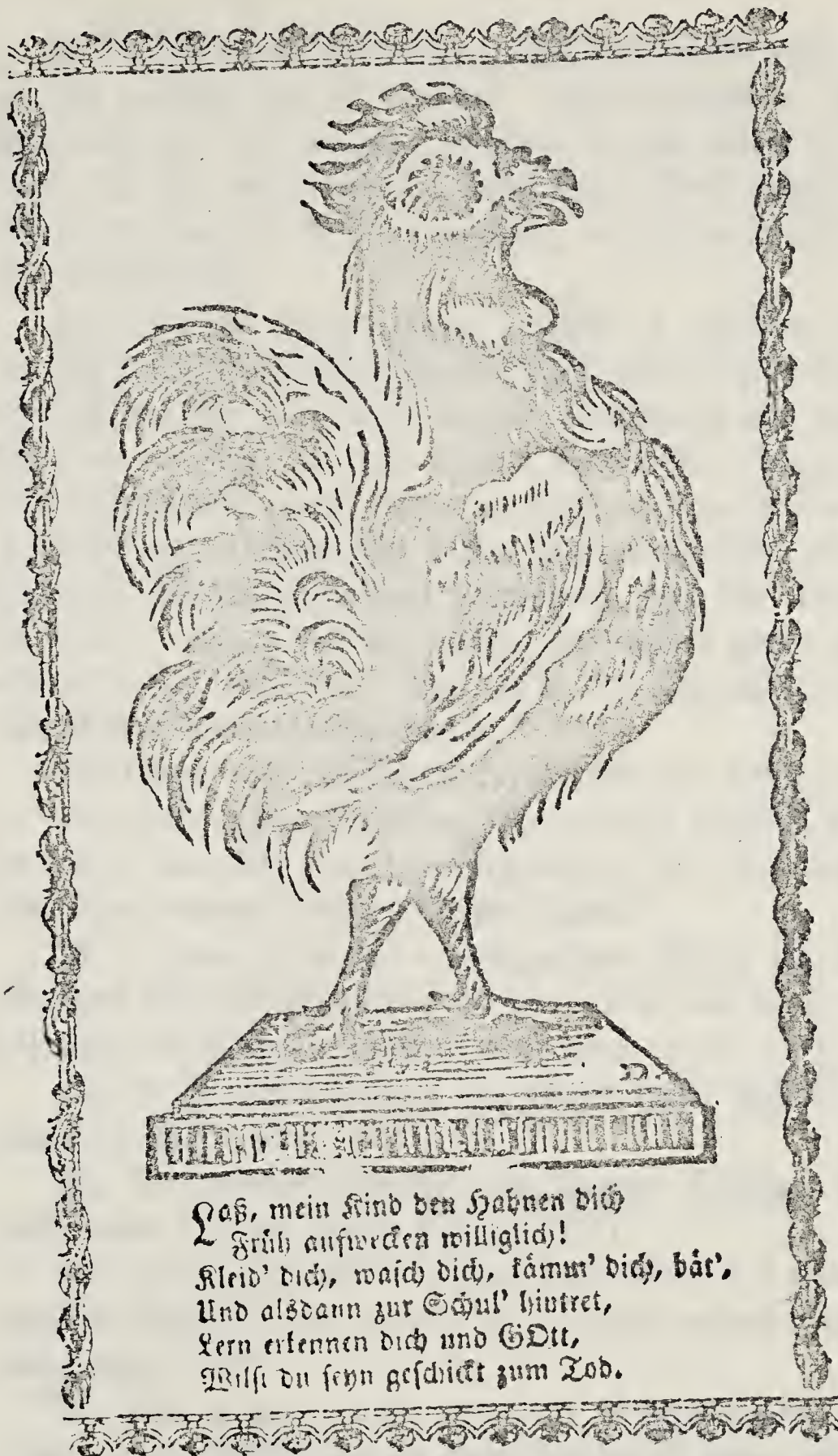
5. A "Brauch" remedy for fever: "The stork has no tongue, the wolf has no lung, the turtle-dove has no gall, thereby I let my seventy-seven kinds of fever fall, in the name of God the Father, etc." ‡

6. The swallow is noted for its unerring memory which enables it to return to its old nest in the barn year after year. To obtain a memory like the swallow's, take the heart of a live swallow, boil the same in milk and wear it around your neck.‡

7. Baldness may be prevented by rubbing the scalp with chicken fat.‡ If you throw away some of your hair so that the birds will find them and use them in making their nests, you will become bald or you will suffer from headaches. To prevent all this, combings or cut hair must not be thrown into the yard, but must be burned or buried. (F) The writer remembers the warning about throwing loose hair into the yard or garden,—headaches, baldness and worse might result!

* From Hoffman.

† Brendle and Unger, "Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans," *P. G. S. Proceedings*, Vol. XLV.



Laß, mein Kind den Hahnen dich
 Früh aufwecken williglich!
 Kleid' dich, wasch dich, kämm' dich, bär',
 Und alsdann zur Schul' hinstret,
 Lern erkennen dich und Gdt,
 Wils! du sehn geschickt zum Tod.

Illustration from *Hoch-Deutsches Lutherisches A B C und Namen Büchlein Für Kinder, welche anfangen zu lernen*. Germantown: Gedruckt und zu haben bey M. Billmeyer, 1819. From the library of Henry S. Borneman.)

8. To prevent toothache: pick the tooth with the nail of the middle toe of an owl. Also: shoot a woodcock and take out its tongue, stretch it and allow it to dry, then stir the teeth with it until they bleed (that is, until the gums bleed). These probably were also used as cures for toothache. *

9. Cure for rheumatism: shoot a carrion bird or turkey buzzard ("einen Aas Vogel oder Torke Bohser"). cut off the feathers with shears and hang the carcass to the fire so that it will roast; catch the fat drippings and then smear your limbs as long as you feel any pain. Another cure: chop fine a fat, young chicken, add a like quantity of finely ground hempseed, and boil thoroughly in water. Press out the liquor through a linen cloth and allow to set until cold; then take the fat off the top and apply it to the painful parts. *

10. Cure for ringworm: cut off the head of a hen or cock and, when bleeding has almost ceased, let a few drops of blood fall on the ringworm, rub in well, let dry and then repeat two or three times.*

11. A sure cure for constipation: kill a totally black chicken without shedding blood, scald and cook it feathers and all, make a soup of this and eat it. (F)

12. To prevent fever: eat three hard boiled eggs on Good Friday. (F)

13. To prevent hernia: on Easter Sunday eat eggs that were laid on Good Friday. (F)

14. To ease dentition: pass the comb of a decapitated rooster through the mouth of a child before the bird is fully dead. (F)

15. Rub a wart with the rind of bacon and hang the rind on an apple tree so that the birds may eat it. (F) Thus the wart will disappear.

* Brendle and Unger.

16. To remove a wart, rub it with the head of a rooster that has just been killed; then bury the head under the eaves. (F) It was common practice to bury any agents to which an ailment was transferred, or which had served as media in a cure. Under the eaves was a favorite place. The other cure for warts, given above, implied that the wart would be transferred to the rind and in turn be consumed. The earlier cure referred to suggested that the released fowl would carry the wart away with it. Such a "cure" has appeared in a variety of forms, about the earliest of which was the use of the "scapegoat" by the ancient Hebrews, released in the wilderness to take with it the sins of a people.

17. Turn a somersault when you hear the whip-poor-will for the first time in spring, and you will not have any backache; or, roll down the hill when you hear the first call of this bird, and you will not get a backache all year. This same belief was connected with the cuckoo in Europe. Fogel quotes from Grimm as follows: "Sieht der bauer zum erstenmal im jahr den storch, so wirft er sich zu erde, wälzt sich herum, und bleibt nun das ganze jahr frei von rückenweh."

18. Goose fat or goose-grease, taken warm (sometimes mixed with wine), was used as a cure for croup and as a tonic and laxative. It was also applied externally to throat and chest for colds and congestion. As a healing salve it was considered good for almost anything on man or beast.

19. The cackling of hens in the evening is an omen of death. (F)

20. If a hen "crows," there will be a funeral. If the hens cackle early in the morning it is an omen of death, or that some relative will die. (F) We always said that it meant plenty of eggs that day.

21. If the hens cackle late at night, it means there will be a wedding. (F)

22. The continual crowing of the roosters indicates a funeral. (F)

23. Meeting a crow on the road indicates a funeral. A single crow flying over the house also is an omen of death. Death was sometimes spoken of in terms of being fetched by the crows.

24. A bird flying into a house was an omen of death or misfortune to the family.

25. A white pigeon perching on the window sill of a house, trying to get into a room, or a pigeon flying over the house or alighting on it, were omens of death within the family.

26. The call of the whip-poor-will or the hoot of an owl near to a dwelling is an omen of death within that home.

27. When a sick person cannot die, take the person off the feathers on which he is lying and death will soon follow. (F) It was anciently believed that the feathers of chickens, doves or other birds kept death away or delayed the death of the person lying upon them. Birds, especially such as the cock and the dove were symbols of life and virility, hence this association between feathers and a difficult death.

28. The inner lining of a chicken's gizzard is good for stomach complaint, if washed, dried, pulverized and then taken internally. "It will give the stomach a new lining."

LOVE AND FORTUNE

1. Shake your purse when you hear the call of the whip-poor-will for the first time in spring and you will always have money in it during the ensuing year. Fogel

reports this with reference to the "cuckoo" for all counties in the PG region; this is a survival of the European belief that an empty purse at the time of the cuckoo's first call means an empty purse all year, and some money in the purse at the time means money all year. Similar to it is the belief that if you rattle your purse and make a wish when the first call of the cuckoo is heard, the wish will be fulfilled, that is, the call is a favorable omen. We have heard the same thing from Schuylkill County with reference to the first call of the phoebe.

2. To meet geese is an omen of bad luck. (F)

3. To hear a hen crow is an omen of some calamity. This usually was calamitous for the hen,—it came to an end as pot-pie on the very day that it crowed. Killing the hen avoided the "unglick."

4. "Die Maed wu peife un die Hinkel wu graeche, soll mer dabber die Hels rum drehe!"

5. You will have no luck if you shoot or kill barn swallows.

6. If you kill a barn swallow the cows will give bloody milk, or you will have bad luck with your cattle, or lightning will strike the barn.

7. Lightning will not strike a building in which the swallows make their nests. Any bird's nest at the barn must not be destroyed or molested. Swallows and martins (sometimes also pigeons and the phoebe) are omens of good luck, giving protection and security from the elements and evil spirits.

8. Crows, hawks and owls are nailed to the barn or shed to keep vermin and birds of prey away from the buildings, to keep away evil spirits, and so that one evil will cancel out another evil. Thus one could also "show off" his prowess as a hunter and shot. Fogel quotes as follows: "Die weihen und hake sucht man dadurch vom

hofe fern zu halten, dass man dergleichen tiere mit ausgespannten flügeln an das scheuertor nagelt."

9. "Wann en Oosveggel iwwer die Scheier fliegt gebt's dod Vieh." (F) Similar to this is the belief that crows flying low over the house are an omen of death. In European lore the cry of a raven over a house was an omen of death.

10. You will have no luck if you move and take eggs with you. It is good luck to leave something behind when you move. (F)

11. Eggshells must be burned so that the witches will have no power over the chickens. (F) Also, the chickens will not learn to eat eggs. (F)

12. "Putting the foot of a goose (draw a pentagram?) on the stable door keeps the witch out." (F)

13. Good Friday eggs, that is eggs laid on Good Friday, are good for powwowing ("Brauche"). (F)

14. On Christmas night you stretch a rope as far as the chickens roam and then the hawks will not prey on them. (F)

15. If you set out three kinds of grain on Christmas night and then feed this to the chickens on Christmas morning and New Year's morning, no hawk can get those chickens. (F)

16. Turkey hens will not go away from home to lay their eggs if they are fed with corn which has been soaked in the lard in which doughnuts were baked. (F)

17. A dwarf egg ("en Unglicksoi") must be thrown over a barn or building, or against a barn door, otherwise one will not have good luck. The idea is that the bad luck will accompany the egg that is thrown away. Also, one should throw it backwards over a roof to get rid of the bad luck. (F)

18. When eggs are set for hatching one must not talk

about it at mealtime, otherwise the eggs will not hatch. (F)

19. Hens ("Briehglucke") should be set between eleven and twelve o'clock. (F)

20. If hens are set during the forenoon the chickens will hatch a day or two sooner. (F)

21. Set hens on Sunday between eleven and twelve o'clock, when the minister pronounces the benediction in church, and there will be a good hatch. (F)

22. If hens are set in the sign of "Virgo" the eggs will hatch well. (F) Also, the chicks will be very hardy.

23. Set a hen on an odd number of eggs if you want a good hatch. Mark an "X" on each egg that you set (to insure a good hatch?) so that you can tell if another hen lays an additional egg in the nest.

24. When a chicken dies one must carry it "over the line" (that is, beyond your own premises) and then no more will die. (F) This belief, like some others, has a basis in fact in that a diseased chicken should be disposed of and dead ones carried to the woods and away from the barnyard and poultry yard.

25. Chicks hatched in May will be no good or will have staggers ("Moischtagger"), that is, they will not thrive. (F)

26. Eggs should not be given to a hen for hatching so that they will hatch in July. (F) Thus, "a chicken in July is not worth a fly."

27. When setting eggs under hens a woman should carry the eggs to the stable in her apron or bonnet. If you want many pullets in the hatch, a woman should carry the eggs to the nest for setting. If you want cockerels, a man should carry the eggs to the nest in his hat. If a woman carries the eggs in her bonnet or apron there will be a good hatch.

28. Pointed eggs will hatch cockerels, round eggs will hatch pullets. A deformed egg or an egg of irregular shape must not be set for hatching; the chick would be a cripple. This sometimes included the pointed egg, and round eggs of uniform size and shape were carefully selected for hatching.

29. A speck of dirt on the yolk of an egg shows that a cockerel will be hatched from it. (F)

30. Egg shells must be crushed before they are thrown away, or the witches will use them as boats. (F) Also, the crows will come and take them away.

31. If Easter eggs are kept in the house for more than a year some one in the family will die, but it is all right to keep eggs laid on Good Friday from one year to the next,—“selle kann mer yuse fer Brauche!”

32. Eggs for setting must not be carried over a stream; otherwise they will not hatch. (F)

33. Eggs laid on Good Friday will not decay. (F)

34. You must not reach into a guinea hen's nest with your hand; otherwise the hen will not go on the nest any more. Eggs must be removed a few at a time with a tablespoon so that the guinea will not miss a few when she counts her eggs.

35. If you set a hen at high noon or before six in the morning only pullets will be hatched. (F) That is, just as when a woman carries the eggs to the nest, nothing but hen chicks will result.

36. Setting eggs should be handled very gently,—“so as mer es Lewe nat verschuddert.” That is, improper handling will kill the “germ of life” or the chick in the egg.

37. To dream of eggs means that a quarrel is coming. (F) Sometimes this also was an omen of riches and good fortune.



(Illustration from *Hoch-Deutsches Reformirtes A B C—und Namen-Büchlein für Kinder welche anfangen zu lernen. Verbeserte Ausgabe. Philadelphia: Gedruckt und zu haben bey Conrad Zentler. 1849. From the library of Henry Borneman.*)

38. Cut out the tongue of a white pigeon, place it under your tongue, and you will be able to see through a partition wall. (F)

39. The person you are thinking of when you swallow a raw chicken heart, will become your husband. (F)

40. Carry the heart of an owl in your pocket if you want to have the admiration of the girls. (F) That is, all the girls will think very highly of you.

41. If you kiss a girl when you have the heart of a turtle-dove in your mouth, she must fall in love with you. (F) That is, it will act as a love charm, and the maiden is compelled to love you so much that she can neither leave nor refuse you.

42. The first man to enter a room by a door over which the "wishbone" of a chicken (that is, the breastbone) has been placed, will become the husband of the girl that put it there. Or, hang a "chicken bone" (wishbone or breastbone) over the door and the first man to enter will become your husband. (F)

43. When breaking the wishbone of a chicken, the one who gets the shorter piece will be the first to get married; or, sometimes, the last to get married. Personal ambitions and desires will decide which of these is good luck and which is bad luck. Usually when one gets the short piece it means bad luck or that the wish will not come true.

44. When breaking the breastbone (wishbone) of a chicken, the one getting "the shovel" or long piece will live longer than the person getting "the mattock" or short piece, for he has the shovel with which to help bury the other. (F)

45. When breaking a wishbone, the one getting the shorter piece will be the first to rock the cradle. (F) The

question is whether being the first to marry and the first to have children is really "bad luck" or not!

46. If you have any peacock's feathers in your home, your daughters will not get husbands. Fogel also gives the exact opposite of this: Your daughters will get husbands if you have peacock's feathers in the house! Generally there were vague references to these ornaments as being "evil eyes" or as bringing bad luck, and still they were kept, at least for beauty's sake if for nothing else.

47. The stork brings the babies. This is a survival of the European belief, even though the stork is not an American species. Variants of this belief are that the doctor finds babies under the cabbage plants in the garden or under the bridge, that he fishes them out of the dam or creek and then brings them in his black bag.

48. The number of birds that you see on your wedding day indicates the number of children you will have,—*"so viel Veggel, so viel Kinner!"*

49. If the rooster crows on the threshold and into a room, you may expect visitors,—*"Wann der Haahne zu der Kichedier nei graeht no kummt Bsueh!"*

50. When the cock crows all the spooks disappear. The crowing of the cock marks the advent of dawn, the time when the spirits must return from their nightly adventures and be at rest.

51. Place a flicker's tongue in your mouth when you kiss a child and the one kissed will always be of a kind disposition.

52. Eggs should not be put under the hen *"im Wok"* or *"in der Wok"* (Libra, a sign of the Zodiac) because this is a dead or unfruitful sign,—*"en doder Zeeche."* (Brendle)

53. Chicks hatched in the sign of the "Ram" will be more patient ("geduldich"). *

54. "Keep a crossbill bird in the house and lightning will not strike it." Brendle and Unger quote this European belief in speaking of the helpful and beneficial effects of "the sign of the cross." Any representation or suggestion of the cross, even the word itself, seemingly was considered to be of good effect.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. If you breathe into a bird's nest with eggs in it, or if you reach into the nest with your hands, the parent birds will abandon the nest,—*"no gehn die Alte nimmi druff."*

2. If you breathe into a nest with young in it, or if you touch the young with your hands, the parent birds will desert the nest and ants will attack the young.

3. Breathe on young birds before they have their eyes open, or touch them with your hands, and the mother bird will let them starve,—*"sie losst es Nescht leie un losst die Yunge verhungere."*

4. If you find birds' nests and then talk about it at the table, the snakes will destroy the nests. (F)

5. If you find a bird's nest and touch it, then the snakes will also find it and empty it. This also applies to cats and to crows.

6. If you breathe into a bird's nest, the eggs will rot. (F)

7. *"Schpatzeoi'er un Grabbeoi'er muss mer wedder-schmeise,—sie batte die Welt nix!"* This practice did far more harm than good, even though crows and spar-

* Russell W. Gilbert, Selinsgrove, "The Almanac in Pennsylvania German Homes," *P. D. Eck*, January 15, 1944. Gilbert found this belief "among the people of Snyder County."

rows were a pest, for the eggs of robins, owls and hawks suffered a similar fate. It is strange that man should be tempted to throw any bird's egg against a tree, fence-post, stone or door.

8. Tie a red string to the tails of broody hens. (F)
Or, pull the tail feathers and they will be broody no longer.

9. Broody hens should be ducked; that will put an end to the business. (F)

10. If broody hens will not cease being that way, haul them around on a wheelbarrow. (F)

11. Broody hens must be confined in a very small coop where they cannot sit down and that will cure them.

12. If hens will not lay, beat (or "club") their tails.

13. If the hens do not lay, put up a sign, "Eggs, ten cents a dozen," and they they will surely start laying. (F)
A picture of an axe and a chopping block might do for the hens that cannot read. This is a "saying" rather than a belief, and as such it has appeared in a variety of forms.

14. Chickens hatched from eggs laid on Maundy ("Green") Thursday or Good Friday will all be speckled or spotted. (F) To avoid this use eggs laid at some other time.

15. To make hens lay, mix pulverized rabbit droppings with their mash and feed it to them regularly, then they will lay many eggs. This is Hohman's "prescription": "Nimm Hasendreck, stosz ihn fein, menge ihn unter die Kleie, mach die Kleie nasz, dasz sie klumpig wird, und gieb es den Hühnern allezeit zu fressen so legen sie viel Eyer."

16. "Feuersnoth zu wenden: Nimm ein schwarzes Huhn aus dem Neste des Morgens oder des Abends,

schneide ihm den Hals ab, wirf es auf die Erde, schneide ihm den Magen aus dem Leibe, thue nichts daraus, lasz es bey einander bleiben; darnach siehe, dasz du ein Stück aus einem Hemde bekommst da ein Mägdlein, die noch eine reine Jungfrau ist, ihre Zeit innen hat; nimm davon eines Tellers breit, von dem da die Zeit am meisten darinnen ist. Diese zwey Stücke wickele zusammen, und gieb wohl Achtung, dasz du ein Ey bekommst, das am grünen Donnerstag gelegt worden ist. Diese drey Stücke wickele zusammen, mit Wachs; darnach thue es in ein achtmäszig Häflein, decke es zu und vergrab es unter deine Hauschwellen, mit Gottes Hülfe, so lange als ein Stecken am Hause währt. Wenn es schon vor und hinter deiner Behausung brennet, so kann das Feuer dir und deinen Kindern keinen Schaden thun." (Hohman)

17. Chimney swifts bring bedbugs if they can get into a room.

SAYINGS

1. "Yeder Voggel peift (singt) wie ihm der Schnawwel gewachse is."

2. "Besser en Schpatz in der Hand als en Daub uff em Dach."

3. "Sis ah net gsat as en Katz die Music arrig gleicht, juscht weil sie gern Canaryfeggel fresst." (Charles C. More)*

4. "Aus gebackne Oi'er kumme ken Biebelcher."

5. "Zwee Veggel mit eem Schdee dot schmeisse."

6. "Er laaft dart rum as wie en Pohaahne."

* We include sayings, proverbs and just plain "expressions" as we have heard them or found them in dialect literature. Quotations from a dialect writer are given in the original spelling with the author's name attached.

7. "Sie sin in alle Ecke naus g'schprunge as wie en Drupp Badderriesel wann mer sie veryaagt."
8. "Er is en rechter Galyevoggel."
9. "Es is en mien Hinkel, as daheem fresst un beim Nochbar legt." (More)
10. "Wu Dauwe sin, do fliege Dauwe gewehniglich derzu." (Henry L. Fischer)
11. "Gebt's am Martini (11 Nov.) Sunneglans.
Dann schwitzt im Offe die Gans."*
12. "Wann der Haas iwwer Schneeheife schpringt,
Ken Lerch meh in der Luft rum singt." (*Eck*)
13. "... en Geblabber as wann en gansi Haerd Gens drin waere ... en Gegacks as wie im Hinkelhof ..."
(Lloyd Moll)
14. "Lache wie en Babbegoi" (Moll)
15. "Er macht en Hals wie en Gillerie un 's Maul uff,
so das mer en Hinkeloi nei schtecke kennt, awwer 's kummt nix meh raus" (Moll)
16. "... sei G'sicht so rot wie me Welschawhne sei Kopp" (Moll)
17. "... en manches Meedel hot en Schtimme wie'n Canaryfoggel un schwetzt wie'n Papagoi" (More)
18. "Wie Badderriesel aus ihm Nescht, so sin mir widder fart" (Frank R. Brunner)
19. "'S oierlege un 's gackse sin zwee verschiedene Sache." (*Eck*)
20. "Os-Woi deet sich mit 'ne (die Schtink-brief Schreiwer) schemme" (John Birmelin)
21. "Schloosse so gross wie'n Hinkeloi!" (*Eck*)
22. "En Blick im Aag wie'n Hinkelwoi." (Birmelin)

* Barba's *Pennsylvanisch Deutsch Eck*. Some of the "expressions" by More, Moll, Birmelin and others have been taken from the "*Eck*" also. Others are taken from various sources, and some are put down as we have heard them.

23. "En Schpottfoggel in seim eegne Kaschte hot nicks zu bralle!" (Charles A. Butz)

24. "Des waer awwer aa gut fer die Grabbe schei mache!"

25. "Dass dich der Guckuck hett!" (Eli Keller)

26. "... en Philosoph odder 'n Schnep?" (Charles C. Ziegler)

27. "Wie's guckt, waerd's voll im Gillerie Busch..." (Astor C. Wuchter)

28. "Wie die Ludergrappe en doter Gaul finne..." (William F. Yoder)

29. "Ich hab schun Felder g'sehna, die wara ganz iwerwuchert mit Hecka un Unkraut. 'S het ken Gilderi druf lewa kenna!" ("Hansjoerg")

30. "... ausnanner gschtewwert wie so'n Drupp gleene Hinkel wann en Woi kommt!" (More)

31. "...wie'n freeliches lockisches Singe vumme Vojjel in der Paarzeit." (More)

32. "Der Biwwi kaemt yo gaar net bei..." (Birmerlin)

33. "Der Voggel kennt mer an de Feddere."

34. "Am erschte Moi leegt die Katz en Oi!"

35. "Wann die Veggel 's erscht mol singe is es noch nat Maerye."

36. "Do heest's aa 'Voggel, fress adder verreck!" "

37. "... wie en Fogel im Honfsawma." (A. R. Horne).

38. "Ich hob g'sawd de official luder-grobba data ene farrise eb are recht dote ware." ("Boonastiel")

39. "Are is awfongs tsu en oldter hawna far mit shprow g'fonga tsu wara." ("Boonastiel")

40. "En goote wasser—milloon daid de shpots fum leb-koocha shloga." ("Boonastiel")

41. "En fraw os singa con we en omshel un bocked brote we en wetzshtae con dich gli in de avichkeit shicka, awwer se con dich net in der Himmel singa." ("Boonastiel")

42. "Seller Haahne is ewwe uff sei'm eegne Mischthaufe." (*Der Hahn weisz sich viel auf seinem Mist*).

43. "Du hoscht dei Gensel aa noch nat iwwer'm Wasser."

44. "'S is en Gensche fart un en Gansert is heem kumme." (*Es flog ein Gänschen über's Meer, und kam ein Ganser wieder her*).

45. "Wann ee Gans sauft dann wolle sie all saufe." (*Wenn ein Gans trinkt, so trinken alle*).

46. "En Hinkel wu viel gackst leegt nat viel Oi'er." (*Hennen die viel gackern, legen wenig Eier*)

47. "Fette Hinkel leege nat viel Oi'er."

48. "Wann die Hinkel nat leege wolle dann misse sie mol die Schwens geglobbt hawwe."

49. "Sie sin ab as wie en Drupp Veggel."

50. "Sie sin abg'floge as wie die Dauwe."

51. "Se hot ge-gooked we en oldte fasont os breed." ("Boonastiel")

52. "Sell macht em recht gensheitich."

53. "Wann en porra cooma is don is es amohl es arsht ons hinkel fonga gonga." ("Boonastiel")

54. "De weipsleit os shunt amohl g'hired wora un setta ga-nunk hovva, schnappa de boova aweck os we en oldte shillgrut yunge gens fongt." ("Boonastiel")

55. "Se bussa nonner we en droop dowva." (Boonastiel)

56. "De welsh-hawna hen shtrow-heet g'wora . . ." ("Boonastiel")

57. "De looder-grobba hen en doter gowl garucha, un aner noach em onera is tsu fleega cooma . . . De looder-

grobba hen era ronsa full g'hot un der oldt gowl is ols wennicher worra." ("Boonastiel")

58. "Do fliege em aa die gebrotne Dauwe nat ins Maul."

59. "Wann du gackse witt, dann leeg aa."

60. "Sie fechte wie die Schpatze."

61. "Sie kann schelte wie en Amschel."

62. "Sie kann schwimme wie en Ent."

63. "Er graeht wie en alder Haahne."

64. "Er hott schun so viel Weiwer g'hatt as en alder Mischthaahne."

65. "Ich hab gekarresiert wie en Schpatzert."

66. "Er meent er waer aa leenich Haahne im Kaerb."

67. "Sie sin hinnernannerno wie die Gens (wie die Ende)."

68. "Er henkt die Fliggel."

69. "Es FrieHYaahr is nat do bis die Oschderoi'er gesse sin."

70. "Ee Schwalm macht ken Summer."

71. "Wann der Biwwi mol peift un du sehnscht drei Scheierschwalme bei nanner no kannscht baarfiessich geh."

72. "Sell Veggelche waar aa noch nat aus'm Nescht."

73. "Es scheisst aa noch en mannich Veggelche as nau noch ken Aarsch hott bis sell g'schehnt."

74. "Sell Veggelche hott aa noch sei Warrem nat selwer g'fange."

75. "Zwee Haahne uff eem Mischthaufe (Mischthof) fechte immer."

76. "Yeder Haahne kann's bescht fechte uff sei'm eegne Mischthaufe."

77. "Er schteht hie mit 'm Maul uff wie'n yungi Amschel."



Schön klingt der Geige frohes Spiel
Nur dumme Gänse schnattern viel.

(Illustration from *Hoch-Deutsches A B C und Buchstabir-Büchlein für Kinder*. Harrisburg, Penna. Gedruckt und zu haben bei Scheffer und Beck, 1852. From the library of Henry S. Borneman.)

78. "Un sell broofed os der oldt Porra Frees fun sina oyer wore we are g'sawd hut: 'Geldt regeneered de weldt un doomheit Brush Valley.'" ("Boonastiel")

79. "De Beckie is bout en shae maidel, hut rhode hore, awga we en daub, en broosht we en fasont, un is so shpry os en bodderreesly." ("Boonastiel")

80. "... unnich yader sitz sin bindle chewing gum os es boll gooked os won de dreck-schwolma neshter ni ga-bowed hetta." ("Boonastiel")

81. "De hinkel shtaena rum uff ame bae un warda far era welshkarn." ("Boonastiel")*

82. "Won en mon blendy geld hut un gebts don saened de g'mae shunt de fluss-federa fun sina fliggel. un won are nixt gebt don reecha se gli shwevvel." ("Boonastiel")

83. "De bedder sin in de tswae sida fun em Pullman sina shlofe-kars un gooka awenich we hinkelneshter in ma giles-droke." ("Boonastiel")

84. "... en hoot full federa os ga-gooked hut we en po-hawna won are der schwanz uff-schteld." ("Boonastiel")

85. "Gook usht amohl hee! De glooka hen era neshter farlussa, de kee sin net ga-mulka worra, un dart drows leid de oldt lose mit ame yunga. So far-flompts management!" ("Boonastiel")

86. "Baheed dich fum mon os si nawma peddled os we en pohawna si schwontz—olsfardt in der hae won are denked os ebber gooked." ("Boonastiel")

* The writer makes no apology for including so many "expressions" from "Boonastiel." Harter's prose has vigor and color, and a down-to-earth quality that few have been able to match. He uses more bird names and more descriptive terms related to birds than any dialect writer that we know; and he employs these more uniquely than any other. Despite his system of spelling, his "sayings" are most worthy.

87. "Si feddera sin shae awver si hartz is shtawl."
"Boonastiel")
88. "Ich gleich selver om dish si woo en welshawna
farrissa wardt." ("Boonastiel")
89. "Are greeked net mae gootes ous dara weldt os
en oldte glook os uff'ma welshkarn-groota breed."
("Boonastiel")
90. "Derno hov ich de 'nocht ile' greeked un wasser
uff's licht g'shit." ("Boonastiel")
91. "Es is nat graad Daag wann aa ee Voggel aafangt
sing." (Fogel) *
92. "Er versaut sei eege Nescht." (Fogel)
93. "Es graeht ken Haahne denno." (Fogel)
94. "Schwarze Hinkel leege aa weisse Oi'er." (Fogel)
95. "Yeder Hinkel leegt aa alsemol en Unglicksoi."
(Fogel)
96. "En gscheit Hinkel leegt aa alsemol newich 's
Nescht." (Fogel)
97. "Die Hinkel leege nat gaern in neie Neschter."
(Fogel)
98. "Es is gange wie Hinkel uff 're heese Kucheblatt."
(Fogel)
99. "Wann der Pohaahne sich uff die Fiess guckt
fallt 'm der Schwans."
100. "Wann der Pohaahne sich uff die Fiess guckt
fallt 'm der Mut." (Fogel)
101. "Schtols wie en Pohaahne,—scheene Feddere
awwer wieschte Fiess." (Fogel)
102. "So schtols as en Pohaahne."

* Edwin M. Fogel, "Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans,"
P. G. S. Proceedings, 1929. We are quoting from Fogel only those
proverbs which we did not find or hear somewhere else. The spell-
ing is our own.

103. "Wann du saufe muscht, dann sauf Genswei."
(Fogel)
104. "Sell schlaggt die Schpatze raus." (Fogel)
105. "So bees as en Gluck mit eem Yunge."
106. "So bissi as en Gluck mit eem Yunge."
107. "Mer zaehlt die Oi'er nat eb sie geleeht sin."
108. "Mer daerf nat zu gschwind graehe."
109. "Mer dut sei Oi'er nat all in ee Kaerb."
110. "Oi'er mache schpielich." (Fogel)
111. "So gross as en Gensoi (Hinkeloi, Welschhinkeloi, usw.)."
112. "In de Luft—wie die Veggel frei . . ." (Ziegler)
113. "Fer was gebts ken gleene Rotkepp? Wann sie glee sin, sin's all Grokepp!"
114. "Was guckt 'm halwe Hinkel gleich? Die anner Helft!"
115. "Was is schwatzer as en Grabb? Die Feddere."
116. "Fer was macht der Haahne die Aage zu wann er graeht? Weil er 's auswennich kann."
117. "Fer was schritt der Haahne iwwer die Wagglees? Es is zu weit fer drumrum zu geh."
118. "Fer was geht's Hinkel iwwer die Schtrooss? Weil 's uff die anner Seid will."
119. "Wie weit fliegt die Grabb in der Busch? Bis in die Mitt, no fliegt sie widder aus 'm Busch."
120. "Was hott 's greesscht Schnuppduch in der Welt? En Hinkel,—es butzt sei Naas ab uff der Aerd."
121. "Was is der Unnerschitt zwische me Haahne un en Budderfass? Der Haahne hott die Flieggel ausewennich un en Budderfass hott die Fliggel innewennich."
122. "Wie viel Hols geht in en Grabbenescht? Kens geht nei. Es waerd neigedraage!"
123. "En Aadler fangt ken Micke."
124. "Die Grabbe picke nanner die Aage nat raus."

125. "Er macht Aage wie en Woi."
 126. "Er hott Aage wie en Eil."
 127. "Sie is so batzich wie en Zaahschlibber (wie en alde Gluck)."
 128. "Sie gehn aa in 's Bett mit de Hinkel."
 129. "Du bischt wie en Badderrieselche,—du schpringscht aa aus 'm Nescht un hoscht noch die halb Schaal uff 'm Buckel."
 130. "Wu 's Luder is dart kumme die Grabbe zame."
 131. "Wann die Oi'er arrick wolfel sin dann bezaahlt 's de Hinkel nat fer sich die Aahrschlecher auswehre."
 132. "Des do is mei Nescht un do bin ich Baas."
 133. "Waart mol bis du dei Yunge aus 'm Nescht hoscht."
 134. "Sei Yunge sin noch all im Nescht mit de Meiler uff."
 135. "Was fer 'n Voggel hott ken Fliggel, ken Feddere un ken Schnawwel? En Maadervoggel."
 136. "Sie hen imme Roi g'hockt wie yunge Veggel uff me Nascht."
 137. "Hinkel as graeche sotte die Hels rumgedraecht hawwe."
 138. "Er is aagange as wie en Gillerie (Briehgluck, Haahne, Schdoosswoi)."
 139. "Sie sin drufflos gange wie die Grabbe (wie die Ooshaahne)."
 140. "Sie hen geraast wie die Schpatze."
 141. "Er is rumgedanst wie so'n gleener Bandihaahne."
 142. "Sie sin druffnei as wie die Hinkel."
 143. "No sin awwer die Feddere mol g'floge!"
 144. "M'r huckt doh wie Douva im Nescht."
- (Wuchter)

145. "Er is mol geduldich am briehe."
146. "Sie hen gepickt wie die Hinkel (wie gleene Hinkel, wie gleene Gens)."
147. "Sie hen g'schnappert wie die Gens."
148. "So'n verflammts alt Grabbenescht."
149. "Er grickt's aa noch uff die Schnawwel."
150. "Er grickt die Schnawwel mol abgebutzt."
151. "So schwarz wie'n Grabb."
152. "So darr as en Gilleri."
153. "So schpangich as en alder Mischthaahne."
154. "So umleidlich as en Ooshaahne."
155. "So schdinkich as en Ooswoi."
156. "So faul as en Wibberwill."
157. "So raachdierisch as en Hinkelwoi."
158. "So bees wie en Gansert."
159. "So flink as en Schdoosswoi."
160. "So batzich wie en Ginnihinkel."
161. "Es hott ihn iwwernumme wie en Schwob."
162. "Veggel mit gleiche feddere fliege gaern zamme."
163. "Der Wibberwill holt ihn gewiss."
164. "Do is ken Zeit fer hischteh un die Veggel watsche."
165. "Seller Haahne graecht aa iwwer Oi'er as er nat geleeht hott."
166. "Scheene Feddere mache der schee Voggel."
167. "Die Grabbe daete ihn aa besser hole."
168. "Er hott gelockt an 'ne wie en Daubert (wie 'n Gluck)."
169. "Sie hott ihr Nescht gut g'feddert."
170. "Er hott sich mol gut genischtelt."
171. "Sell is en recht Ludernescht."
172. "Sell is en loser Voggel."

173. "Bis sie faerdich waare mit ihm hott 'r geguckt as wie en geroppt Hinkel (en geroppter Haahne)."

174. "Seller hott aa Veggel im Kopp (im Haernkaschde)."

175. "Wie kann mer en Ent aus 're Gans mache? Wann mer sie esst!"

176. "Wann nein Veggel uff 'me Baam hocke, un du schiescht drei davun runner, wie viel hocke noch druff? Kenni!"

177. "Was geht uff's Wasser un waerd nat Nass? En Gans!"

178. "... sin g'fohra wie won die fuhrleit gailshpaich weara, un kenta ken signs laisa!" ("Pumpernickle Bill")

179. "Er is rum g'shossa wie 'n gailshpaich." Also, "sie wor imma huddle wie 'n gailshpaich." (Pumpernickle Bill")

180. "Es is gange as wie lauder Hinkelwoi." Also, "druppweis wie die Grabbe."

181. "Sie waar so wusslich wie en Gensel."

182. "Sie is en rechte alte Schnapperigans."

183. "... so schtuls os wie en gluck mit ame yunga biebli." (Joseph H. Light, "Alt Schulmeshter")

184. "Dale fon denna alte aemter yaeger sin grawd wie so alte glucka die imma uf'm nescht rumrutscha wella. Onnere hinkel sella de oyer lahga, un sie maehna sie ollanich waehra fit for sie rousbriea. So alte glucka griega for kommen der kup obgakept wann sie net fon der neschter bleiva wella." (Light)

185. "Er hott en Roi dohi gemacht as wie en Katzevoggel (wie en Schpottvoggel, Zaahschlibber, Babbe-goi)."

186. "... singe doch wie'n Laerrich im Moi." (Edward Hermany)

187. "Er hut der gons wage gepiffa, 'O du liebliche dottel-doub.'" (Light)

188. "... ah morgya wahre zwa kevvich laar un de fegele wahra fort g'floga." (Light)

189. "Es hott geguckt as wie en Drupp Gens (Schneegens)."

190. "Wie der Voggel so es Oi."

191. "Wu die Hinkel rausgebriecht waerre datt wolle sie aa verkommen schlofe."

192. "Sie hott rumkockt wie 'n rechte alte Briehgluck."

193. "Schiwwerich wie en Hinkel." Also, "scheckich wie en Ginnihinkel."

194. "... en lott fettervieh, 25 hinkel de oyer lahga olle moll os mer ihne der schwonz kloppt; 15 schnepper-gens mit gaschpitste schnevel; 10 hawne os Yankee Doodle odder Nelly Bly krahe kenna wann sie en drum hoera schpiele; 5 welschhinkle ohne fliegel odder schwenz, de sin orrig handich for redde griega for en roascht; klahne banty hinkle, de so bortsich rum lawfe wie dale weibsleit wann sie neie hats uff hen udder yunge buhwa mit cigaretts im maul." (Light)

195. "So hungrich far en Fraa 'als en Fischreir far en Ohl.'"*

196. "Es Land waar so maager, die Grabbe hen ihre Esse nooch draage misse wann sie driwwer g'flogge sin." (Clarence R. Rahn)†

197. "Ich waar ariger verkolebiert as en alte Gans im e Schloose Schtaerem." (Rahn)†

* From "Pennsylvania German Wit and Humor," a thesis by Leo. A. Bressler, Pennsylvania State College, 1943. Quoted from "Humor in Pennsylvania German Almanacs," Arthur D. Graeff, *American-German Review*, June, 1939.

† From Bressler's thesis, above.

198. "Es is en dummer Voggel as sei eeje Nescht versaut."

199. "Jeder Voggel gleicht sei eeje Nescht 's bescht."

200. "So wie die Scheierschwalm ihr Nescht baut,— noch un noch."

201. "Die Veggel wu maryets so arrick singe fangt die Katz eb Nacht."

202. "M'r hen gepiffe graad wie uns die Schnawwel gewachse is."



IN SONG AND STORY

BIRD CALLS

The calls of the birds, as well as other sounds, have always been of interest to our people. The repetition of a sound makes an impression upon the mind and the mind gives its meaning. The church bell invited the people to come and worship. The water wheel at the old mill complained of its approaching death as it made its slow, creaking turns during the dry spell of summer when there was little water in the dam; but when the race ran full after the heavy rains, the wheel took on new spirit, came to life again and boasted that it could help itself. The squeak of the old wheel-barrow betrayed the farmer who was on his way to a neighbor's field to steal some turnips by night; and the sharper, more rapid squeaks of the wheel announced that the farmer was running home again and that he had gotten no turnips.

So the songs and calls of the birds had meaning, for the birds spoke a language of their own, and it will be of interest to see how our people interpreted and reproduced these calls. We have already called attention to some of these and here are some more.

Some species were named for their several calls, like the night heron, quail, towhee, turkey, killdeer, whip-poor-will, crow, chickadee, chipping sparrow, saw-whet

owl, blue jay, catbird, phoebe and wood pewee. Other species were named according to some special quality of their song or call, like the loon, the flicker, the woodpeckers, the cuckoos, the mockers, the vireo, whip-poor-will, kingfisher, crested flycatcher and nighthawk. Various meanings were assigned to the calls and sounds of the owls, cuckoos, grouse, quail, woodpeckers, night-hawk, whip-poor-will, flycatchers, mourning doves, kill-dee, upland plover and the sparrows.

The Bob-white calls: "Mach, mach fatt," meaning that the farmer shall keep on working; or, "Mach, mach Hoi," meaning that he shall make his hay; or, "Mach, mach nass," meaning that it will rain. In Northern Lehigh County there lived an old farmer by the name of Tom Boyd and the boys of the community thought that the quail called: "Alt Tom Boyd, Alt Tom Boyd." In Montgomery County it was thought that the quail told the farmer to sow buckwheat by calling "Buck Wheat, Buck Wheat." To others, of course, it seemed that he was simply calling his name as we have it in English. Bob would sit on a fence post at the far end of a clover field and call his name; a little farmboy would return an imitation of the call from the other end of the field, and so there would be an exchange of calls until Bob drew near and discovered his mistake.

The mourning dove calls: "Mei Fuss, blut, blut, blut" or simply: "Blut, Blut, Blut" and "Gut Blut, gut Blut, gut Blut." Again it seems to complain as follows:

"Mei Fuss dutt weh,
Weh, dutt weh, weh."

This sometimes seems to be a two-way conversation with one dove saying: "Mei Fuss blut, blut, blut," the other joining in the lament with the answer: "Dutt weh, weh, weh."

The blue jay, so noisy in the fall of the year, seeing a nutpicker or hunter, or bent on some destruction somewhere, cries: "Dieb, Dieb, Dieb." The catbird, watching the fisherman along the bank of the stream, hops about in the alder bushes and cries: "Zieg, zieg, zieg," meaning that the fisherman must pull and pull some more.

In a certain part of Montgomery County there lived a family by the name of Billiard. In the family there were several girls who were much courted. In the neighborhood the song of the robin was interpreted as follows:

"Bei d'r Maed gewest, gewest;
James Billiard's gewest, gewest, gewest,
Bei d'r Maed gewest, gewest, gewest!" *

Peter Jones coming home from Mauch Chunk, slightly intoxicated, heard the brown thrasher call:

"Pit Jones, Pit Jones,
Mauch Chunk, Mauch Chunk,
Whiskey, whiskey,
Uff barricks, uff barricks,
Hab grickt, hab grickt,
'R waar gut, 'r waar gut,
Noch meh, noch meh!" *

Again, the brown thrasher's song has been reproduced as follows:

"Gange Seef koche!
Gange Seef koche!
Koesch, Koesch!
Gebettelt, gebettelt!
Yar, g'schtohle!
Yar, g'schtohle!" †

* Reported by Thomas R. Brendle.

† Heard from John Baer Stoudt, Allentown. Dr. Stoudt once said that the crow called: "Quay, Quay, Quay," in reference to the senator by this name.

The crow, seeing the farmer at work in his fields day after day, says: "Graab, Graab, Graab," and so tells him that he will soon be in his grave. It may also say: "Graab, graab, graab," thus directing the farmer to dig and plant his corn so that the crows may feed upon it. Again, the crow may be saying: "Gau-l Gau-l, Gau-l," meaning that the farmer is to work his old horse to death so that the crow may feed upon him.* More often the crow simply calls his name: "Grabb, Grabb, Grabb," or something that sounds like: "Gau-gau-gau-gauk."

A little boy once threw a clod ("En Grundschole") at a killdeer and struck the bird. The bird toppled over and then fluttered away, as this species will when danger threatens, calling: "Es geht, es geht, es geht." "Yar," replied the little boy, "Awwer verdammt schlecht!"†

Peter Schuler of Upper Saucon was hurrying along a lane through the woods early on a summer morning. The wood pewee called: "Pete! Wu gehscht hie? Pete! Wu gehscht hie?" Pete, who had been deep in thought, quickly replied and waved his arms as he said: "Ei, doniwwer noch's Engelman's fer helfe maehe!"†

The nighthawk, in the course of its erratic flight, travels in wide circles, mounting higher and higher, and with each round says: "Betz—Betz—Betz." Then, diving earthward, it booms: "Met Fraa-a-a-a-a!"†

In upper Lehigh County there was an old miller by the name of Ephraim. One day the mill burned down. The red-wing in the willow above the mill dam asked: "Waer hott die Miehl aag'schteckt? Miehl aag'schteckt?"

* Reported by Thomas R. Brendle.

† Reported by Claude Butterwick, Sellersville.

The old bullfrog in the dam replied: "Ei, der Ephraim! Ephraim! Ephraim!"*

Turning to the barnyard we have the following story. Two roosters were calling to each other after a day of threshing. One of them stood on a heap of grain and called: "Do is gut Lewe! Do is gut Lewe!" raising his voice on the word "gut." The other rooster, standing on a pile of straw, replied: "Es waerd nat lang waehre! Es waerd nat lang waehre!" raising his voice on "waehre." Thereupon the farmer came along and struck the bird on the grain heap a mighty blow. As the rooster ran away he cried: "O Gott! O Gott! O Gott!" The other rooster then added: "Ich hab's geglaabt! Ich hab's geglaabt! Ich hab's geglaabt!"†

The following story about "Gsheite Hinkle," given in the original spelling, will speak for itself:

"Die shtorie kumt fun Bareks County. Es war emol en bauer in Bareks County os en groze drub hinkel ghotte hot. Er hot alle sotte hinkel ghot—welsh-hinkel, guini-hinkel un mischt-hinkel. Die hinkel ware gsheit. Der Parre is oft tzum bauer kumme. Die hinkel hen es aw gewisst. Alemol os sie gsehne hen os der Parre kumt hen sie sich bullie fershlupt unnich der hinkel-shtall, die sih-ben oder es welshkern heisel. Die guini-hinkel hen gewacht un hen der signal geve. Wie sie gsehne hen os der Parre noch dat is hen sie sochtlich gebiebst: 'Tzurick! Tzurick! Er is noch do!' Wie er fert gonge is hen die welshhinkel gegrishe. 'Aurig gut

* By John J. Stoudt, from his father, the late John Baer Stoudt. Dr. Stoudt gives another interpretation of the red-wing's song: "Mustache un Napkin,—sell is der biet!"

† Given by Thomas R. Brendle.

gesse! Aurig gut gesse!" No hen die mischt-hinkel sicher gfield.

"Wie yusht der bauer um der wehg war ware die hinkel aurig tzahm. Der bauer is fiel getzohe un alemol os er naus on die sheir kumme is hen die hinkel sich uf der bugel gelegt un hen die beh in die heh gshtreckt fer sie tzumme gebunne tzu have. Mihr deht denke fetter fie deht nicks wisse awer des weist os sie aw die knep hinich de orah hen." *

The crow of the rooster has been given various interpretations, some of which appear throughout this work, but the simplest of them is that when the cock crows on the strawstack he says: "Guckeri-gu-u-u! Ich bin greesser wie du!" To this the children in the barnyard would reply with: "Guckeri-gu-u-u! Mir sin (Ich bin) greesser (schmaarter, schenner) wie du!" Such an exchange of calls would usually be carried on until the rooster got tired of the business and strutted away.

The following bits of verse also have something to say about bird songs and calls:

"Die alte Muehl steht still un dum;
Es geht nix meh im Ringel rum.
En Amschel, wie en junge Braut,
Hut in dem Korb ihr Nescht gebaut,
Dort singt sie lieblich,
Un waes nix drueblich;
'Mei Heim is doh
Ich bin so froh!
Dem Herr is alles zuvertraut!" †

* From *Dumhete—En Gleh Buch Mit Tseeh Shtories in Pennsylvania Deutsch*, A. D. Steckel Fullerton, Pa., 1930. This story has appeared in a variety of forms and in a number of counties.

† From "Die Alt Cider Muehl" by the Rev. Dr Adam Stump, in Reichard's *Anthology*.

“Heer mol’s Badderieselche!
 Sawgt—‘Hab—weit!’
 Des hot flinke Fiesselche—
 Baff!—Uff eemol gracht die Flind;
 Ei, was sin die Fliegel g’schwind!
 Grawd—noch—Zeit!

* * *

“Gulle, gulle!—Des dut mich gemahne,
 Gulle, gulle!—Mer hen’n Welschhawne,
 So dick un so rund,
 So herzhaftich, g’sund;
 Ich glaub er wiegt achtzeh bis zwanzich Pund.
 Ich will aw vergesse
 Wie viel as er g’fresse,
 Un wann ich en mol amme Schenkel verwisch,
 Dann is er schun marye bei uns uff’m Disch.”*

“Die Daub sawgt, ‘Guh-Ruh, was soll ich yuscht duh?
 Mei Kinner sin hungrich un gewwe ken Ruh.’
 ‘Ei, ich hab doch zehe,’ Zahschlipperli sawgt,
 ‘Ken eens is dabei as sich eemol beklawgt.’”†

“‘Gulle-gulle!’ Nau, hoschte sel k’heert?
 So macht unser Welschhawne drauss;
 Der Paep, der hot’n gewiss verschteert
 Dart aeryets hinner’m Haus.

Was iss der Kaerl so dick un fett!
 Un wann er greeser waerre sett.
 Der gengt yo gawr net in die Pann!
 Du yeh! Wie wedd mer’n reeschte dann?

* From “Der November,” by John Birmelin, in the *P. D. Eck*, November 2, 1935.

† “Aus ’m John Birmelin Seim ‘Mammi Gans Buch,’ ”—“The Dove Says, ‘Coo, Coo.’” In the *P. D. Eck*, July 20, 1935.

Der Paep, der hot en schtill bedracht,
 So wie mer dut bevor mer schlacht.
 Der Hawne schpreitzt die Feddre aus
 Un henkt die Fliggel neewe naus;
 Er zieght der Kopp so schtolz zurick,
 Mer meent es deet em weh im Gnick;
 Dann geht er uf der Holzblatz zu
 Un wees var Zarn net was zu duh,
 Er guckt emol der Hackglotz aw—
 En scharfi Ax leit neewe draw—
 Un hot's en bees gemacht?
 Er hot's e Weil bedracht." *

"Gickeri—gickeri—guh!
 Die Maad verliert der Schuh,
 Der Knecht verliert die Geige-seed
 Un wees net was zu duh.

"Gickeri—gickeri—guh!
 Was soll die Maad yuscht duh?
 Sie wart net uf die Geige-seed
 Un danzt mitaus em Schuh." †

SPORT AND GAMES

ELBEDRITSCH FANGE

The "Elbedritsch" is indeed a "rare bird" and an unsuspecting person's search for this elusive species has been the occasion for much sport among our people. Since it is supposed to be a bird and has been so described by those who claim to know (a few have claimed

* From "Die Dawge var Grischtdawg," by John Birmelin, in the *P. D. Eck*, December 19, 1936.

† "Aus 'm John Birmelin Seim 'Mammi Gans Buch,'"—"Cock-a-doodle-doo." In the *P. D. Eck*, July 1, 1939.

that it is a furbearing quadruped), we venture to include a discussion of it here.

Lins gives the word, "Elbedridchelchar," and defines it as "a mythical bird." Horne gives the word as, "Elbadritsha," and follows with the same definition. Horne has this to say about the sport: "Catching Elbedriches was a sport which, like the boys pelting the frogs with stones, though fun to the initiated, was, if not death, at least anything but agreeable to the unsophisticated youth. A number of boys who understood the trick, persuaded a verdant youth to accompany them to a lonely field or wood on a cold winter's night. With the pretense that they were going around by the side of the hill to chase the mythical bird,—for elbedriches were supposed to be a bird,—they placed the uninitiated youth at a fence corner, holding a bag widely open for the birds to run in. There he stood trembling and his hands freezing. Neither bird nor companions put in an appearance. At length, almost perishing from the cold, he concluded to go home, where he found his companions gathered around the hot stove, enjoying the fun at his expense." *

Lambert gives, "Elbedritsche," "Elfedritsche," "Elbedritschelche," and defines it as a "mythical bird or beast. also used whimsically to designate an insect of unknown species. Elbedritsche fange was a term used for playing a practical joke on an innocent or simple person who was persuaded to hold a bag at some lonesome spot to catch this supposed animal, and who was then deserted by the rest of the party while they pretended to be beating up the animal in the bushes and driving it towards

* Dr. A. R. Horne, "The Pennsylvania Germans," ch. 6 in *A History of the Counties of Lehigh and Carbon, etc.*, Matthews and Hungerford, 1884.

the bag; in a less literal sense, to be wool-gathering." Lambert cites, elpedritsch, ölpedrütsch, as dialect German names for a simple person.

Dr. Preston A. Barba says that he has found "that the lore about Elbedritschelcher is familiar not only to the inhabitants of the Rhenish Palatinate, but that it is also widely spread over other parts of Germany. In an article entitled 'Elbetritsche' which appeared in the publication *Pfaelzisches Museum* for 1922, we read that every Palatine between Landau and Bergzabern is acquainted with this mythical bird. The name itself also appears in various forms, as well as the manner of catching the bird. In Rhenish Hessen it is Ilbetritsche; in Baden near Mannheim and Heidelberg, Elwetritsche and Ilwetritsche. In the Vogelsberg wild ducks are called Ilbetritsche. Today a stupid, simple and foolish person is sometimes called an Elbetroetsch." *

Barba goes on to say: "The word Elbetritsch itself is an ancient one and has come down by way of the Old High German and the Middle High German. The first part of the word is related synonymous with the German Alp and Elbe, and the second with Trude. These words themselves reach far back into the spirit and demon world of Northern mythology, and are themselves sufficient indication of the hoary ancestry of our mythical bird, the Elbedritschel."

Dr. Elmer E. S. Johnson says: "The term Elbetritsche and its roots are common in the folklore of the Swedes and the Anglo-Saxons, as well as in that of the Germans. It is spelled in a variety of ways, as for ex-

* Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. Editor of the *P. D. Eck*. The *Eck* of January 13, 1940, was devoted entirely to a discussion of this subject. The editor's comment has been quoted from that issue.

ample: Elbentritsche, alberdruetsch, elbentroetsch, drelpetruetsch, hilpentritsch, ilmedredsche, oelpetruetsch, toelpentroetsch, trilpentritsch, always meaning an awkward, simple person who has been taken in by the elbe. In Pommerellen, in Westpreussen, the common Elberdroetschjagen, Trilpetritschjagen, is called Rossmucken-jagen. Apparently it was a New Year's trick, for at that time of the year the uninitiated was told to stand on the door-step and hold an open bag, as though waiting to catch something. Meanwhile the rest of the party ran all over the house, screaming at the top of their voices and making every imaginable kind of noise, as if they intended to drive the evil spirits out of every nook and corner. Weary of the fruitless chase, some one poured a bucket of water over the unsuspecting neophyte at the door, and so the Rossmucken were caught." *

Johnson also says: "The word has in it the two roots, elbe and drude. The root elbe is the Middle High German dative feminine of the Old High German Alp, meaning nightmare. The Anglo-Saxon form of elbe is elfen, elb, aelf, hence our English elf. The German word Elfe, meaning fairy, is familiar. In German folklore Alp is very common: for example, in Silesia, on Good Friday and on St. George's Day, April 23, the Hausvater, with a piece of consecrated chalk, makes three crosses over every door of his house, to guard against witches and the Alp as well as against all evil persons, who are said to be numerous at that time. Likewise in the case of a new-born babe, on whose breast the Alp is said to nurse, various remedies have been suggested: a pair of father's trousers, laid on the cradle; a heavy club; an old comb; an old broom laid crosswise under the cradle, will ward

* "More About 'Elbetritches,'" an article in *The Pennsylvania German*, May, 1906.

off the Alp. In the Herzogtum Braunschweig, the Marte, also called Nachtmarte, is the Alp that causes Alpdruecken, pressing of the nightmare, in that he comes at night in a transparent form of smoke and lays himself on the chest of the sleeper, who is unable to move himself or utter any sound whatever, although perfectly conscious, while the Alpdruecken is going on; eventually the sleeping person thus afflicted awakens with a heavy sigh or a doleful groan. People whose eyebrows are grown together are said to be Märten or to be able to transform themselves into such at will. Those subject to Alpdruecken should bathe the chest with cold water before retiring; care must be taken to draw the hand across the chest; the keyhole in the door of the sleeping apartment ought to be closed up carefully to keep the fellows out. As a last resort, in case they do get in, and if you are so fortunate as to know who is represented by the Marte, call them by name and they will vanish at once."

Barba says that the second component of the word is derived from Drude or Trude, a name widely spread "in southern Germany as synonymous with Hexe, or witch, a feminine Alp so to speak. Against the nocturnal visits of the Trude various protective signs and amulets are used. The Trudenfuss or pentagram of the Middle Ages, better known to us Pennsylvania Germans as the 'Hexefuss' is found as a protective sign upon cradles in southern Germany." Johnson says that in Bavaria and the Tirol the Druten or Truden are said to live "in the hidden recesses of dense forests and in the dark crevices of great rocks. They infest stones, water, ice, trees, etc., as well as human beings. When unable to torment the latter they hunt out some fine young ash, pine or larch tree and worry it so that hideous knots, common to those

trees, grow out. A tree infested by the Druten trembles all over when not a bit of air is stirring. When a fresh young branch on the tree dies, people say, 'die Drut sei drauf gesessen.' They also call the whirlwind the Drutenwind."

A Palatine innkeeper, hero in a Palatine dialect poem, describes the "birds" this way:

"Ich meen, was Elwetrittche sinn,
 Sell sollt' doch jeder wisse.
 'S sinn Veggel vun re eigne Art,
 Prachtvolle Diere, scheene, ...
 Da kannscht se nachts oft sehne.
 Viel schwaerzer wie bei Krapp un Kraeh
 Un groesser sinn ihr Fliggel,
 Un Kralle henn se an de Zeh
 Noch laenger wie e Iggel.
 Un um die schwarze Aage rum
 Schtehn Feddre, maechtig grosse,
 Un ihrem Schnawwel, breet un krumm,
 Benutzen se zum Schtosze.
 Doch trotzdem kennt selbscht 's kleenste Kind
 Uff die Jagd geh uhne Bange,
 Mer braucht kee Pulver un kee Flint
 Zum Elwetrittchefange.
 Mer braucht aach sunscht kee Inschtrument,
 Nix als wie Hawwersaeck,
 E Schtallatarn, wo orndlich brennt,
 Un dief im Wald e Fleck.
 Dort find mer bei de Nacht sich ei
 Un hebt die Saeck als Schlinge,
 Bis d'ersch, gelockt vum Lichterschei,
 In's Sackloch nei dut schpringe.
 Flugs bindscht des mit em Bendel ab
 —Die hott emol ihr Fett—

Un hoppla hopp un schnipp un schnapp
Do hoscht aach schun die zwett.
Un bischt de erscht emol so weit
Un will ders grad gelinge,
Do laafen der in korzer Zeit
E Dutzend in die Schlinge." *

Daniel Miller's story about "Elbedritsche Fange" must suffice as a description of the sport (for such this matter of so strange and varied a history came to be!) among our people:

"Host du schun Elbedritsche gefange? Ich hab net. Was is en Elbedritsch? Well, sell is eppes wunix is. Es is just en Trick, der gejuht werd for Leut zu fuhle, besonders so Leut wu arg gescheidt sei wolle oder vun Natur en wennig dumm sin. Die Sach is so En paar Leut nemme so en Kerl ame bitter kalte Owed naus in's Land un sage sie wotte Elbedritsche fange. Der Kerl muss en Sack mitnemme. Ame Buscheck mache sie ihn hinsteh un der Sack ufhewe; dann gehne die Annere fort un sage sie wotte die Elbedritsche ufstaerte un in der Sack nei jage. Awer anstatt sell gehne sie schnurstracks hehm un losse der arm Kerl draus am Buscheck steh bis er schier todt gefrore is. Dann geht er ab hehm un wees nau was Elbedritsche fange is.

* From the January 13, 1940, issue of the *P. D. Eck*. Barba quotes a part of a poem which was published in the Palatine dialect in 1922 under the name of "Die Elwetrittschejagd" by Eugen Fried. The frontispiece illustration of this poem, reproduced in the above-named issue of the *Eck*, was by a nationally known German artist, Max Slevogt, who lived in the Palatinate. In this narrative poem a sly Palatine innkeeper who cannot endure Prussians, plays the old trick and lets the Prussion hold the bag on a hunt one cold night. The innkeeper's description of the creatures is the portion given above. Barba quotes another poem in the Palatine dialect which appeared in 1939 and which shows that the tradition has persisted in the Palatinate even as here.

Nau werd er noch duechtig ausgelacht un geblaeckgaert bis er recht boes is.

“Alsemol tarnt des Elbedritsche Fange awer annerster aus wie die Leut expectt hen. So is es emol in Lecha Caunty gange. Do war en Mann gewesst (mer wolle ihn Sam Jones heese), der war net ganz so gescheidt wie Dehl Annere, un der Schuhmacher un en paar Annere hen agried, sie wotte ihn fuhle. Sie ware bei enanner im Schap un do hen sie ausgemacht, sie wotte naus geh Elbedritsche fange, un der Sam Jones sott der Sack hewe. Er war ah willig dazu. Es war gar ferchterlich kalt. Der Sam hot der Sack gehowe am Buscheck un die Annere sin fort for die Elbedritsche ufzujage. Of kohrs sin sie grad hehm gange un hen der Sam steh losse. Er hot gedenkt, die Elbedritsche muesste sie gefresse hawe. Wie er der Sack en halb Stund gehowe hot katt un schier steif gefrore war, macht er sich ah uf der Hehmweg. Es war ziemlich dunkel. Unnerwegs trifft er eppes newe der Stross ah, das gelebt hot. Der Sam denkt, des muss en Elbedritsch sei, macht schnell der Sack uff un kriegt das Ding werklich nei. Es hot tuechtig gestrawelt un der Sam war schuhr, dass er en Elbedritsch haett. Mit dem Sack uf'm Buckel geht er mit lange Schritt zurueck noch dem Schap, wu die annere Kerls all uf ihn gewart hen. Wie er die Thuer ufmacht, rufe sie; ‘Well, Sam, host du en Elbedritsch gefange?’ Er sagt: ‘Ja, bei Gally, ich hab; do im Sack is er.’ Uewer dem leert er den Sack uf der Bodde im Schap aus un es war en Biskatz! Der Result kann mer sich denke. En Biskatz is also fort en Biskatz. Nau war der Lach uf die annere Kerls, un der Schuhmacher hot en Zeitlang net in seim Schap sei koenne. Sell war die erst un die letzt

Elbedritsche Jagd wu er mit gemacht hot. En Spruechwort sagt: 'Wer zuletzt lacht, lacht am beste.' " *

GROBBA SHEESA

Grobba sheesa is 'n kinner game os in fergongna yohra fiel g'shpielt is werra on parties un in da shula. Ains wor der Hunder, un die onnerra die Grobba. Gawainlich is ob gatzailt werra fer sehna war der Hunder wear, un woh 'n honduch odder 'n alter lumba mit ma gnuv drin grick'd hut fer 'n flint.

Die Grobba hen sich noh uf 'n drup g'shteld, ungfare 15 bis 20 foos weck fom Hunder, so wies ewwa gaboss'd hut mit 'm blotz. Noh hen sie 'm Hunder die auga tzu gabunna un hen 'n drei odder fier mohl im gringle rum gadray'd, die weil os die Grobba sich fertzoga hen on 'n onnerer blotz, dale uf ra drup, un dale aeletzlich wie sie ewwa gae hen wolla. Wie der Hunder aw'r ready wor fer "sheesa" odder ewwa schmeissa mit seim lumba, hut

* Daniel Miller, *Pennsylvania German*, Vol. I, Reading, Pa., 1904. For poems on the same subject see: "Elfetritche," from Henry L. Fischer's *'S Alt Marik-Haus Mittes in D'r Schtadt*," given in the *P. D. Eck*, January 13, 1940; "Die Elfetritscha Jagt," by J. J. B., in Reichard's *Anthology*. "Catching Elves," from Henry L. Fischer's *Olden Times*, given with illustrations in *The Pennsylvania-German*, December, 1907. For an extended account see Benjamin F. Trexler's *Skizzen aus dem Lecha-Thale*, ch. LVII, page 192. An English version of this appeared in *The Pennsylvania-German*, January, 1906, and again in the *P. D. Eck*, January 13, 1940. Harvey M. Miller and Astor C. Wuchter have referred to "Elbedritsche" in their writings. Wuchter uses the expression, "Ledder wie Elbedritschel Heit." "Boonastiel" compares the vain pursuits of some politicians to this futile search for a mythical bird. And one still hears the saying: "Die Nacht waer's awwer aa kalt genunk fer Elbedritsche fange!" or "Die Nacht waer's gut fer Elbedritschelcher (-licher) fange!" If you should ask a rather prying question of some one you may still get this answer: "Ich bin uff em Wek fer Elbedritsche fange," or "Ich will Elbedritsche fange geh."

'n yaders ruich shtae bleiva missa, un sich net ferraiga darfa. Warever os gadroffa is werra mit 'm lumba hut der Hunder sei missa, odder won ebber sich ferraig'd hut noch dem os er g'shmissa hut kot, un ebs duch uf g'falla wor, hut sel der Hunder sei missa. Un won er niemond gadroffa hut, uns hut sich aw niemond fermook'd, noh hut er widder iwwer sheesa missa. *

FEGEL ROTA

Des wor aw 'n alt kinner game os fiel g'shpielt is werra in da shula. Tzeita weiss wors aw gaket ols "Farva Shpiela," odder so gore "Obsht." Won "Fegel Rota" g'shpielt is werra, wor ains der "Nahma-ous-Gewwer" un 'n onners wor "der Roter." Der "Roter" hut sich fershlupt bis der "Nahma-Gewwer" yader'm os g'shpielt hut 'n fegels nahma gewwa hut kot. Noh wie sie ol banahm'd worra hen sie sich inna roy g'shteld, un der "Roter" is bei garufa werra un hut shtarta ol die fegels nahma sawga os er draw denka hut kenna. Wie er 'n nahma ganann'd hut os in roy g'shtonna hut, hut sel kind ums shule hous rum shpringa missa, un der "Roter" hut gabroviert fers fonga. Won ers grick'd hut, hut sel der "Roter" sei missa, un won net huts sich nava nous ous 'm waig g'shteld, noch dem os es on sei blotz in da roy g'shprunga wor. Un so is noh fert g'shpielt werra bis ol die fegel in da roy ganann'd worra.

'S wor gawainlich 'n ehr garaich'd fer der "Nahmer" tzu sei ebs fegel. farva odder obsht wor os g'shpielt is werra. In yader'm fol hut der "Nahmer" ganunk nah-

* The description of the children's games given here were prepared for us by William S. (Pumpnickle Bill) Troxell, Allentown, Pa. They are presented exactly as Troxell wrote them. All other quotations in this chapter are given as the author wrote them or as we found them.

ma fon yaderra ort wissa missa fer rum raicha, un aw
dale nahma howwa missa, os er shure wor os der "Roter"
net rota kent.

POETRY AND PROSE

The following writings taken from our dialect literature are given here both for their own sake and also for the reason that they emphasize some of the things that have been said up to this point. Here are revealed those qualities of mind and heart which, so we like to think, have made our people great. Some of this refers to specific birds, some to birds in a general way. Most of it is seasonal in character, with songs of the springtime predominating, and birds come in for their full share of attention. The various writers will speak for themselves, —and for us!

'N FRÜHJOHR'S LIED'L

Ei, guck amohl derta,
Der Pivvie is doh!
Er huckt uff'm Poschta,
Wos is'r so froh;
Now guckt'r mohl nunner,,
Now guckt'r mohl nuff,
Now singt'r a-biss'l
Now haert'r schun uff.

Ei, Pivvie, wo warscht' du
Seidr'm Schpotejohr g'west?
Warscht fert mit'm Summer—
Warscht süd'lich ferrehst?
Ich denk derta drunna
Huscht's Hehmweh recht g'hot,
Huscht nix wie gedrauert,
Warscht's Lehwa recht sot.

Des macht em ganz eifrich,
Des macht em recht froh;

Der Winter is ivver
Un's Frühjohr is doh.
Der Schnee is ferschemulsa,
Un's Ice is a'weck,
Die Schtrossa sin schlappich
Un lawfa mit Dreck.

Boll rabbelt's im Waasem,
Boll klebbert's im Hols,
Die Frösch sin am Peiffa,
Die Hahna sin schtuls;
Die Maed werra wusslich,
Der Blohfogel singt,
Un alles is luschtich
Un hutschelt un schpringt.

Wie schö un wie lieblich
Won's Frühjohr mohl kummt
Won alles mit Hummla
Um's Givvelend brummt,
Won's Gaert'la mohl awfongt,
Un Hinkel un Gäns,
Duh'n nix as wie singa
Un schit'la die Schwäns.

Wie schö won die Blumma
Recht dufta im Gras;
Won Rodfish un Jeps'l
Beim Johnnie sin boss;
Won's haest bei de Buhwa:
"Now ous mit de Schuh."
Un's greischt nimmie alles,
"Die Dühr! moch sie zu."

Ach! geb m'r doch's Frühjohr!
Der Winter mag geh
Mit Werscht un mit Pannhaas,
Mit Ice un mit Schnee.
Ich bin yoh so fröhlich,
Ich bin yoh so froh—



Der Fuchs und ein junger Vogel.

DER FUCHS UND EIN JUNGER VOGEL

- Fuchs. Hab' nie mein Lebelang gesehn,
Ein Vögelchen, das doch so schön
Wie du, mein süßes Thierchen wäre!
O komm herab! Ich musz dich näher ehren.
- Vogel. Gewisz, Herr Fuchs, Sie thun mir sehr viel Ehre.
Ach wenn's nur Ernst, nicht Falschheit wäre!
- Fuchs. Wie! Falschheit?
- Vogel. Ja! die Mutter spricht:
Trau, liebes Kind! den Schmeichlern nicht.
Ihr Herz ist falsch, und meint es nicht.
- Fuchs. O! sieh mir nur ins Angesicht!—
Nicht wahr, ich bin nicht solcher Bösewicht?—
Komm also, Püppchen, komm!
- Vogel. Nun einmal will ichs wagen.
Der Mutter wirds ja Niemand wieder sagen.
Da flog es aus der Luft herab,
Zum falschen Fuchs, und fand sein Grab
In des Betrügers Magen.

LEHRE

Betrügern trauest du und trau'st den Eltern nicht,
Was Wunder, Kind, wenn der Schalk den Hals denn
bricht.

(Illustration and text are from "Auserlesene Fabeln" in *Ein wohl eingerichtetes deutsches A B C—Buchstabil—und Lesebuch zum Gebrauch deutscher Schulen . . . Germantown: Gedruckt bey Michael Billmeyer, 1796. From the library of Henry S. Borneman.*)

Wos will mer dann mæhner,
Der Pivvie is doh! *

DER APRIL

Im April muss Regge kumme,
Bringt im Moi die scheene Blumme;
Sunneschein sowohl wie Regge,
Bringt de Felder Gottes Sege;
Kummt die Amschel aa noch bei,
Ya, dann muss es Frichyohr sei! †

FRÜHJOHR'S LIED

Der Winter isch fort un ich bin so froh—
Wan er kummt un a'h wan er geht,
Die Wolke sin weis un der Himmel isch blo,
Un lieblich isch's wu mer sich dreht;
Die Hinkel, die gaxe,
Die Zwiwle, die wachse,
Un die Amschel die baut sich e Nescht.

Der Winter isch fort un's Frühjohr isch do,
Un alles guckt frisch, grü un neu;
Un's Läbli un's Gräsli vergrüne sich so,
In dem liebliche Sunneschei;
Die Sun schmelzt der Reife,
Die Fögel, die peife,
Un sel g'fällt mer noch's allerbescht.

Die Schul isch forbei, un ich bin so froh—
Die Læde am Schulhaus sin zu;
For wan mer a'h wert so alt as e Kuh,
Doch lernt mer noch immer dazu:
Die Buwe, die schpiele,
Die Säulin, die wiele,
Un's Hammacher's Kuh hot en Kalb.

* By Astor C. Wuchter, in Reichard's *Anthology*.

† By John Birmelin, in the *P. D. Eck*, April 4, 1942.

Die Hahne, die krähe so luschtig un laut,
Un ener fliegt dort uf die Fens;
Die Mamme die plantz Rothriewe un Kraut,
Un die Mäd, die roppe die Gäns.
Die Hahne, die krähe,
'S isch bal Zeit for mähe,
Un dort fliegt warhaftig en Schwalb.

Was isch doch en Lärme dort drowe im Hof!
Mer meent doch mer müsst sich vergaffe;
Ich glaab doch warhaftig sie scheere die Schof,
Un horich! was kreische die Krabbe!
Die Hinkel, die scherre,
Die Schäfflein, die blarre,
Un der Däd hot der Schofhammel g'schnitte!

Der Himmel isch blo, die Wolke sin weis,
Un die Sun scheint so lieblich un schö;
Ke Froscht meh im Bodde, uf'm Bächli ke Eis,
Un wu isch der letschtjährig Schnee?
Die Ihme, die brumme,
Die Goldamschle kumme,
Un die Glucke, die brühe im Schlitte.

Es Wässerli wimpelt, und dort uf 'm Büschli,
Schweebt en Schar mit blutrothe Flügel;
Geduldiges Büwli hökelt for's Fischli,
Un's Bächli, des glänzt wie en Schpiegel;
Grügeel sin die Weide—
Die Buwe, die schneide
Un mache sich Peife im Mai.

Die Buwe, die bloose ihr Weidepeife,
Die Mäd suche bittere Salad,
Un die Mansleut, die müsse bal Sense schleife,
Sunscht gebt 's ke schö, sauwer G'mad;
'Em Dchecki sie Bärdli.
Des hot anu en Schtärtli—
Wan's regert gebt's fiel Gras un Hai.

Guck juscht emol nau dort drowe im Hof—
Die Buwe, die schmiere un butze;

Dort schtehne un blärre die g'schorne Schof,
 Un die Lämlin, die schpiele un schtutze.
 Dort isch 'n weis Böckli
 Des hot 'n schwarz Bläckli,
 Juscht grad uf 'm End fun der Nas.

Der Butzemann schteht mit im Welschkornfeld,
 Ganz müsig, un sagt ke' Wort;
 Der Däd laad die Büchs, er schpannt un er schtelt—
 Eeb's kracht, sin die Krabbe schun fort.
 Der Sus ihre Gänsli,
 Des hot 'n Schtumpschwänzli,
 Un die alte sin schlimm uf 'm Gras.

Du liewe, du fröhliche Frühjohr's-zeit.
 Wie leebhaft die ganze Natur;
 O wunterbaar isch die grosz Herlichkeit—
 Gleichfällig des g'ringscht Kreatur!
 Der Adler fliegt hoch—
 Un 's Schpätzli fliegt noch—
 Der Schoepfer, der hot sie all gleich. *

FRIEYOHR IM LOND

Des frieyohr is do,
 Un olles is fro,
 De gonse notuhr witter wockrich zu sehne,
 De blumme uns gras we sheh si do schtehne.
 En gons onres lehwe,
 Duhts sich witter bewege.

Der peehwe so schlick,
 Is shon long zurick,
 Un sei morges lied mocht witter bekond
 Das der winter is forivver in unsrem lond,
 Der shehne peehwe,
 Singt morgets so frie.

De omshle un lerch,
 Singe duch herlich,

* By Henry L. Fischer, in Reichard's *Anthology*.

Ivver all uf de behm un drous in dem feld
Es kumt mer g'wiss fohr we'n onri weld,
So grie un so sheh,
Dut olles do schteh.

Den liewe daug long,
Hehrt mer nix os gesong.
Wo mer he guckt findt mer olles lebhoft
Un fol fon der selve noteerliche kroft
De olles recheert,
Un nemand ferfeert.

Wos en lustiches kohr,
In dem neie frieyohr,
Sin de fegel de der gonse daug singe
Uns immer erinnre on besre dinge
In selm porredees,
Wo olles is sees.

Ivver all uf de behm,
Sin de fegel dehehm,
Dort baue si witter ehre neshter
Sehsht, we naicher om gippel we feshter
Si wisse gons guht,
We mer's moche duht.

Musht si yo net fershtehre
Don wersht duh gleich hehre
In selm fogel sei nesht en groses gelerm,
Wen de yunge witter kriege ihr werm
Now sin si ruhich im nesht,
Un bol schlofe si fesht.

Wen ich ol dieses seh,
Don brouch ich net meh.
Zu glauwe on'n Olmechtiches wehse,
Sis so klaar dos en yader kons lehse,
Dos der himlishe Gott,
Sel olles g'mocht hut. *

* Excerpts from poem by George Mays, in Reichard's *Anthology*.

ES FRUEHJOHR KUMT

Der Specht hockt uf em Storre alt,
 Der Winter war ihm lang un kalt;
 Er haemmert uf der Storre los,
 Der Laerm wo er macht is gross.

Wescht du fer was er sell als dhut?
 Er sucht sich so en Esse gut;
 Er gleicht die Waerm im alte Holz,
 Er findt sie ah un fuehlt ganz stolz.

Als bal sucht er en Wohnung aus,
 Er hackt sie aus em Holz sich raus;
 Dief in en alter Storre nei,
 Dort macht er dann sei Nest hie glei.

Der Blofegel hot sich ahgemeldt,
 En singt sei Lied so froh im Feld,
 Dass Eis un Schnee vergange sin,
 Un Fruehlingswind so lieblich sin.

Die Amschel hoert mer ah mit Lust,
 Sie singt ihr Lied aus voller Brust;
 Sie war lang fort im warme Land,
 Doch is sie besser do bekannt.

Dann singe die Voegel ohne Zahl,
 Begeistert von de Sunnestrahl';
 Sie rufe uns, mer solle naus
 In die Natur, 'sis Gottes Haus.*

EN FRÜHJOHRS-LIED

O kummt just emol do raus
 Un hockt doch net dort nei.
 Es is so arg schö do haus,
 Mer mehnt just 's kennt net sei.
 Der warm Wind kummt vum Süde ruf,

* Excerpts from poem by the Rev. Isaac Summers Stahr, in Reichard's *Anthology*.

Die Sunn erwärmt die Welt,
Un Gras un Blume kumme uf
Un zieren Busch un Feld.

Guck just emol dort unne naus,
Die Ente un die Gäns,
Die Fisch, die jumpa owa raus
Un schüttle ihre Schwänz.
Die Bullfracks, Krotte un die Frösch
Dort drunne an der Run,
O horch, die mache mol en Wäsch
Un hen ah Lots vun Fun.

Un hör emol des Vögel-g'sing;
Die Amschel, Grapp un Staar,
Blohvögel, Schwalme un Sperling,
Ach guck, en ganze Schaar.
Sie singe all so schön un gelind,
Der Pihwie un die Lerch—
Des biet so gewiss die Jennie Lind
Un die Orgel in der Kerch.

Ich denk, mir stimme ah mit ei
Mit unserm Frühjoahr's-lied.
Denn's wär net recht un sott net sei,
Dass die Natur uns biet.
Ja, stimmet ei mit aller Macht,
Harmonisch, laut un schö,
Un singt, dass Erd un Himmel lacht
Zu Gott dort in der Höh. *

"A SONG OF SPRING"

Es Bodderiesel peift,
Es Bauers Buwe aw;
Es Graws guckt wie gereift
Mit frischer, kiehler Daw.

Doh kumme schun die Kieh
Far in die Weed im Schwamm;

* Excerpts from poem by the Rev. John Vogt, in Reichard's *Anthology*.

Dat is es Graws schun grie,
Die Gens sin uff em Damm.

Die Sunn kummt gross un glor
Un warem iwwer die Baerye;
Was is meh wunnerbor
Wie'n scheener Frieyohr's Marye?*

Wann die Pudde widder schpriesse,
Un die Halme widder schiesse;
Wann die Veggel widder singe in de Baem;
Wann die Blumme widder bliehe,
Un die Droschel nordwaerts ziege,
Nord iss der Friehling widder do bei uns
deheem.†

DE ARSHT OMSHEL

Yaw, Ich hob dich g'haerd mit deem free-yawr shdick
Und Ich bin shoor fro due bisht widder zurick,
Far es wawr so dote dorich de winder dawg,
'S wawr mer uft ferlade, so gawis Ich sawg.

Sansht, 'sis olles blut und ken sign fun gree!
Denksht net desamol bisht a'bis'l free?
Far du bisht ahead fun zeit de trip,—
'Sis mer arlich bong os du gricksht der grip.

Ufkors, dei ruck dar is gute un wawrm,
We en wulicher womus ham-g'shdrickd ous gawrn,
Und dei rodar jacket, we's besht fonel,
Dar helfft aw feel far dich warma—gel!

Ovver meind, es kuma nuch harta shdarum,
Und im winder shna fint mer niks we warum,
Und in so'ra zeit, mit da kusht so rawr
Bin Ich bong is dei lava grose in g'for.

* "A Song of Spring" by James A. Koch, in the *P. D. Eck*, May 11, 1935.

† From "Zwee Gaeschte," by Charles C. More, in the *P. D. Eck*, April 22, 1939.

Duch in ola droovel, des fint mer ous,
Gebt's immer en waik somhow far rous.
Mit ma shwara hartz, won mer huckd und weind,
Shickd Gott una fail en guder freind.

So farlus dich druf, Ich shta der bei;
Mei sheier is gute un wawrm, kum rei!
Ich geb der'n bedt in meim beshta shdro,
Un de kusht gaid mit, so bleib grawd doh.

Nou sing 'mol wider sel fralich hymn,
Far es dut mer gute, so en seeza shdim,
Und Ich mane somhow, in deinra shproch,
Kumt en shol fu'm himmel ols hinanoch.

Sel's fei, gawis!—ola node om blods!
So Musick we sel gaid grawd zu'm hartz.
Doh mocht's niks ous wos de zeita sin,
Der summer kumt immer in deinra shdim.

Moch dich grawd derhame. Ich brouch freind we du,
Far du husht mer uft blendi g'folla gadu.
Won's ons bowera gaid bisht du immer dabei,
Und fun frucht und obsht is en grose dale dei.

Net en holwa krop het Ich grickt letsht yawr
We so feel ungatsifar uf olahond wawr,
Ovver du wawrsht fleisich oladawg uf em job,
Und nou bisht aw wilkum zu'm besht Ich hob.

So huck dich grawd uf de shparra dort
Far nemand yawgt dich fun dem blods fort,
Un sing mer midder sel free-yawr shdick
De weil os Ich nou 'mol dei middawg grick.

O, sel is es veri besht shdick in deem buch!
Ei, es bringt yoh en sort fun ma free-yawr garuch!
De blumma fu'm Moi und der sunich Juli
Des husht du yoh ol in deem shdick zomar nei.

Grose wilkum, mei freind! Wos bin Ich so fro
 Os du, de arsht omshel, bisht nuchamol doh!
 Ich geb der en bedt und de kusht nuch dazu,—
 Des dun' Ich gons garn far kumrawda we du. *

FRIEHYOHR

Es Friehyohr isch do,
 Un der Himmel isch blo,
 Un die Sunnefisch danze 'erum,
 Un die Bullfrogs, die brille
 Mit Gosh un mit Wille
 Die ganz Nacht—"bullerum! bullerum!"

Un die Amschle, die singe,
 Dass Luft un Wald klinge,
 Un die Drosch'le lache un schpotte;
 Un wu der Weg geht,
 Un wu er sich dreht,
 Do hupse die fleckiche Krotte.

Un die Dunnerblitzschtarm,
 Un die Sunnefischwarm,
 Sin ah do nau, in full force;
 Un die Katzefeggel gro,
 Un die Picnics, O!
 Sin do, allerdings, of course.

Un ich sag good bye, sir,
 Mit me awfule Seifzer,
 Wie der einsame Wippoorwill;
 Un des isch mei G'sang—
 Ich fercht's waert zu lang—
 Un nau, by gosh! bin ich schtill. †

* From *G'shbos und Arnsht*, by "Solly Hulsbuck" (Harvey M. Miller). The Hawthorne Press, Elizabethville, Pa., 1939.

† By Henry L. Fischer, from *Kurzweil un Zeitfertreib*, in the *P. D. Eck*, May 8, 1937.

IM MOI

In dem Monet Moi
Legt der Vogel's Oi;
Macht sich gar nix draus,
Bruet's geduldig aus.
Zwische de Blume im liebliche Grue,
Singe die Voegel gar lustig un schoe.*

FEGGEL SANG

Glei kummt der Friehling widder rei,
Noh kumme aa die Sangfeggel bei
Mit neie Gleeder—g'faerbt mit Bloo,
Rot, Schwarz un Gold, Brau, Geel un Groo;
Des iss en lang Gewaart bei mir:
Es Feggelg'sing gebt mir Blessier,
Un's dutt mir leed, sie misse geh
Ins Summerland, wu iss ken Schnee.

Der Friehling iss glei widder do;
Wann Feggel singe, bin ich froh.
Es Feggelslewe iss so frei.
Am Singe iss es Haerz debei;
Die Lieb iss dief bei yeders Paar,
Sie fliege freehlich hehr un hehr
Un singe mit 'me frische Mut—
In ihre Welt iss alles gut.

Im Friehling iss die haerrlich zeit,
Die Welt kummt raus mit neiem Kleid.
Wie iss es dann, ihr Feggelein,
Dass Mensch b'halt sei Nadur allein?
Weise uns die Feggelswege
Die alt Nadur eweck zu lege!
Ich hoff, wann ich uff'n Ausflug geh,
Iss Feggelg'sang——'s iss wunners schee!†

* By the Rev. Dr. Eli Keller, in the *P. D. Eck*, May 1, 1937.

† By Ray S. Brown, in the *P. D. Eck*, March 18, 1944.

DIE GRUTTA KLING

Och wie shae is es duch in der grutta kling,
Woo der freeling woond und die grutta sin;
Woo der laub frush hucked im greena baum,
Und der bullfrog ins wasser shlogged bardselbaum.

Woo die shilgrut sich soont, wie shae is des,
Woo die fish forshteckla im brunna gress;
Woo die mooshgrut woond im kalda house,
Und der schnapper grottled zoom dreck una rouse.

Woo der wipporwill singt won die sun unner gate,
Und der long baynich fishgrane im wasser shtade;
Woo der yoong sheid poke seim partner lucked,
Und der hoongerich King fisher uf em shtartze hucked.

Die aicha hause shpiela uf der keshta bame,
Die hause hoopsa rum in der alta lane;
Die fensa mice shpringa uf da shtauka fens,
Un im hochā graus breea die alta gens.

Der rode kup klupt uf em shtartze rum,
Der emma fresser flieget im gringle rum,
Es bodder reesal peift im roda glay,
Der ose hona shwaped hoch in der hae.

Der gootheer hucked im gibble hoch,
Der shput fuggel mocht der onner noch;
Die omshel breed on der alta brick,
Un die shtora sin uf em welshkorn shtick.

Im shtartze luch is a gree shpacht nesht,
Am bobbla nosht henked die guld omshel fesht;
Die larich breea im shtengel feld draus,
Der tzaun shlipper fleeged zum givelend rouse.

Um huller shtuck singed en hover gase,
Um bockuffa doch sin die harn aisel base;
Es gale weshpa nesht is om deeraly fesht,
Hinnich der gorda fens is es hoomler nesht.

Un won mole unner gaet die soon,
 No fleega die shwolma im shonstae rum;
 Die nachteil hocked uf em aicha draus,
 Un die shpeck mice kumma zum kornish raus.

Oh! do is doch shane zeitefertreib,
 Woo die groond sow is, un der bossom leit;
 Woo die grapa greisha, und die hoppich sin,
 Wie shae is es doch in der grutta kling. *

'S NEU FOGEL HAUS

Jah! geschter haw ich's Haus gebaut—
 Un's war mir aw 'n Freed;
 'Sis ken so'n grosses Ten'ment Haus
 Wie mer in Nei Yorrick seht.
 Nay; 's juscht nein bei ferzeh Zoll;
 'Uf'm Poshta stehts dort draus,
 Will huffa now es werd glei voll—
 'S funkleneu Fogel-haus.

Die arme Fögel! Mer maent alsmohl
 Sie wäre nergets daheem!
 Sie baue Neschter in jedes Eck
 An Scheier, Fens und Beem.
 Ken rechter Platz wann's regrich is,
 Oder kalt un stormich draus;
 Do sin sie warm un drucke g'wiss—
 Do in ihr'm neue Haus!

Ich charg sie aw ken Renta-bill—
 Ich nem ke' Benz—detsch du?
 Wan eens von meine Kersche will
 Des helfft sich frei dazu.

* By William L. Ibach, Newmanstown, Lebanon County, Pa. From Reichard's *Anthology*. Judged by the number of bird names it includes, by its accurate description and faithful picturization of birds in their native haunts, and by the keen and careful observation of nature which it reflects, this is one of the most notable pieces of dialect writing that we have. Dr. Arthur D. Graeff got this poem from Mr. Ibach and used it in his Reading Times column, *Scholla*. It has since been published in the *P. D. Eck* and the above above-named anthology. Ibach passed on in 1940.

Juscht das sie fer mich singe doh
 Wann ich guck's Fenschter naus.
 Und bleiwa friedlich, glücklich, froh,
 In ihrem glene Haus!

Now, Bauer, shiess mei Fögel net,
 Die singa siess un froh,
 'N Froog ob ich in der Welt sei wet
 Wär'n die Fögel nimmie doh.
 Fer die haw ich 'n Haus doh hie
 Sin willkoom all zuhaus,
 Blo-fogel, Amschel, Schwalm, Pewee—
 Wer's erscht kummt, dem is 's Haus! *

SPOTJOHR

Im Stoppelfeld, net weit,
 Frih 's Batteriesel schreit,
 Un der Waih hoch in der Luft rumschwebt,
 Am Wasser dart so still
 Insechte glitz're viel,
 Wu die Spinn es Gras mit Netz verwebt.

Bal iwwer Berg un Feld,
 Kummt rauer Wind un Kelt.
 Die Schwalm ihr Brut schun zammer ruft;
 Bang vor der Kelt un Not,
 Die do im Winter droht,
 Ziegt sie fart ins Land der Summerluft.

Uf sellem därre Baam,
 Dort in der Wies am Damm
 Trauervoll der Datteldaubrich klagt;
 Dass bal schun's Spotjohr komm,
 Singt seinem Weibche fromm,
 Un die Liebzeit mit Gewalt verjagt.†

* By Edgar M. Eshelman in Reichard's *Anthology*. The author, in a letter to the writer, states that this was his first or second attempt at poetry in the dialect. It was first published in *The Pennsylvania-German*.

† Lines from a poem by Edward D. Leisenring, in Reichard's *Anthology*.

DIE ALTE KERSCHE BEEM

Die amsle hen en nest gebaut,
So fei un schlick 's war just about
Kios wie sie's verspunne.
Na hen sie junge raus-gebrüt,
Un früh un schpot en herlich lied
An selle beem dort g'sunge.

En schlaue katz die schleicht dort naus,
Verschteckt im gras am brunne-haus,
Bass uff! nau gebts mol sache.
Die junge vögel sin schier flick,
Dort fliegt en naus zu seim unglück,
Der feind hut ihn im rache.

Sell bringt awwer en grosser schmertz
In selle vögel ihre hertz,
Guch just mol wie sie fliege.
Sie zanke jämmerlich dort rum,
Die schlau alt katz die springt davon,
Sie lost sich net bewege.

Uf selle beem der wippr-ee-will,
Am owet spot wan alles still,
Macht als der wald erklingen.
Kom mit mir sacht, mit leisem schritt,
Nau horch en haver-gäs, un katy-did,
En weh-muth liedly singen. *

ICH WOTT

Die Feggel sin so luschtich,
Die Feggel singe so schee;
Ich wott ich waer e Foggel,
Hett Fliggel anstatt vun Bee.

Ich wott, dass ich kennt singe
Un fliege hie un her;

* Lines from a poem by J. H. Longnecker, in Reichard's *Anthology*.

Un braucht net hocke in der Schul
Un schaffe nimmermehr.

Die Mammi saagt die Feggel
Schaffe immerfort;
Sie baue Neschter un suche
Futter vun aller Sort.

Sie misse ihre Eltere meinde
Un hen ihr eegne Rule;
Doch brauche sie net hocke
Un laerne in der Schul.

Ich daet's gleiche browiere
Zu schwinge uff de Baem;
Un daet die Mammi schelte,
Daet ich fliege weit vun Heem.

Sie saagt sie hot kee Glaawe,
Dass ich Keffer esse daet,
Un suche mit de Amschele
Far Warmer frieh un schpaet.

Doch ich daet's gleiche browiere
Zu schwinge uff de Baem,
Un fliege, fliege, fliege,
Weit naus vun Heem. *

DER GUCKGUCK

Der Guckuck iss en feiner Voggel,
Singt aa wann er fleigt;
Er bringt uns gudi Nei-ichkeet,
Net hendich as er liegt.

Er sauft die Voggelsoier aus,
Sell macht sei Schtimm so fei;

* By Louise A. Weitzel, in the *P. D. Eck*, April 26, 1941.

Un wann er eemol "guckuck" singt,
Dann kummt der Summer bei.*

DER PEWEE

"Pewee, Pewee, Pewittitee!"
Ei Pewee, bisht du zrick?
Now hok dich uf der Posta hie,
Un sing di Morga Stick.

Hosht lang verweilt im Sommer Land,
Bisht seit October fort;
Bisht drunna artlich gut bekannt?
Wie geht's da Fegel dort?

'S wer scho' sei uf da Orange Bame;
Gell's gebt dort gar ken Schne?
Doch fuelsht du als recht krank for Hame,
Wan's zeit is for zu geh!

Bisht anyhow recht wilkom do:
Denk du bisht net zu fruh;
Der Morga gukts a mol net so—
Gell net, du kle Pewee?

Pewee!—wo bausht du des Yohr hie?
Kansht choosa wo du wit;
Wilsht du am Haus en Plaetzele?
Ich deel der's willig mit.

Ich geb dir neuer Dreck for Nix,
Geilshohr, un Flax, un Moss;
Nemscht's enyhow!—Ich kenn dei Tricks!
Du schmerter klener Boss.

* "The Cuckoo's a Fine Bird," a translation "Aus'm John Birmelin Seim Mammi Gans Buch," in the *P. D. Eck*, May 8, 1943. The reference here, obviously, is to the Old World cuckoo. Other notable translations by Birmelin which have appeared in the *Eck* are: "Vierunzwansich Amschelcher"; "Es waare zwee Schtaare"; "Maeryets graeth der Haahne"; "Die Mary hot en Voggel g'hatt"; "Schwaan schwimmt iwwer die Grick"; "Gense, Gense, Genserich"; "En aldi Grapp"; "Der Haahne uff em Haus Dach."

Des is yusht Spass, mei Pewee Freund;
 Ich rechel dich ken Dieb!
 Hetscht mit meim Gold dei Nescht gelined,
 Du wersht m'r yuscht so lieb!

En Fruchyohr ohne dich, Pewee.
 Wer wie en leeri Welt!
 Di Dinsht, mi liebes Fegele,
 Bezahlt m'r net mit Geld!

Pewee!—welch sanfte Luft du bringst;
 Die Fruchling Sonn, wie Scho';
 'S gebt now, weil du mol Margets singst,
 Ke Winter Taga meh.

Pewee, Pewee, Pewittitee!
 Bin froh das du bisht zrick;
 Now hok dich uf der Poshta hie,
 Un sing dei Morga Stick. *

WILDA DAUWA

In alta Zeita wara wilda Dauwa,
 Die hot mer Frihjohrs sehna fliega
 In klenna Flig un in scharmanta grossa—
 Was war sel doch en schee Vergniega!

Die Buwa uf da Felder hi' am Pluga
 Hen g'schtoppt mit ihra mieda Fuhra
 Un aus der volla Bruscht gerufa: "Dauwa!
 Ihr himmelsscheena Kreatura!"

Un sin sie iwer Berga hoch weg g'floga,
 Noch heecher iwer diefa Däler,

* By the Rev. Henry Harbaugh. Given in *Henry Harbaugh, Pennsylvania Dutchman*, 1817-1867, by Elizabeth Clarke Kieffer, *P. G. S. Proceedings*, Vol. LI, 1945. The better known and more popular form of this celebrated poem appeared in *Harbaugh's Harfe*, 1870, with revised spelling. For the story of "The Genesis of 'Der Pihwie'," see the *P. D. Eck*, May 14, 1938.

So hot mer sie mit Luscht juscht fliega lossa;
Bei sich gedenkt: "Ihr sin die Wähler!"

Mer heert wul do un dart, dass Flinta kracha—
Verroschta Eisa, längscht gelada.
So Schiessa is nix wert un juscht en Lärma,
Em faula Schitz noch selwer Schada!

Doch endlich werr'n die Dauwa mied vum Fliega,
Un setza sich, wu Wass'ra rauscha,
Im kihla Schatta fühla sie sich glicklich;
Dart rufa sie ihr "Eht!" un—lauscha.

Wie sitza sie so schee in langa Roia,
Uf hocha griena Beem un Näschtcher,
Mit groa Kämpcher, netta groa Reckcher,
Mit rota un mit weissa Westcher!

Sie sin nau sauwer fart, die wilda Dauwa,
Un kummen ewig nimmie widder!
Was bleibt noch iwrig vun dem scheena Segä?
Der Geischt legt sich sei Schätza nidder. *

DER DROSSEL

Haerrich! Haerrich! Heerscht ihn net?
Alle Owet ruft er so.
Viel as wann er's Heemweh hett
Denk sei Weib'che iss net do
Dief im Busch dart iss er drin.
Uf der Nescht dart huppst er rum,
Wu am dickschte Bletter sin,
Huppst als weiter wann ich kumm.

Wann ich heer den Vogel singe
Wie er ruft far'n Weib so schee,
Hoff ich des daet's Weibche bringe,
So er iss net gans elee.
Wann mei Ruf daet aa so schalle,
Kennt ich singe so zu dir,

* By the Rev. Dr. Eli Keller, in Reichard's *Anthology*.

Daet mei Gsang dir noh gut gfalle,
Bréecht des dich noh aa zu mir? *

SCHNARRVEGGLI

Oh Schnarrveggli, Schnarrveggli, wu kummscht du
haer?

Du fliegscht graad do rum as wann's gaar ken Kunscht
waer.

Wie kannscht du dei Fliegel so schnell mache geh?
Im Fluck so wie aa far do in der Luft schteh.

Die Blumme do varne an meim Summer Haus
Die hen dich far Psuch an der ganze Roi naus.

Un an yeder Blumm do guckscht paar mol zu nei
Far sehne eb Hunnich far dich keent drin sei.

Du waarscht yo yuscht gescht-owet an sellre Blum
Hoscht du des vergesse? Ach bischt du so dumm?

Un mache die Hunnich far dich alle Daag?
Dann bischt du gut ab un du hoscht yo ken Glaag.

Wann die mol verwelke un sin all verdart,
Wu grickscht du noh Fresse? Grickscht du noh do fart?

Du bischt yo so zimmerlich, doch bischt du geschwint,
Oh, sei du yuscht achtsam, wee'ch Woi un 're Flint. *

DER KOO-SHDOHR

'Svohr als nix as mich ärger fertzärndt

In dee Yohre tzurick,

As em Koo-shdohr sei Drick.

Ich hab ovver tzidderm, Gott vays, feel g'lärndt,

Un awe as der Koo-shdohr net meener kann sei

As en mancher Mensh, as soh unshuldich gookd as vee er.

As net blooged un net sayd, ovver doch immer ärndt.

* By Lloyd A. Moll, in Reichard's *Anthology*.

'Sis em Koo-shdohr sei Drick sell tzu doo.
 Er bowd selver kay Neshd,
 Ovver suchd sich yushd 's beshd
 As Ann're gebowd hen es machd nix aus voo.
 Un laygd dart sei Oy nei as het er's beshd Recht,
 All der Druvvel fer's ausbree'e, feedre, un ufbringe noh
 Hut der Aygner fum Neshd,—un er grickd vennich Ruh!

Ovver's ärgshde kummd vonn der yung Shdohr
 Iss grohs värre un fett.
 Dennoh shemmd er sich net
 'Dee ann're glay Feggel tzu growde, un gohr
 Aus'm Neshd see tzu schmeisse, vee'n Reyver un Deeb.
 'Es machd eem nix aus as see shderve fun Hunger un
 Nohdt,—
 Er iss dankbohr as er now hut may as tzufohr!

Kennshd net Leyd as yushd soh meen sin?
 See doon nix uf der Veldt .
 Un doch hen see may Geld
 As meer as hardt shaffe fer'n glayner Gewinn.
 See fowlense yushd darch eer gans Layve long,
 Un doon grohsfeelich ägde, 's eb alles fer see allay vehr;—
 Dach hut Neemond kay Use fer soh Kärl as see sin,—
 Un ich donk als mei'm Gott 's ich so'n Koo-shdohr net
 bin! *

DER ANNER MARYE FRIEH

Der anner Marye frieh
 Laaf ich me alte Weg draahie—
 Mit Schofnaas Gnepfer schwarz verdangelt
 Un Hundsholz Blettcher weiss verschpangelt—
 Mit wilde Drauwe verrankt un verfunkelt—
 Un griene Darner verwildt un verdunkelt—
 En Wald so hart verwiggelt,
 As wann der Deiwel dart sei Zeit hett g'schtiggelt—
 Griene Darner sin so Sache,
 Daete Engel fluche mache!

* By the Rev. J. Max Hark, in Reichard's *Anthology*.

Aus so me Blatz
Ruft mer en weisshelsicher Schpatz;
Vun all de Schpatze do
(Un mer hen vaerzeh Orde yo!)
Die wusslichtscht des uns b'sucht,
Doch vun der Haerd noch unversucht—
Mit Schtimm so zwengend glaar,
Wie'n "Scotch" Sackpeif sogaar—
"Heh! Heh! Heh! Gell!
Die Welt mit Lieb
Iss schee! schee! schee!"—
Erschtaunt saag ich dezu:
"Un wer bischt du?—
Un meensch du sell?
Verzaehl's mir bitte schnell!"
Kummt die Andwart so glaar un siess,
As wann sie kaemt vum Paradies:
"Geh! Geh! Geh!
Un 'practice' sell—
Un schnell—
So kann mer's yuscht verschteh!"—
"Well! Will ich sei!
Was en Zucker Schtengel!
Schickscht dich aa wie'n Biwel Engel—
Schtehlscht denoh mei Druwwel newebei!"
D'noh waar er fart,
Der Druwwel Dieb!
Weit noch em Narde dart,
Wu breiche sie so'n Dieb—
So wie mir duhne aa.
Denk yuscht mol draa!
Der Voggel hot net g'schpott—
Wie Gott die Aerd erschaffe hot,
Secht Er in haerrlich, schtolzer Mut:
"'S iss gut!"
Ach! Mecht ich doch wie'n Schpetzli sei—
Denk yuscht mol hie!
Was waer des doch en Himmelswelt!
Voll Melodie—

Ken G'fecht, ken Grieg, ken Schlachtere—
 Far sell nemmt's Menschevieh,
 Mit all ihr'm Hass un Grabsch far Geld.

* * * *

Liewer Freind! Die Busch Amschel iss gaar net ver-
 gunnisch un weess des annere Veggel aa scheene Feddre
 hen, un wann sie eeni findt iss sie dankbaar defor. Wie
 sie doyetz die Fedder g'funne hot vun 're weissshelsiche
 Schpatz waar sie froh.

Es scheint, wie der Herr die Veggel all erschaffe hot,
 hett er sie g'frogt, was fer Gleed des sie gaern draage
 daete. D'noh kummt en gleeni Schpatz zu ihm g'flogge
 un secht: "Ich will dei Diener sei,—geb mir en glee weiss
 Schaerzli far an mei Hals zu henke, far sell zu bewaise."
 Secht der Herr dezu: "Dei Gebet schteht mir aa—un so
 soll's sei."

Der weissshelsich Schpatz iss e glee wennich greesser
 wie der Englisch odder Haus Schpatz, des 6.33 Zoll iss.
 Der weissshelsich iss vun 6.75 bis 7.00 Zoll lang. Sie
 briehe gewöhnlich vun Massachusetts un Michigan nard-
 lich bis noch Labrador. Un doch hawwich en Neschtli
 g'funne about acht Yohr zerick mit me weissshelsicher
 druff vanne am Pavilion beim Natur Freind naegscht
 ans Landise Sctor. 'Die Busch Amschel.'*

ZU'M BLO-FOGEL

Ich wilkum dich, mei lewar freind,
 Ich har dei free-yawr shdick!
 Wawrsht fort so long es hut mer g'sheind
 En awichkeit zurick;
 Nou sing dei halleluyah hymn
 Und moch dich grawd derhame,

* By "Die Busch Amschel vum Deiwelsloch,"—a new voice
 among our people, a good friend who insists that we give him this
 name and no other. The poetry and prose here quoted appeared
 first in the *P. D. Eck*, May 26, 1945.

Ich har go garn dei fralich shdim.
Hoch in mei ep'l-bame.

Bin fro dich saina—lewar grund—
Der winder wawr so rou,
Und dorchaweck wawr net en shdond
So seez we de grawd nou.
Du bringsht mer frish'r mood und lushd,
Und neiar eifar bei;
O, war Ich uf da letshta krushd,
War olle krim'l dei!

Du husht uns net fargessa, gel?
Und kumsht zu'm olda blods!
Mer sin we olda freind, yaw wel,
Ich leeb dich aw im hartz.
Far monchmol wawr's mer gons ferlade,
Hob net gawist wu nous,
Don kumsht und gebst mer'n serenade
Ivver olle sorya drous. *

DEE AMSHEL

Dee Amshel sin doh! Dee Amshel sin doh!
Ich hab dee ehrshd g'hehrd heyd marge im Bedt;
See hut g'sunge im Gawrde as vehr see so froh:
"Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt! Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!
'S is dee haygshde Tzeyd 's 'mer sich pawre doodt,
Un suchd sich fer'n Nesht en Bawm as soodt!
Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!"

Ich glawb as see vidder bowe vell'n dart
Uf'm ald' Berne-bawn 's 'ich umg'hackd hedt
Dee naygshd' Voch, vehr's net fer eer Singe alsfart:
"Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt! Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!
Doh's der beshde Bawm in der ganse Veldt
Fer'n Nesht; un ich glawb er is parbess här g'sdellt!
Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!"

* From *G'shbos und Arnsht*, by "Solly Hulsbuck" (Harvey M. Miller), The Hawthorne Press, Elizabethville, Pa., 1939.

Vas loud's doch soh shay im Marge gans free.
 En shennere Musick winsh ich mer net,
 Vann se schwingd uf'm Gibbel un singd far sich hee:
 "Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt! Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!
 Fer vas leyshd un shlofshd vann dee Nacht 's ferbei?
 Dee Veldt's yoh nee shenner 's im ehrshd Sunne-shei!
 Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!"

Nix dood mer soh layd as vann see'm Shbohdyohr
 Fart gayn, un mer saynd see der gans Winder net.
 Ovver see doon's net meynde, see singe 's tzufuhr:
 "Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt! Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!
 In en anneres Land now misse mer gay',
 Soh sawgd Färryvell un egshbeckt's Viddersay'!
 Kumm awn! Kumm 'hedt!" *

ES ZIPPICHE

Zipp! Zipp! Dart zippt es Zippche rum
 Am Marye frieh, im Hof dart draus;
 Es schittelt sich un schwingt sei Kopp—
 Uff'm Poschte hoch schteht yo sei Haus.

Ich denk es sucht sei Breckfescht do
 Un schelt verleicht far g'schteert zu sei;
 Far glee wie's iss, 's hot Sarye aa,
 Un schaffit de Yunge Fresse bei.

Die wisse glei, was aageh dutt,
 Un waarte uff ihr teeglich Brod;
 Wu'n Heemet is, geht des mit nei,
 'S hot niemand gaern sei Brod zu schpot! †

EN VEGGELS A - B - C

A is die Amschel, so shtols un so froh;
 Singt alle Marye: "'S Friehyaahr is doh!"
 B is der Blovoggel drauss uff de Fens;
 Zwee Biwwi debei un weddle ihr Schwens.
 C is der "Crane," un aa nat der Kranich;

* By the Rev. J. Max Hark, in Reichard's *Anthology*.

† By the Rev. Charles A. Butz in the *P. D. Eck*, June 27, 1942.

Nix as wie Scheisspok, der schtinkich Aedarmich!
D schteeht fer Dauwe, die wilde un zaam;
Paar an de Scheier, die ann're im Baam.
E is fer Ente, aa noch die Eile;
Sie quackse un greische, lache un heile.
F is der Fischroi'er drunna im Schwamm;
Schleicht so dohi fer der alt Bullirum.
G fer paar Grabbe, sin Dieb alle zwee;
Gens un die Ginnihinkel, Kepp in de heeh.
H is der Hunnichvoggel, brummt an de Blumme;
Habbich un Haerreveggel, Deiwel am kumme!
I is der Iemefresser, hockt uff'm Scharzel;
Fangt mol die Schnoke, brecht 'ne der Barzel.
"Yott" is so'n Gnarre, kann nix aus 'm mache,
Graad wie 'deel Mensche un annere Sache.
K is der Katzevoggel, was 'n geyaemer!
Kihschtaar peddelt ihr Oi'er wie'n Graemer.
L is der Laerrich, 'r singt drauss uff'm Feld;
Aa noch des Lufthutsch vumme gans ann're Welt.
M schteeht fer Mauskeenich, schlipp'rich un gscheit,
Batzich un witzich, mol nat yuscht vun Heit.
N is der Nusspicker, globbt un er macht,
Meesselt un bohrt sich en Loch in der Nascht.
O is der Ooshaahne, nau guck emol hi!
Er schwebt in de Luft un sucht fer dod Vieh.
P is der Pohaahne, Schwans in de heeh;
Es fallt ihm der Mut, beguckt er sei Bee.
Q schteeht fer Quackvoggel, am rufe bei Nacht
De dreckiche Yunge, sie halte die Wacht.
R is der Reggevoggel, schei'r Guckuck;
Er lockt un er dobt wie'n alti Briehgluck.
S fer die Schpatze, mit Laerm un mit Yacht;
Raase un fechte bis gans in die Nacht.
T is der Tsitt, er holt sich Geilshaar;
Baut sei glee Nescht un waess nix fun Gfaahr.
Der U un der V! Waess nat was zu duh!
M'r hockt un m'r denkt wie'n schliww'richer Bu.
W is fer Wachtel, sie gleicht e bissel Gschpass;
Ruft dann em Bauer: "'S macht nass! Macht nass!"
X is noch eener, bin graad widder fescht;
Wott ich waer 'n Voggel un hett 'n gut Nescht!

Y hott ken Naame, m'r meent 's kennt nat sei;
 Hett des gaern faerdich, dann muss ich verbei!
 Z is der Zaahschlibber, Keenich im Hof.
 Yetz bin ich faerdich un grick mol mei Schlof!
 So kennt m'r schwetze vun Veggel un Sache;
 Paar daet 's gleiche, manne yuscht lache.
 Ich geh uff der Wek, der hilse Baerrick nuff,
 Bis Veggel widder singe: "Yunger! Schtee uff!"
 Ya, viel gute Veggel, un O! wie ich wott
 Ihr daete sie ehre,—'n Gschenk vun unser'm Gott!*

DIE BUSCH AMSCHEL

Mir Veggel hen all unser "Folklore" graad wie ihr
 Mensche aa,—Haerz Gleeder, das unser Voreltre ihre
 Kinner g'schenkt hen, un sie widder ihre Kinner, un so
 weider bis runner zu unsre Zeit sie die reichschte Lie-
 besgeweb sin, die an unserm Haerz henke. Un so schick
 ich dir en Haerz Glead g'schpunne vun me Buchele Blaad.

Es muss dich schunn oft gewunnert hawwe, ferwas
 mir alsfart unser Wieg far unser Bewis mit Buchele vum
 Varmyohr "decorate-e." Ich will dir saage ferwas: Es
 waerd g'saat vun unserm Heiland, wann all die gute
 Sache, was Er geduh hot uff Aerd far uns uffg'schriwwe
 waere, dann daet's so viel Bicher nemme, dass die gans
 Welt net gross genunk waer far sie halte. Wann mir
 babble kennte we die Schpatze, dann daet's zehe Ewich-
 keite nemme far die Helft zu verzaehle, was Er schunn
 geduh hot far uns. Doch sin far uns Veggel (wie fer
 eich Mensche) deel Haabtwunnertate, far welche mir
 Ihn yohrei un yohraus lowe,—un des do iss eens vun ne:

Wie die gross Iwwerschwemmung waar zu Noah's
 Zeit, hot Gott uns Veggel net vergesse. Regge un Sch-

* By the author. For something remotely similar to this, but in German and employing German bird nomenclature, see the very interesting "Das Geistliche Vogel-Gesang," in *The Penn Germania*, November-December, 1912.

tarm—un abaddich G'widderschfarm—waare alsfart furchtbaar far uns. Sell war en Schreckyohr, das alle Busch Amschel gekoscht hot, except die siwwe was der Noah un sei Kinner uff sei Arrich gelosst hen un g'fiedert. Wie die Wassere dann widder vun Ararat fart waare, der Berg drucke, un der Sfarm schtill—dart sehne mir der gross Reggeboge! Un unnich em Reggeboge schteht en batzicher gleener Buchele Baam, schtols un voll griene Bletter; un aus em Reggeboge kummt en Sftimm in unsere Veggelschproch: "So wie ich mei Boge in re Wolk setz far en Zeeche vum Bindniss g'schwische Mensch un Mir, so soll vun nau ab der Buchele Baam en Beweis sei zu eich Veggel, dass ken Schreckyohr eich widder wedderfaahre soll,—un ken G'widder-schtreech soll noochdem in en Buchele Baam schlagge. Sei Warzle solle sich vermehre un naus fiehre, glenner un glenner in die Bruscht vun der Aerd, un sei Podde solle schpriesse un sich zugleich vermehre un verschpitziche owwich der Aerd. Un far eich zu bewaise, dass Ich mei Verschpreche halt, soll ken Sfarm im Winter en Buchele Baam gans beraawe un nackich mache. Als-fart soll er genunk Bletter hawwe far en Zeeche un weiss solle sie sei wie Babier."

Un far sell gewwe mir Busch Amschle Ihm all Lob un Dank—so wie yetz, yeder Marve un yeder Owet—un verschpreche Ihm, dass mir alle Yohr, wann der Moi kummt, in unser Bewis ihre Schockelcher die Buchele Bletter Babierli neibaue, so dass sie Sei Verschpreche zu Haerz nemme kenne, un 's ihre Kinner widder verzaehle! *

* By "Die Busch Amschel," in the *P. D. Eck*, July 7, 1945. The author adds the note that he "does not recall ever having seen a wood thrush's nest which did not contain the well-bleached leaf of a beech tree."

DER WIBBERWILL

Uf der achtzede Abril hab ich un noch edliche Kaerls um der Offe rum kockt anere Garage, weil's noch kiel wor, abbardich Owets. Noh secht eener: "Uf der achtzede Abril do kummt der Wibberwill." Noh saw ich, "Ich glawb 's is noch zu frieh un zu kalt." "Yo," secht er, "'m ledscht Yohr wor er aw doh uf der achtzede Abril."

Am halwer neine bin ich uf der Heemweg gange. Der Moond wor voll un hot geguckt as wie wann 'n feiericher Balle owwe aus' m Baerrick schluppe dhet. Driwwe im dunkele Schwamm, negscht am Busch, wore die Fresch am greische. Darrich's Deich am Baerrick hot'n Beacon Licht sei Schtrahle allegebott un verleicht zehe Meil uf der Baerrick gschmisse. Der Wibberwill hot gut der Weg finne kenne. Die Schtaerne ware aw haus, un der Reche am Himmel.

Ich bin schteh bliwwe un hab gharricht. 'S war alles ruich un ich hab mei Ohre gschpitzt far der Wibberwill weid abharriche. Awwer ich hab nix ghaert odder gsehne vun ihm. Verleicht fimf odder sechs Meile ab, hab ich 'n Dreen heere kumme uf 'm Weg vun Reading noch Allentown. Wann Fildelfy neecher waer, het ich gedenkt 's waer'n Ferry-boat am rei kumme. So hot die Inschein ihr Brummer zu mir gelaut. Selle Owet hot der Wibberwill net gepiffe. Wann er doh war, dann denk ich wor's ihm zu kalt far peife.

Seller karyos Vogel hot viel zu duh mit Pennsylvaw-nisch Folklore. Die alde Leit hen als gsat, un Leit sage's heit noch, wann mer der Geldsack odder's Backebuch schittle deht es aerscht mohl as mer der Wibberwill haere deht im Frieyohr, dann deht der Sack odder's Backebuch 's gans Yohr rum net leer warre. Wann mer'n

schittelt wann der Sack leer is, wees ich net eb ebbes nei kummt.

Der Wibberwill is 'n arriyer "exclusiver" Vogel. Es sin yuscht dhel Gegende wu er sich uf hald. Er gleicht die Baerye wu grosse Felse sin. Sie sage er waer so faul er deht sich ken Nescht baue, awwer deht sei Oier uf die Rocks leye un deht die Sunn die Oier raus briehe losse.

Sie sage mer deht ihn net heere uf nidder Land wie uf Kalickschtee Boddem. Er mag faul sei im Dawg awwer er is net nachts faul. Er peift 'n gansi Nacht in de Bisch un werd net mied. Alsemol kummt er un fendert sich an die Heiser. Wammer der Wibberwill abhar-riche dutt, dann heert mer en Ord Vogel as gewiss man-nich mol in der alde Zeit gsunge hot wie die Fraw odder die Tochter am schpinne wore. Verleicht wore sie aw am singe. Die Zeit verennert alles awwer der Wibber-will singt vermudlich noch grawd wie eh hot 'n hunnert Yohr zurick. Er peift noch grawd wie er hot in de schtille Nacht wie die Insche um ihre Zelt Feier rum kockt hen.

Wie viel Leit hen noch net die Amerikanisch Nachti-gall kaert? Die Baerye sinn lieblich im June. Wann die Nacht warm is, der Moond scheind voll un glor, wann 'n siesser Hunnicksuckel im Hof is un bliet, un der Wibber-will peift im Busch, un die Feiervegelcher blinke im Schwamm,—dann is es 'n recht Paradies. Der Wibber-will sot mer mol iwwer the Radio singe losse. Er singt glor un laut. Ich glawb net as viel Musickschreiwer der Wibberwill noch keert hen. *

* By Edwin C. Miller, Macungie, Pa., in the *P. D. Eck*, May 18, 1935. The author adds the note that "there is a kind of night-hawk, even seen hovering over our cities, that is often mistaken for a whip-poor-will. Sometimes it makes a metallic sound, and then again, when swooping down, it seems to imitate a frog. This

DER HAAHNE

Der Haahne iss en fedderichi Weckeruhr. Die Ursach, dass er sich so schtols weist, iss weil er en grossi Gaab hot. Er kann wacker warre, wann die Daagshelling kummt. Er kennt wull en Millionaer sei, wann er noh ebbes duh daet, wann er mol wacker iss; awwer er duet nicks als graeche. Er is awwer schtols, dass er die gans Nochberschaft wecke kann. Die Haahne wecke meh Leit als die Weckuhr. Der Haahne brauch mer net uffziege; wann mer der Haahne schtoppe will vum Graeche, muss mer ihm sei Hals drehe un sell schtoppt ihn graad.

Der Haahne iss hibsich un schtols un sei viele Weiwer liewen ihn arrick. Die Weil sie Oiyer lege, duet er watsche, un wann es Oi gelegt iss nemmt er all der Kredit far der Tschapp. Die Weil dass sei Weiwer die Kinner uffziege, watscht der Haahne so dass ken Krappe odder Hinklewoi kumme far die gleene Hinklein zu fange.

'S Lewe vum Haahne iss oftmols karz un nie net sicher. Sie griege ihre Hels uffgezogge un glei sin sie im Kochkessel. En gewisser Bauer hot mol B'such grickt. Wie die Hinkel un die Haahne der hochmiedich Mann g'sehne hen, sin sie ans schpringe. Der Ginnihaahne iss uff's Scheierdach g'flogge, un der Mischthaahne iss unnich die Seiben g'schluppt. In re halb Schtunn kummt der Mischthaahne raus un graeht, "Iss er noch do?" Der Ginnihaahne uff em Dach saagt, "Geh zerick! Geh zerick!" Noh iss der Haahne widder unnich die Seiben g'schluppt bis er gans schur waar, dass er net sei Kopp verliere daet.

Mit de Haahne geht's wie mit de Dichter; die menschte Leit gleiche sie besser, nachdem dass sie dod sin.

is not the kind I refer to in my sketch." In spite of the author's precaution, the fifth paragraph of the above sketch reveals that he confused the haunts and nesting habits of the two species.

Sprichwart: Duh net zu viel graeche, wann'd die Waarheit schwetze witt. *

'M NUSBICKEL SEI BOTRESLA SHESA

D'r Nusbickel hut emol en drub botresla om m' hoi-shduk awg'drufa, un se sin ols drum-rum g'shprunga. 'Ar hut se no net onersht drefa kena bis er sei flindalawf grum geboga hut un hut na no g'shusa. No we de shrot ols rum sin kuma is er ols in de h'a g'gjump. Sela weg hut et se ol g'rikt.†

DOUWA SHESA

D'r Lega Bochmon hut mol 'n nosht ful douwa sitsa sana. D'no hut 'r net g'wist we zu shesa dos 'r se ol g'rikt. No hut 'r una on d'r nosht wed'r g'shusa, dos 'r uf-g'shplit is, un de douwa mit de fes im ris fosht wora sin. We se ow'r no 'awfonga hen zu flega, hen se d'r bawm on d'r worzel rous g'risa un sin mit fortg'fluga. No hut 'r se duch farlora.‡

DER KLUGE STAAR

Ein Staar war in einem Hause eingeschlossen, und die Leute hatten zwar, ehe sie verreiset waren, Futter genug für ihn in das Haus gelegt, das Wasser aber vergessen, so, dasz der arme Vogel hätte vor Durst verschmachten müssen. Aber was geschahe?

Der gute Staar fand freilich wohl eine Flasche in der noch etwas Wasser war, er konte aber mit seinem Kopfe nicht so tief in die Flasche hinein kommen, um das

* "Aus'm Frank W. Matz seim Nadurbuch," in the *P. D. Eck*, July 10, 1943.

† From *Horne's Pennsylvania German Manual*, by the Rev. Dr. A. R. Horne, third edition, Allentown, Pa., 1905.



Der Hahn kräht laut sein Küchritü!
Die Kinder aufzuwecken früh,
Zu lernen in der Morgenstund:
Denn "Morgensund hat Geld im Mund."

(Illustration from *Hoch-Deutsches Lutherisches A B C—und Namen-Büchlein für Kinder welche anfangen zu lernen. Neue und verbesserte Ausgabe.* Schaefer and Koradi, Philadelphia. Stereotype by I. Howe, Philadelphia.)

Wasser zu erreichen, und was war also zu thun? Er liesz deswegen seine Flügel nicht muthlos hengen, sondern samlete in dem ganzen Hause alle kleine Steine und grössere Sandkörner auf, liesz diese alle in die Flasche hinein fallen, und füllte sie endlich so weit damit an, dasz des Wasser weit genug in die Höhe steigen, das kluge Thier also nun saufen und sich auf diese Art vom Tod erretten konnte.

Von diesem Vogel mögen wir lernen nicht gleich in Widerwärtigkeiten zu verzagen, sondern umherzusehn, ob nicht irgendwo noch Rath und Hülfe ist.*

MISCELLANEOUS VERSES

“Heio bei, Bubbeli,
Schlag’s Gickelche dod,
Es leeg’t mir ken Oier,
Un fressst mir mei Brot;
So ropp ich em ’n Fedderche raus
Un mach meim Kind en Bettche draus.”

“Eens, zwee, drei, vier,
So viel Ende ghat hen mier.
Awwer zwee gehne fart
Un zwee bleiwe do.
Nau wie kann mer sie halde so?”†

“Hockeli, Gockeli uff der Wand,
Hot en Kuche in der Hand.
Hot es wolle brode,
Is es net gerode,
Hockt en Meisel uff em Dach,
Hot sich in dausend Schtickere gelacht.”‡

* From *Ein wohl eingerichtetes deutsches A B C—Buchstabir—und Lesebuch zum Gebrauch deutscher Schulen . . . Germantown: Gedruckt by Michael Billmeyer, 1796*. Included here as an example of the way in which European tales appeared and persisted in the New World.

† In the *P. D. Eck*, April 13, 1935.

‡ In the *P. D. Eck*, May 11, 1935.

“Es steht en Kindle an der Wand
 Un hat en Gockle in der Hand.
 Un es det's gern brode
 Uns will em net geroode
 Es det's gern esse
 Un hat ken Messer.
 Olte Windmühl geht die Stross naus,
 Hol't die Küh hehm, due die Schoff naus.”*

“Da stehn ich uf der Kanzel,
 Un bredig wie en Umschell,
 Stohre in der Luft,
 Der Vater hot geflucht.”*

“Da stehn ich uf der Kanzel,
 Un bredig wie en Umschell,
 Mei Hühn, mei Hahn,
 Mei bredig is ahn,
 Mei Kuh, mei Kalb,
 Mei bredig is halb,
 Mei Katz, mei Maus,
 Mei Kerich is aus.”*

“De sun sheint,
 'S fegli greint,
 'S hukt uf'm lawda,
 Un shbint'n long'r fawda;
 De gal fled'rmous kumt,
 Un pikt 'm fegli de awaga rous.”†

'N HAWNA

” 'S kumt 'n mon fun mika brik,
 Un hut 'n glad fun dousend shdik;
 Un hut 'n gnuchich awg'sicht,
 Un hut 'n led'rnar bawrd.”†

* John Baer Stoudt, “The Folklore of the Pennsylvania-German,” *P. G. S. Proceedings*, Vol. XXIII, 1915.

† From *Horne's Pennsylvania German Manual*, third edition.

"Mei Mammi backt Kuche, sie backt sie zu hart,
 Sie schpart mich in der Keller un gebt mer net satt.
 Sie gebt mer paar Brocke far die Biebie zu locke—
 'Kumm Biebie, kumm Biebie, un fress mei Brocke.'
 Wann sie mier's widder so macht,
 Nemm ich mei Bindle un sawg 'Gude Nacht'." *

"Buwli, Buwli wu geht der Wek naus?
 Ei, do howwe hock ich un hack'n Schpecht raus.
 Buwli, Buwli, ich glawb du heerscht net wohl.
 Ja, Ja, der Bawm is rund rum hohl.
 Buwli, Buwli, ich glawb das du 'n Narr bischt.
 Ja, Ja, ich hab der alt im Nescht verwischt." *

"Oi—Oi—Oi, en grosser Hinkel-Woi.
 Der huckt uf der Garde Fens
 Un watscht die scheene yunge Gens." *

Die Hahna wu's menscht fechta duhn,
 Hen net all langa Schpora;
 Un viel vun unsra greeschta Esel
 Hen ah ken langa Ohra. †

"Hons, wu geht der Weg naus?
 Da haus hockt eener Spaecht raus.

Hons, ich glaub ihr hoer't net wohl?
 Der Baum is rings rum hohl.

Hons, ich glaub du bist en Schelm.
 Er hockt es raus mit der Ax un net mit em Helm.

Hons, ich glaub sie sin witzig.
 Sie hen dinne Meiler un sin fonne spitzig.

Hons, ich glaub sie sin net gscheid.
 Jer, es is gewiss noch ortlich weit.

* From the *P D. Eck*, June 22, 1935.

† By "Goethe von Berks," in *The Pennsylvania-German*, September, 1906.

Hons, ich glaub ihr seid en Narr.
Jer, ich denk sie sin im Derr.”*

“Wass fresse die Gens?
Haver un Gleh loss mei Ohr geh.
Wie viel droppe sauffe sie?
Sechse.”*

“Johnny mei Buh,
Was mache die Gens?
Sie hocken uf em Wasser
Un schütteln die Schwens.” *

“Ens, zwee, drei,
Hicke, hocke, hei.
Zucker uf der Brei,
Peffer uf der Speck,
Hahne geh aweg,
Oder ich schlag dich in der Dreck.” *

“Krabb, Krabb dei nest brennt!
Krabb, Krabb dei nest brennt!” *

“Krabb, Krabb, dei Häusel brennt,
Es hocke sive Junge drin,
Die schreie alle: Krabb, Krabb, Krabb,
Du Alter Hosesack!” *

“Der Haahne graeht laut sei Grickedegrie,
Die Kinner nau uffwecke frieh;
Die Morgenstundt hot Gold im Mund,
Wer die verseimt, der geht zu Grund.” †

* John Baer Stoudt, “The Folklore of the Pennsylvania-German.” Dr. Stoudt recalled that when the boys were out in the fields and saw a crow flying overhead, they would wave their arms and shout the lines given above.

† In the *P. D. Eck*, April 26, 1941.

“Hicke, Hecke, Hawwer Schdroh,
 Der Miller hot die Fraa verlore;
 Die Katze schlagge Drumme,
 Die Meis kehre's Haus aus,
 Der Voggel hockt uff em Dach
 Un hot sich schier gaar dod gelacht.”*

“Hinkel, Haahne, Hollerschtook,
 Wieviel Haerner hot der Bock?
 Eens, zwee, drei,
 Du bischt frei.”†

“En alte Katz,
 Die fangt en Schpatz,
 Wann's ihre glickt
 Dass sie ihn grickt.”†

EE DAAG

Nord Heidelberg, ich kumm zurick ee Daag,
 Die Hiwwle un die Daehler widder sehne;
 Die alt Heemet b'suche, wu schteht hoch, dick un breed
 Der hunnert-yaahr-alt Wasserpitschebaam,
 Un vum Brunne dart im Keller mei Darscht zu lesche;
 Zu heere wie der Biwwi so freehlich singt,
 Wie gege Owet das Bartriesel peift un ruft,
 Un wie die Gillerie so yachtich sin;
 Die Schpeckmeis un die Schwalme watsche fliege
 Als owets wie's am duschber warre iss;
 Die kiehl Luft schpiere unnich em Eechebaam
 Im Busch im Hiwwelfeld, wu ich als Sunndaags
 In der Summerzeit im Schatte hab geruhgt
 Gans unbekimmert un von Sorge frei.
 Nord Heidelberg, ich kumm dich widder sehne;
 Ich hab gelebt so wie viel ann're Leit,
 Deel Daage gut un ann're net zum beschte;
 Doch will ich noch eemol ohne Sorge ruhge
 Im Schatte unnich em grosse Eechebaam,
 Wann ich's im Zeitvertreib so mache kann.

* *P. D. Eck*, September 13, 1941.

† *P. D. Eck*, December 20, 1941.

Awwer wann es mir in sellem net gelingt,
Dann kumm ich doch, Nord Heidelberg, zu finne
Die Ecke wu die wilde Aerbeere wachse,
Un, was ich schunn so lang hab druff gewaart,
Die Freede wie ich yung un sorglos waar. *

With these very beautiful lines by Michael Gruber we come near the end of this varied collection of prose and poetry through which our people have spoken of birds and of all the big and little things related thereto. And so we come to the end of this work.† A few more lines by Louise A. Weitzel, some other lines whose source we cannot recall, and then we are done.

“Fort! traurige Gedanke!
Guck braf ins Leve nei,
Un freu dich mit de Voegel,
Dann unser Gott is treu.”

“Die Welt gehört uns Menschen nicht allein;
Viel Tausend Vögel sollen auch drauf leben,
Und sich der Güte Gottes freyn,
Der Ihnen Speiss und Trank wie uns gegeben.”

* Michael A. Gruber, 1855-1943. In these lines, Mr. Gruber, then of Washington, D. C., sings of his ancestral North Heidelberg Township, Berks County. He wishes to spend his last days amid the scenes of his boyhood. *P. D. Eck*, October 30, 1943.

† Lack of space compels us to omit poems like Solly Hulsbuck's "De Gute Olt Summer Zeit" (in *G'shbos und Arnsht*); Wendel Kitzmiller's "En Gluckvoll Bieplin" (in Reichard's *Anthology*); Louise A. Weitzel's "Die Amschel" (in *Shpectakel*, her book of poems); Lloyd Moll's "Der Zahschlipper" (a lengthy poem descriptive of the wren's life, in the *P. D. Eck*, May 6, 1939); "Yeder Foggel Hot Sei Fun" by "Die Busch Amschel" (about the red-winged blackbird, in the *P. D. Eck*, Sept. 22, 1945); and lines from such poems as Rachel Bahn's "Der Summer"; Henry Harbaugh's "Heemweh," which contains a beautiful reference to the red-winged blackbird; and Michael A. Gruber's "Die Alta Bappla-baem." Alfred L. Shoemaker's story, "Die Schwallem," in the *P. D. Eck*, May 4, 1940, also is worthy.



Pennsylvania German Society



VOLUME LIII

Pennsylvania German Society

PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES

at

Reading, October 20, 1944

Waynesboro, October 19, 1945

Trappe, October 18, 1946

Volume LIII

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Part 1

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1944

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

President Henry S. Borneman
Vice-President David A. Miller
Secretary Thomas R. Brendle
Treasurer Frederick S. Fox

DIRECTORS

Term Expiring 1944:

Rev. Scott Brenner
Jacob Erdman Cope
Rev. Clarence R. Rahn
Ralph Beaver Strassburger

Term Expiring 1945:

Harold F. Diffenderfer
Henry S. Borneman
H. Winslow Fegley
David A. Miller
William S. Troxell

Term Expiring 1946:

Rev. Thomas R. Brendle
Frederick S. Fox
Frederick A. Godcharles
John B. Ludy, M.D.
W. Emmert Swigart



PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY
Minutes of the Fifty-Fourth Annual Meeting
Held at
READING, PENNA., OCTOBER 20, 1944

The Fifty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania German Society was held in the Walnut Room of the Hotel Berkshire, Reading, Pa., on Friday, October 20, 1944.

BUSINESS MEETING

The Society was called to order by the President, Henry S. Borneman, at 10:00 a. m.

Thomas R. Brendle, the Secretary, read the minutes of the last annual meeting and presented a report of the activities of the Board of Directors during the year just closed.

The Report of the Treasurer, Frederick S. Fox, was presented through the Secretary, and, on motion, was referred to C. H. Martin and A. M. Angstadt, as a committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts and to make return of its report to the Board of Directors.

The action of the Board of Directors, authorizing the Treasurer to purchase a \$500.00 War Bond, was approved.

The terms of office of Rev. Scott Brenner, Jacob Erdman Cope, Harry B. Hostetter, Rev. Charles R. Rahn and Ralph Beaver Strassberger having expired, nominations for the vacancies were declared to be in order, and, thereupon, being re-nominated, they were duly and unanimously elected for a term of three years.

W. Emmert Swigart and the Reverend Scott Brenner, appointed by the President to consider the matter of presenting certificates of merit, presented the following report:

The Pennsylvania German Society from time to time, at its annual meetings, shall confer citations of merit upon those persons of Pennsylvania German heritage, members or non-members of the Society, who have achieved distinction in service or life in accord with the ideals and principles of the Society.

The President shall appoint annually a committee of three members of the Board of Directors, of which committee he shall be a member ex officio. This committee shall receive nominations for the honor, make careful study of the nominations and report to the Board of Directors their findings. A total of not more than five citations may be granted annually, to be evidenced by engrossed certificates presented to each person so honored. A record of the citations shall be made part of the permanent records of the Society, and be printed in the annual Proceedings of the Society.

Upon motion the Report was unanimously adopted.

Subsequent to the Historical Program, upon motion, unanimously adopted, the Secretary was directed to express by letter to those who appeared on the program the appreciation of the Society for the excellency of their presentations.

HISTORICAL PROGRAM

1. Address by Raymond Wolf Albright, Th.D., Honorary Chairman.

2. Invocation by the Rev Franklin D. Slifer.
3. Address, "Pennsylvania German Traits," illustrated with Crayon Drawings, by Henry W. Sharadin.
4. Address, "A Pennsylvania German What-not," by Henry S. Borneman.
5. Address, "The Pennsylvania German Farmer," by the Hon. Miles Horst.

LUNCHEON — 1:00 P. M.

Address, "Pennsylvania German Wit and Humor," by the Rev. Clarence A. Rahn.

Pennsylvania German Folk Songs by Misses Delores Semmel and Annette Snyder. Accompanist, Miss Thelma Sitler.

There were 150 persons in attendance at the luncheon.

Thomas R. Brendle, Secretary

PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

Reading, Pa., October 20, 1944

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY:

The By-Laws of the Society require that the Secretary shall submit at each Annual Meeting a Report of the activities of the Board of Directors during the year just closed. In accordance with that direction, the following Report is respectfully submitted:

MEETINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Board of Directors held three stated meetings during the year for the transaction of current business in ful-

fillment of the provisions of the By-Laws. At these meetings, one of which was held in the City of Philadelphia, another in Egypt, and the third in Reading, Pa., Applications for Membership were received and acted upon. During the year Volume L of the Proceedings of the Society was seen through the press; the Annual Program was provided for and efforts were made for the obtaining of definitive articles or dissertations for future publications. Matters relating to the general administration and affairs of the Corporation and its purposes were carefully considered.

Minutes of all meetings have been kept, as required by the By-Laws.

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE SOCIETY

The following is a list of the Directors of the Society:

Term Expiring 1944:

Rev. Scott Brenner
Jacob Erdman Cope
Harry B. Hostetter
Rev. Clarence R. Rahn
Ralph Beaver Strassburger

Term Expiring 1945:

Henry S. Borneman
Harold F. Diffenderfer
H. Winslow Fegley
David A. Miller
William S. Troxell

Term Expiring 1946:

Rev. Thomas R. Brendle
Frederick S. Fox
Frederic A. Godcharles
John B. Ludy, M.D.
W. Emmert Swigart

In accordance with the provisions of the By-Laws, the Directors, at a meeting, elected the following Officers for the year just closed:

President	Henry S. Borneman
Vice-President	David A. Miller
Secretary	Rev. Thomas R. Brendle
Treasurer	Frederick S. Fox

The Board was deeply grieved to lose through death Dr. John B. Ludy, for many years a Member of this Society and also at the time of his death a Member of the Board of Directors.

The Board also reports the resignation as a Member of the Board of Directors of Captain Frederic A. Godcharles, who was a member of the Board of Directors for many years, and the thanks of the Society must be tendered to him for his long interest and service.

MEMBERSHIP

Applications for Membership have been received during the year and both Active and Associate Members have been elected. There have been losses through resignations and deaths. It is noteworthy that only two Members of the Society have presented their resignations and in each case reasons were presented that were personal and in no case was there an indication of lack of interest in the general purposes of the Society.

It is with sorrow that a record has to be made of the loss, since our last Annual Meeting, of Members through death.

DEATHS SINCE LAST ANNUAL MEETING

Rev. G. A. Benze, Erie, Pa.
Mrs. Chester P. Cook, Merion, Pa.
Miss Cora Curry,, Washington, D. C.
Fayette C. Eshelman, M.D., Hazleton, Pa.

John Montgomery Kline, Washington, D. C.
Lewis F. Kraemer, Stony Creek Mills, Pa.
Othniel B. Lessig, Pottstown, Pa.
William Wirt Lynn, Bethlehem, Pa.
Dr. John R. Ludy, Philadelphia, Pa.
(Member of Board of Directors)
Joseph Montgomery, 2nd, Harrisburg, Pa.
Dr. Randle C. Rosenberger, Rahns, Pa.
Alfred Percival Smith, Philadelphia, Pa.
(Life Member)

The Active Membership of the Society at the present time approximates 550.

FINANCES

Mr. Frederick S. Fox presents herewith his Report, as Treasurer, in which appear in detail the receipts and expenditures during the year. It shows a cash balance on October 20, 1944, of \$3,503.89. The treasurer holds War Bonds with a maturity value of \$1,500.00.

The Board of Directors suggests, in accordance with the practice prevailing in prior years, the appointment by the President of a Committee to audit the Treasurer's account.

The Auditing Committee, appointed last year, consisting of C. H. Martin and Alpheus M. Angstadt, presented their Report to the Board of Directors and they approved the account of the Treasurer submitted to the Annual Meeting.

ACTIVITIES

The activities of the Board of Directors in carrying out the purposes of the Society have been curtailed by reason of the conditions due to the war. It is noteworthy, however, to report that the interest of the Members of the Society, in its broad purposes, has not decreased, and to

record that the interest in the history, the literature, the folk-art, the dialect and the social groupings of the Pennsylvania Germans has been most marked and brought to the attention of the public at large.

VOLUME LI

During the year special study has been made of various manuscripts which have been submitted from time to time for the purpose of determining their availability as publications of the Society. Subject to such changes as are now unforeseen, it is proposed to publish in Volume LI the life and work of Rev. Henry Harbaugh by Elizabeth Clark Kieffer, of the Fackenthal Library of Franklin and Marshall College.

Other manuscripts in the hands of the Directors, which are receiving consideration for succeeding publications, are a paper by Rev. Clarence R. Rahn on "The Wit and Humor of the Pennsylvania Germans," a paper by Edward K. Hibschman, State College, Pa., on "The Pennsylvania German Farmer"; and a paper by E. W. Hocker on "Sower Publishing House."

Respectfully submitted,
Thomas R. Brendle, Secretary.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

1945

President Henry S. Borneman
Vice-President David A. Miller
Secretary Thomas R. Brendle
Treasurer Frederick S. Fox

DIRECTORS

Term Expiring 1945:

Henry S. Borneman
Harold F. Diffenderfer
G. Edwin Brumbaugh
David A. Miller
William S. Troxell

Term Expiring 1946:

Rev. Thomas R. Brendle
Millard E. Gladfelter
William S. Livengood, Jr.
W. Emmert Swigart

Term Expiring 1947:

Rev. Scott Brenner
Jacob Erdman Cope
Harry B. Hostetter
Rev. Clarence R. Rahn
Ralph Beaver Strassburger

PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY

Minutes of the Fifty-Fifth Annual Meeting

Held At

WAYNESBORO, PA., OCTOBER 19, 1945

The Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania German Society was held in the Lutheran Church of Waynesboro on the above date. It was called to order at 10:30 a. m. by Henry S. Borneman, President of the Society.

The Secretary presented a report of the activities of the Board of Directors during the past year. In this report was included the account of Frederick S. Fox, Treasurer.

The President appointed Alpheus M. Angstadt and C. H. Martin, of Lancaster, Pa., to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

The President announced that the terms of Mr. Henry S. Borneman, Harold F. Diffenderfer, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, David A. Miller and William S. Troxell, as Directors, expired at this meeting. Thereupon, Dr. Elmer S. Johnson having put their names in nomination, they were all re-elected.

, HISTORICAL PROGRAM

Mr. Jacob H. Stoner, of Waynesboro, who served as Honorary Chairman during the presentation of the Historical Program, welcomed the Society to Waynesboro in a short address.

Prayer was offered by the Rev. George Bricker, Pastor of Trinity Reformed Church, Waynesboro.

A paper on "Pennsylvania German Bird Names and Bird-Lore" was read by the Rev. William J. Rupp, of Spinnerstown, Pa.

The President of the Society, Henry S. Borneman presented the Society's Citation for Distinguished Service rendered in the interpretation of the life and character of the Pennsylvania Germans to Mrs. Helen Singmaster Lewars. An outline of his presentation address and the response of Mrs. Lewars will be printed in the Proceedings of the Society.

As a testimonial to the long years of service of the President Henry S. Borneman, this being the twenty-fifth anniversary of his first election to the Directorate of the Society, Mr. W. Emmert Swigart, Chairman of the Committee of Citations, presented to him an award, especially engrossed by Mr. Irwin Mensch, as a token of the Society's deep esteem of his work, both within and without the Society. To this wholly unexpected presentation, Mr. Borneman responded with deep feeling and appreciation.

LUNCHEON

Luncheon was served by the Ladies of the Lutheran Church of Waynesboro. The table prayer was offered by the Rev B. Clinton Ritz, pastor of the Lutheran Church.

The after-dinner address was delivered by the Rev. Clarence R. Rahn, of Temple, Pa.

In the afternoon the Society united with local organizations in the dedication of a memorial to the Rev. Dr. Henry Harbaugh at the old Harbaugh homestead.

Thomas R. Brendle, Secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY
WAYNESBORO, PA., OCTOBER 19, 1945

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY:

The By-Laws of the Society require that the Secretary shall submit at each Annual Meeting a Report of the activities of the Board of Directors during the year just closed. In accordance with that direction, the following Report is respectfully submitted:

MEETINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Board of Directors held three stated meetings during the year for the transaction of current business in fulfillment of the provisions of the By-Laws. At these meetings, two of which were held in the City of Philadelphia, and the third in Waynesboro, Pa., applications for active and associate Membership were received and acted upon. During the year Volume 51 of the Proceedings of the Society was seen through the press; the Annual Program was provided for and efforts were made for the obtaining of definitive articles or dissertations for future publications. Matters relating to the general administration and affairs of the Corporation and its purposes were carefully considered.

Minutes of all the meetings have been kept, as required by the By-Laws.

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE SOCIETY

The following is a list of the Directors of the Society:
Term Expiring 1945:

Henry S. Borneman
Harold F. Diffenderfer
G. Edwin Brumbaugh
David A. Miller
William S. Troxell

Term Expiring 1946:

Rev. Thomas R. Brendle
Frederick S. Fox
Millard K. Gladfelter
William S. Livengood, Jr.
W. Emmert Swigart

Term Expiring 1947:

Rev. Scott Brenner
Jacob Erdman Cope
Harry B. Hostetter
Rev. Clarence R. Rahn
Ralph Beaver Strassburger

In accordance with the provisions of the By-Laws, the Directors elected the following Officers for the year just closed:

President	Henry S. Borneman
Vice-President	David A. Miller
Secretary	Rev. Thomas R. Brendle
Treasurer	Frederick S. Fox

MEMBERSHIP

Applications for Membership have been received during the year and both Active and Associate Members have been elected. There have been losses through resignations and deaths. It is noteworthy that only three Members of the Society have presented their resignations and in each case reasons were presented that were personal and in no case was there an indication of lack of interest in the general purpose of the Society.

It is with sorrow that a record has to be made of the loss, since our last Annual Meeting, of the following Members through death:

A. Mary Brubaker, Reading, Pa.
Reinhardt Dempwolf, York, Pa.
H. Winslow Fegley, Reading, Pa.
(Member of the Board)
Captain Frederick Antes Godcharles, Milton, Pa.
(Member of the Board)
Dr. Milton J. Haas, Allentown, Pa.
Honorable Richard Henry Koch, Pottsville, Pa.
Honorable William Heustis Keller, Lancaster, Pa.
William F. Long, Lancaster, Pa.
Benjamin B. Mechling, Riverton, New Jersey
William Henry Rentzheimer, M.D., Hellertown, Pa.
Edgar Snyder Richardson, Esq., Reading, Pa.
George Rohr, Lancaster, Pa.
Miss Emma M. Schmauk, Lebanon, Pa.
C. W. Unger, Pottsville, Pa.

The Active Membership of the Society at the present time approximates 550.

FINANCES

Mr. Frederick S. Fox presents herewith his Report, as Treasurer, in which appear in detail the receipts and expenditures during the year. It shows a cash balance on October 19, 1945, of \$3,372.29. The Treasurer holds War Bonds with a maturity value of \$2,500.00.

The Board of Directors suggests, in accordance with the practice prevailing in prior years, the appointment by the President of a Committee to audit the Treasurer's account.

The Auditing Committee, appointed last year, consisting of C. H. Martin and Alpheus M. Angstadt, presented their Report to the Board of Directors and they

approved the account of the Treasurer submitted to the Annual Meeting.

ACTIVITIES

The activities of the Board of Directors in carrying out the purposes of the Society have been curtailed by reason of the conditions due to the war. It is noteworthy, however, to report that the interest of the Members of the Society, in its broad purposes, has not decreased, and to record that the interest in the history, the literature, the folk-art, the dialect and the social groupings of the Pennsylvania Germans has been most marked and brought to the attention of the public at large.

VOLUME LI

During the year special study has been made of various manuscripts which have been submitted from time to time for the purposes of determining their availability as publications of the Society. Volume LI is a biography of the life and work of Rev. Henry Harbaugh, D.D., by Elizabeth Clarke Kieffer, of the Fackenthal Library of Franklin and Marshall College.

Resectfully submitted,

Thomas R. Brendle, Secretary.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

1946

President	Henry S. Borneman
Vice-President	David A. Miller
Secretary	Thomas R. Brendle
Treasurer	Frederick S. Fox

DIRECTORS

Term Expiring 1946:

Frederick S. Fox
Thomas R. Brendle
W. Emmert Swigart
Millard E. Gladfelter
William S. Livengood, Jr.

Term Expiring 1947:

Harry B. Hostetter
Ralph Beaver Strassburger
Jacob Erdman Cope
Scott Brenner
Clarence R. Rahn

Term Expiring 1948:

Henry S. Borneman
David A. Miller
Harold F. Diffenderfer
Williom S. Troxell
G. Edwin Brumbaugh



PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY

Fifty-Sixth Annual Meeting

Held At

TRAPPE, PA., OCTOBER 18, 1946

The Fifty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania German Society was held at Trappe, Pa., on Friday, October 18, 1946.

A Memorial Service was held at 10:30 a. m. in the Augustus Lutheran Church in commemoration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the birth of General Peter Muhlenberg. The Memorial Address was given by the Rev. T. G. Tappert, of Mt. Airy Theological Seminary on the theme, "Preaching in Colonial Days."

After the close of the Memorial Service, the Society convened in the historic Trappe Church, erected in 1743.

The Rev. W. Russell Zimmerman, Pastor loci, presided as Honorary Chairman of the day.

The minutes were read and approved.

Frederick S. Fox, Thomas R. Brendle, W. Emmert Swigart, Millard S. Gladfelter and William S. Livengood, Jr., were unanimously elected as Directors to serve for three years.

A unanimous vote of thanks was given to Mr. Fred-

erick S. Fox for the excellent services which he had rendered over a long period of years as Treasurer of the Society.

A short address on the architectural features of the building was given by Mr. Zimmerman, and a short review of the work of the Society by the President, Mr. Henry S. Borneman.

On account of the inclement weather and the unheated church building, the meeting was curtailed. However, the profound feeling which was in the heart of everyone at the privilege of meeting in a building of such historic note could not have been heightened by any extended program.

After adjournment the members and their guests repaired to the Spring Mountain House, near Schwencksville, about five miles away for dinner.

The prayer of thanksgiving was offered by the Rev. William J. Rupp, of Spinnerstown. The after-dinner address was given by the Rev. Dr. Charles Freeman, of Doylestown, on "Excerpts from the Autobiography of the Rev. William Helfrich."

Thomas R. Brendle, Secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY

Report of the Secretary

TRAPPE, PA., OCTOBER 18, 1946

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY:

The By-Laws of the Society require the Secretary to submit at each Annual Meeting a Report of the activities

of the Board of Directors for the year just closed. In accordance with that direction the following Report is submitted.

MEETINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Board of Directors held three stated meetings during the year: the first on March 22nd, in Philadelphia, the second on June 28th, in Lancaster, and the third on October 17th, at Schwencksville.

The Board is constituted as follows:

Directors whose terms expire in 1946:

Frederick S. Fox
Thomas R. Brendle
W. Emmert Swigart
Millard E. Gladfelter
William S. Livengood, Jr.

Directors whose terms expire in 1947:

Harry B. Hostetter
Ralph Beaver Strassburger
Jacob Erdman Cope
Scott Brenner
Clarence R. Rahn

Directors whose terms expire in 1948:

Henry S. Borneman
David A. Miller
Harold E. Diffenderfer
William S. Troxell
G. Edwin Brumbaugh

The Officers of the Society, as elected by the Board of Directors, in accordance with the provisions of the By-Laws, are:

Henry S. Borneman, President
David A. Miller, Vice-President
Thomas R. Brendle, Secretary
Frederick S. Fox, Treasurer

TREASURER'S REPORT

The treasurer, Frederick S. Fox, reported as of October 17, 1946, a balance in the treasury of \$5,239.67. He also holds Government Bonds with maturity value of \$2,500.

It is suggested that, in accordance with the practice hitherto prevailing, an auditing committee be appointed to audit the accounts of the treasurer. The Auditing Committee appointed at Waynesboro, consisting of Mr. C. H. Martin and A. M. Angstadt, both of Lancaster, rendered their report to the Board of Directors wherein they approved the accounts of the Treasurer submitted at the last annual meeting.

PLACE OF MEETING

The Board selected the Augustus Lutheran Church, Trappe, Pa., as the place for the Annual Meeting. This was done in commemoration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the birth of Major General John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, who was born on October 1, 1746. He lies buried in the cemetery of the Trappe Church.

It is with sorrow that a record is made of the loss of eleven members through death since the last meeting:

Mrs. Laura Etmir Austin, Boston
Joseph B. Bechtel, Philadelphia
Andrew Hiestand Hershey, Lancaster
Mrs. Albert K. Hostetter, Lancaster
Elmer Frederick Kraus, D.D., Chicago
N. Frank Matter, Cleveland
Casper O. Miller, New Market, Va.
Stewart Nase, Esq., Lansdale
W. A. Herbert Reider, Reading
Wesley K. Schultz, East Greenville
Mrs. Leonard G. Stanley, Albany, N. Y.

There have been two resignations.

VOLUME LII OF THE PROCEEDINGS

The forthcoming volume of the Proceedings will contain two outstanding monographs: the first on "Pennsylvania German Names and Lore of Birds and the Reactions of our People to the Bird Life Around Them," is written by the Rev. William J. Rupp, of Spinnerstown. The second treats authoritatively of the history of Christopher Sower and his descendants, with a bibliography of the products of the different presses. The volume will be large and well illustrated. It will be distributed in November.

Respectfully submitted,
Thomas R. Brendle, Secretary.

Part II

The
Sower Printing House

of

Colonial Times

by

Edward W. Hocker

The Pennsylvania German Society

NORRISTOWN, PA.

1948

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NORRISTOWN, PA.

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I—CHRISTOPHER SOWER'S ARRIVAL IN PENNSYLVANIA

In a letter which Benjamin Franklin wrote, in 1753, he gave expression to the alarm which he and other English-speaking leaders of affairs felt in the eighteenth century because of the great numbers of German settlers who had come to Pennsylvania, and at the same time, without purposing to do so, he testified to the literary enterprise of these Germans.

The letter, dated May 9, 1753, was addressed to Peter Collinson. "Measures of great temper are necessary with the Germans," wrote Franklin. They were ignorant, stupid and abusive, he declared, and while thus far they had been submissive to the government, he feared for the future. "I remember," he continued, "when they modestly declined intermeddling in our elections, but now they come in droves and carry all before them, except in one or two counties." Then, although he had called them ignorant and stupid, he added that they imported many books, and that "of the six printing presses in the province two are entirely German, two half German and but two entirely English. They have one German newspaper and one half German." ⁽¹⁾

However much Franklin was alarmed by the strength and influence of the German settlers, he was shrewd enough to try to profit thereby in undertaking the printing of German books and a German newspaper. Whether or not his failure in these ventures influenced his opinion

as to the ignorance of the Germans, can now only be conjectured.

Fortunately no attempt was made to place restraints upon this people who showed their love for books and who supported newspapers in an age when literacy was at a low level. Before the nineteenth century opened German printers were producing books and newspapers in Philadelphia, Germantown, Chestnut Hill, Ephrata, Easton, Friedensthal, near Bethlehem; Hanover, Harrisburg, Lancaster, Lebanon, Reading and York, and also in Baltimore, Frederick and Hagerstown, Maryland.

In Germantown, now part of Philadelphia, then a township in Philadelphia County, Christopher Sower and his son of the same name printed at least 150 books, ranging from twenty to more than 800 pages, among them three editions of the Bible, all antedating any American edition of the Bible in English. Furthermore, they produced an almanac yearly for forty-one years, a newspaper, a magazine and innumerable pamphlets and broadsides. This speaks not only of the enterprise of these two men but also of the demand for literature among the German settlers which made it possible to conduct a printing house upon so extensive a scale in those early days.

All accounts agree that the first Christopher Sower was versatile and resourceful. His great-grandson, David Sower, said Christopher Sower was an adept in twenty-four different trades. But among these that of printer was not included. Nevertheless, realizing that the Germans needed the printing press, he proceeded to establish one, even though he was not familiar with the process of printing.

"Joh. Christoph Sauer" is the form in which the name appears in the earliest signatures extant. Many

German families of that time were in the habit of bestowing the name of Johann upon their sons and Maria upon their daughters, in addition to a second Christian name. Sometimes all the sons in the family received Johann as part of their names and all the daughters Maria. They were usually known, however, by their second name, and in many cases the John or Maria was forgotten in the course of time. Thus in his later years in America Sower did not use the name Johann.

He wrote his surname both "Sauer" and "Saur." Flexibility in the orthography of family names was characteristic of the times. But when the name was used in English correspondence or on the title pages of books printed in the English language, it was "Sower." After the third generation this was the accepted form of the name.

Sower, his wife and their son crossed the Atlantic in 1724. Within recent years a letter has come to light which Sower wrote shortly after landing in Philadelphia and in which he tells about his voyage. The letter was discovered in the University of Göttingen, Germany, and a copy was made by Dr. Adolph Gerber for the library of Haverford College. (2)

Dated "Germantown, two leagues from Philadelphia, December 1, 1724," the letter narrates that the family sailed from Holland and reached Dover, England, in sixteen hours. There they had to wait three weeks for a favorable wind. After leaving England the travelers did not again see land for six weeks and three days. However, the weather was pleasant, and never were there storms severe enough to drive the passengers off the decks. Some hardships were experienced. The beer was consumed all too soon, and only enough water had been provided for cooking. There was sufficient food, but the

meat was excessively salted. Vermin, filth and overcrowding were also experienced, but the Sowers were included among three families that had more commodious accommodations than the others, and hence they were fairly comfortable.

As there was no wind from the east the ship had to tack continually, and toward the end of the voyage a strong breeze carried them seventy-five miles below Delaware Bay. But a south wind then came to their aid and bore them into the Delaware in a day. Entering the river they frequently struck sand bars. The stream was unfamiliar to the helmsman, this being his first voyage to America. He wanted to anchor, but the captain insisted upon proceeding, whereupon some of the passengers became alarmed and protested. However, says Sower, "the wind lifted us from one hill to another." The helmsman proposed to lower boats and take the people ashore, but the captain forbade this, fearing a panic among the passengers. After fifteen minutes of trying experiences the ship reached deep waters. It was then anchored until daybreak the next day. They were still a long distance from Philadelphia, but the favorable wind continued, so that they arrived at Philadelphia on Sunday, October 1.

A salute was fired as the ship anchored, and throngs of people came running to the wharf, some looking for relatives or acquaintances among the passengers, others bringing apples, bread and other food.

Upon stepping ashore the immigrants were asked, "Are you free?" This was to ascertain who were redemptioners, making the voyage under an agreement to work a stipulated number of years to pay for their passage. Sower told the inquirer he did not owe the captain

anything, but he admitted a debt due another German for some brandy.

The reception was most friendly. Sower mentions that someone gave him 10 florins, "without my desire," and then work was offered him supervising the building of a foundry, in which he could have an interest if he so desired. But he "felt no inclination," he wrote, and "did not aspire to great things in this world."

He rented a house, and friends brought apples, nuts, wine, spelt, wheat, bread, eggs, turnips, cabbage, dried pears, buckwheat, chickens, pork, and 120 pounds of salted beef. Gifts came from a distance of sixty miles for the "newly arrived Schwarzenau people."

It is evident from the allusion to the "Schwarzenau people" that Sower came to Pennsylvania with a group of members of the Church of the Brethren, or Dunkers. The sect had originated in Schwarzenau, Germany, and the first migration to Pennsylvania was in 1719, the pioneers settling in Germantown. Four years later they formed a congregation, the first of the denomination in America. Whether the first Christopher Sower ever was a member of the denomination has never been clearly determined. Some writers say he was baptized in Germany; others that he received the baptism of the Seventh-Day Brethren in Lancaster County. But the preponderance of the evidence is that, while his son was long a bishop of the Brethren, the elder Christopher Sower, though intensely religious, was not formally attached to any church but was classed with those known as Separatists.

Sower was 31 years old when he came to Pennsylvania. His birthplace is believed to have been a village called Ladenburg or Lauterburg, in the Palatinate, ten American miles from Heidelberg, but his early years

were spent in Laasphe, not far from Schwarzenau and in a region much under the sway of religious revolt.

Laasphe today is a town of some 3000 inhabitants in the Prussian province of Westphalia. It is somewhat of a health resort, and has various industries. The Lahr flows past the town, and nearby is the castle of the Count von Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein. Laasphe is one of two towns in the Kreis, or county, of Wittgenstein. The other town is Berleburg, the Kreisstadt, or county-seat, where since the Middle Ages the Count von Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg has had his castle.

In the early eighteenth century Wittgenstein was a free state, where religious toleration prevailed, and consequently the various non-orthodox faiths were strongly represented there. At Berleburg the version of the Bible known by the name of this town was issued, in eight volumes, between 1726 and 1742. It was a new translation, including numerous writings not accepted in either Luther's or the King James versions of the Bible, and also presenting much comment taken from mystical writers, such as Jane Leade, Peterson and Böhme. The influence of these writers had earlier been conspicuous among the members of the Frankfort Company, which was instrumental in the settlement of Germantown and parts of interior Pennsylvania. The Berleburg Bible, published with the support of Count Kasimer of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg, was accepted by Mennonites and Brethren.

As to Christopher Sower's early life in Germany, little trustworthy information is at hand. The family is said to have been originally of the Reformed faith. According to some accounts, the first trade that Sower acquired was that of tailor. Frederick Kapp, a historian of recognized ability, says he learned spectacle making in

Germany, gained a good education and wrote German according to the better standards of a time when the written language was still unsettled.

Dr. Martin G. Brumbaugh seemed to resent the assertion that Sower was a tailor, and held he was a graduate of the University of Marburg and studied medicine at Halle, being a doctor of medicine. But Dr. Julius F. Sachse, whose research in Pennsylvania German history has made many another writer his debtor, could not find Sower's name registered as a student either at the University of Marburg or the University of Halle, and he believed Sower picked up what knowledge of the use of medicines he acquired from Dr. Christopher Witt, in Germantown. (3)

Sower's wife was named Maria Christina. Their only child, Christopher, was born in Laasphe September 26, 1721.

II—IN LANCASTER COUNTY

Of the family's stay in Pennsylvania for the first two years following their arrival in the autumn of 1724, existing records are vague. In all likelihood most of this time was spent in Germantown, where Peter Becker, whom they had known in Germany, was minister of the Brethren congregation.

In 1726 Sower and some of the Germantown Brethren made their home in Lancaster County.

A leader among the Lancaster County Brethren was Johann Conrad Beissel, who previously had spent some time in Germantown, learning the weaving trade with Peter Becker. At the age of 30, Beissel had come to America, in 1720, from Germany, his purpose being to join the community of Pietists which had been estab-

lished on the Wissahickon in the later years of the preceding century. But he found the community had disintegrated. So after a stay in Germantown he went to the Conestoga Valley, later Lancaster County, in 1721, and he and a companion settled in a cabin on the banks of Mill Creek, a branch of Conestoga Creek. Imbued with Pietistic fervor and yearning for the life of a hermit in the wilderness, or at least a secluded community shielded from the sins of the world, they spent much time conducting religious meetings, a congregation of the Brethren being organized. There was continual intercourse between them and the Germantown Brethren. Soon the Conestoga Brethren began keeping Saturday as the Sabbath, but in this practice Becker and his Germantown congregation refused to follow.

Simon König, who had accompanied Beissel from Germany, bought 500 acres of land in the Conestoga region, in 1726. It bordered Mill Creek, in Leacock Township, in the region where Beissel was active. König divided the tract into farms which he sold. One of the buyers was Christopher Sower, who acquired fifty acres. Another was Johannes Hildebrand, also from Germantown, whose portion was 168½ acres. Hildebrand became one of the leaders among the Seventh-Day Brethren, and meetings for worship were held in his home.

Just how closely Sower identified himself with Beissel's congregation is not readily determined. There is an ambiguous passage in the Ephrata Chronicles which has been interpreted to mean that Sower was one of a number of converts whom Beissel baptized on Whitsunday, June 9, 1728. At any rate it is quite clear that Sower's wife was heartily in accord with Beissel and his teachings. She was re-baptized and her adherence to

the congregation brought about estrangement between her and her husband. Later, when Beissel founded his community at Ephrata, with its brother house and sister house, Mrs. Sower entered the sister house, being known as Sister Marcella, and after a time she became subprioress.

Much gossip resulted about Beissel's relations with the women of his flock, incidental to the desertion of their husbands by Mrs. Sower and another woman, and in 1730 Beissel and two girls were arrested. But the prosecution was adjudged to be due to a misunderstanding, and the accused persons were released. Beissel afterward published a book to explain his views on matrimony.

III—EARLY OCCUPATION IN GERMANTOWN

The loss of his wife is believed to have been the chief cause in leading Sower to give up his farm and return to Germantown. This he did in 1731, bringing his son with him. He worked first as a carpenter, cabinet-maker and wheelwright, and then took up the repairing of clocks. Gradually the latter became his principal occupation, and he was known as a clockmaker. But he also sold books and medicines, which he imported. ⁽³⁾

Some accounts of Sower have credited him with inventing and casting the "jamb stove." The story seems to have originated with John Fanning Watson, author of the "Annals of Philadelphia," and as Watson lived in Germantown he no doubt picked up the tradition there. Dr. Henry C. Mercer, an authority on the stoves of the early Pennsylvania Germans, has shown that jamb stoves were in use in Germany as early as the year 1500 and that plates for such stoves were imported from Germany into Pennsylvania before Sower's time. As jamb stoves were in common use in the region of Sower's

nativity, he may have sold them in Germantown and perhaps made some improvements in their construction. They were called jamb stoves because they were set in the jamb, or side wall, of the fireplace in such a way that they could heat an additional room on the other side of the wall. These early stoves were virtually iron boxes composed of six plates.

Dr. Mercer found in the account books of some old-time furnaces of Pennsylvania that stove plates were cast for Sower, the earliest such account being in 1743 at Mount Pleasant Furnace, near Boyertown, Berks County. (⁴)

It has been suggested that possibly Sower became interested in casting stove plates in Lancaster County before coming to Germantown.

William McCulloch, of Philadelphia, who early in the nineteenth century gathered information about printers of the preceding century, was told that a Sower stove could be seen in Sower's Germantown house, then still standing. He visited the house. "Widow Wolf," who lived in the house, told McCulloch that about thirty years before that time her husband had traded the Sower stove for a new stove. She described it as being six feet high, five feet long and attached at one end to the chimney. In the stove were two ovens, one over the other. (¹⁶)

Other occupations in which Sower is said to have been engaged are those of distiller, farrier, tanner, book-binder, lampblack maker, maker of printer's ink and maker of button moulds. Numerous writers have asserted that he also made paper. In this matter, as in others, the father has been confused with the son. The father never operated a paper mill, but the son did.

True to its name, Germantown, not quite half a century old when Sower settled there, was a town populated by Germans—the largest community of German immigrants in America. The thinly settled village extended for three miles along Germantown road, or Germantown Main street, as it was known to the inhabitants and designated in deeds. From its founding, in 1683, until 1707 Germantown had had its own independent government. But now it was a village in the Township of Germantown, in the County of Philadelphia. The community had five religious congregations—Quaker, Mennonite, Brethren, Lutheran and Reformed—and all except the Quakers held their services in the German language.

It cannot be said positively where Sower lived and had his place of business during his early years in Germantown. Dr. Sachse assumed he had his home on land of John Adam Gruber, on the east side of Germantown avenue, opposite Queen lane, where it is known that the Sower house stood in later times. It is possible, however, that the house he first occupied was upon a different site from that of the later dwelling and shop.

In the assessment of land owners who paid quit rent, in 1734, three years after Sower's return to Germantown, he is listed as the owner of six acres in Germantown. But the first deed on record in Philadelphia showing the purchase of land by Sower is dated August 14, 1750, nineteen years after he had returned to Germantown from Lancaster County. By this deed John Adam Gruber transferred to Christopher Sauer, clockmaker, a tract of land with a frontage of seventy-eight feet, four inches, on the main street of Germantown and a depth of 146 poles, eleven feet, and comprising six acres. The consideration named was £35, and the property was sub-

ject to a yearly quit rent of the "one-third part of two pieces of eight," payable to the Frankfort Company. No mention is made of a dwelling on the land.

As this tract consisted of six acres, it may have been the same that was assessed in Sower's name in 1734. Sower probably dwelt here and owned the land before it was conveyed to him by deed, for such often was the case in colonial times, buyer and seller coming to an agreement as to the purchase of land, though the deed was not recorded until many years afterward, or perhaps never.

On the property described in the deed of 1750 the Sower house of later times, with the printing establishment attached, was erected.

John Adam Gruber, from whom the tract was bought, was identified with the religious ferment of the eighteenth century. He attended some of the meetings looking toward religious unity which Count Zinzendorf inspired and was there classified as a "separatist." In 1736 he issued a pamphlet of twenty-six pages appealing to the various religious sects to abandon their animosity.

Wherever it was that Sower was living in the early 1730's, he was selling and repairing clocks and selling medicines and books. Both medicines and books came from the Francke Institution, in Halle, Germany, a great Lutheran enterprise founded by the Rev. August Herman Francke, which now had some twenty departments. There was an orphanage, a theological school, a medical branch where a variety of remedies for the ills of man were manufactured, a publishing house, and so on. It was the foremost charitable organization in Europe, and it was the center of the Pietistic movement in the Lutheran church—the revolt against the formalism which had gained sway after the Reformation. Pietism, as Dr.

Francke preached it, called for the assertion of the principles of religion in daily life rather than in a mere verbal acceptance of doctrine.

Sower offered for sale both the Halle Bibles according to the translation of Martin Luther and the new Berleburg version prepared to meet the requirements of those who held to a more mystical theology than that of the Lutheran or Reformed churches. However, as the Berleburg Bible was in eight volumes and cost £4, 15 shillings, few Pennsylvania farmers were able to buy it. As Lutheran and Reformed pastors came to Pennsylvania, they were supplied direct from Halle or elsewhere in Germany with Bibles and other religious book, which they sold to the people, thus cutting into Sower's trade.

IV—ESTABLISHES HIS PRINTING SHOP

In buying and selling books Sower's thoughts were directed to the desirability of publishing books here in Pennsylvania. Though, because of his wife's desertion, he had a grievance against the leader of the Seventh-Day Brethren community in Lancaster County, Sower nevertheless seems to have continued on friendly terms with some members of that community, especially with the minority who were not enthusiastic about Beissel's leadership. As Beissel's congregation at Ephrata developed, it required the printing of literature to expound the peculiar theological views of the founder. Beissel had some printing done in the early 1730's by Benjamin Franklin, in Philadelphia. The shrewd Franklin saw the desirability of providing printing facilities for the growing German settlements of Pennsylvania, and in 1732 he undertook to issue a German newspaper, which was a translation of his English paper. This was the first German newspaper in America. But only a few num-

bers appeared. Franklin lacked competent German printers, and the work he did for Beissel was not satisfactory.

In 1735 Sower began casting about for means to acquire a printing outfit. On June 15 of that year, despite the fact that he was not a Lutheran, he wrote to Dr. Gotthilf August Francke, superintendent of the Halle Institution, asking that a press and type be sent to him. Dr. Francke referred the request to the Rev. Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, the Lutheran court preacher in London who was interesting himself in behalf of German settlers in Pennsylvania. To Ziegenhagen Francke explained he could not supply the printing equipment, and he doubted whether it would be worth while to do so if he could.

But from another source Sower, in 1738, did obtain the desired outfit. He wrote in a letter, November 17, 1738: "Therefore I longed to set up a German printing establishment here, which N. bought for me and has forwarded to this place." For some unexplained reason Sower wanted to keep secret the name of the person who aided him. The use of "N." in this way in German is customary to indicate anonymity and is not the initial of the real name.

The following year, incidental to a controversy in which he became involved with Conrad Beissel, Sower briefly referred to his founding of the printing house. He wrote that he had "some facility in acquiring the different kinds of craftsmanship without much trouble." and, desiring to dedicate the remainder of his life "to my God and his son Jesus Christ * * in such a way that my fellowmen should be benefited by it," he had decided to obtain a printing press, which he did with the aid of Jacob Gass, a Dunker.

Jacob Gass was a member of Beissel's Ephrata community. He and Johannes Hildebrand, also one of the community, were printers, and they and perhaps others from Ephrata came to Germantown at times in the early years of Sower's venture to assist in the printing shop. Not being a printer himself, Sower needed the aid of men who had acquired that trade.

One tradition says that the first press was built in Germantown. Another story is that friends in Germany sent it to Sower.

As for the type with which the new shop was equipped, it is definitely known that it was imported from Germany, having been cast by a noted typefoundry in Frankfort-on-the-Main. How this was accomplished was revealed in 1938, when the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Sower press was observed in Germantown. The D. Stemple Type Foundry, of Frankford-on-the-Main, made available certain correspondence in its possession dealing with the Sower venture in 1738, and the Germantown Historical Society printed an English translation of some of these letters. ⁽²⁰⁾

In this correspondence was a letter written by Christian Schütz, of Homburg von der Höhe, Germany, to Dr. Heinrich Ehrenfried Luther, proprietor of the typefoundry in Frankfort-on-the-Main, dated October 4, 1740. Schütz was the author of some religious books that found their way to Pennsylvania, and about a decade earlier Christopher Sower had written to Schütz telling of the need of such books among the German settlers in America. Thereupon Schütz sent a large parcel of books to Pennsylvania. An interchange of letters ensued between Sower and Schütz, Sower revealing his desire

to establish a press in Pennsylvania, to provide the literature so sorely needed. Sower sought Schütz's aid in procuring type. This matter Schütz referred to Dr. Luther in Frankfort, and he supplied "five or six hundredweight" of type. Schütz shipped the type to Sower. There was not enough type in the first consignment to meet Sower's needs and in 1740 more was forwarded.

This noted Frankfort typefoundry had its beginning in 1533, Christian Egenolff having established it. Johann Luther became the owner in 1626. For many years it was the principal typefoundry of Germany. Subsequent generations of the Luther family operated it until 1780. Dr. Heinrich Ehrenfried Luther, who made the type for Sower, also supplied other American printing houses with type. Benjamin Franklin was his guest on a visit to Frankfort in 1768. The foundry was discontinued in 1810. The modern Stemple typefoundry began activities in 1895, and it acquired some type matrixes of the old Luther foundry.

In the letter of Schütz to Dr. Luther in 1740 he quoted from a letter regarding Sower which he had received, in 1739, from Springfield Manor, in Pennsylvania. The name of the writer of the latter letter is not given. There was a Gerhard Heinrich Schütz who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1739 and who subsequently operated a paper mill in Springfield Manor, now Springfield Township, Montgomery County, bordering Germantown on the north. Being a papermaker, he would have been interested in printing shops because they could use the product of his mill. It may have been he who wrote in 1739 to Christian Schütz, in Germany, telling about Christopher Sower's activities in Germantown. In Pennsylvania the name originally written Schütz became Scheetz. As transmitted to Dr. Luther by Christian

Schütz, the Springfield Manor letter, dated October 6, 1739, read thus:

“Our friend Sower is a wise and much esteemed man here in this land; he has built a two-story stone house in Germantown, besides a turning and glazier shop that is very workmanlike, and this summer he erected a building for his book printing establishment, in which he will also burn lampblack, which he needs in part for his printing shop, the remainder being sold wholesale and retail; so that at present he carries on six trades, namely:

“1) Doctor of chirurgy and bloodletting, and a small apothecary shop, which I reckon as one.

“2) Clockmaking, for he makes tall and small clocks, receiving for the small ones that only show the time 10 Reichsthaler and for the others 40 to 50 Reichsthaler.

“3) Turning, receiving 12 to 13 shillings for a spinning wheel.

“4) The glazier shop, where he also makes the frames and the lead grooves [for windows], for one of which he receives 30 to 40 florins.

“5) The printing shop, by which he has already earned perhaps 1000 florins, beyond what the employes cost.

“6) The lampblack factory.

“His family consists of three persons, namely, himself, his wife and their son, who now is twenty-some years old, and because his wife has been living for the past ten years in the great cloister of the Seventh-Day Brethren at Ephrata, Lancaster County, he has in her place an elderly woman as maid, who is his housekeeper. However, he can get along very well without his wife, and

now lives much more quietly than when she was with him."

Sower received some early financial assistance from Conrad Weiser, a leader among the Germans in the Tulpehocken region who gave important service to the province in negotiations with the Indians. Weiser, though originally a member of the Tulpehocken Reformed congregation succumbed to the influence of Beissel and joined in a secession from the Reformed fold, being for a time in active accord with the Ephrata community, though later becoming a Lutheran. Weiser pledged his credit with Benjamin Franklin, in 1736, to supply Sower with paper, as Franklin at that time apparently controlled the entire available paper supply. (3)

Some years later Sower advertised that he would pay a penny a pound for linen rags, up to 10 p. m., but he warned those having rags to sell not to come at midnight. These rags were no doubt forwarded to one of the paper mills.

Ink was made by boiling linseed oil and mixing lamp-black with it. Long stirring was necessary, and as a vile odor arose the work was usually done in a field far from houses. The Sowers probably made their own ink as long as they were engaged in printing.

It would be of interest to determine just what was the first product of the Sower press. Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker believed it was a broadside entitled "Eine ernste Ermahnung an Junge und Alte," a translation of an English religious appeal to young and old, the author of which was Benjamin Padlin. Governor Pennypacker based his opinion that this was the first thing Sower printed from the fact that Sower, on November 17, 1739, wrote as follows to the Geistliche Fama, in Europe:

"Where shall I find words to praise the good God? So great are my obligations to Him, may my all be to His service and the honor of His name. This was in weakness my thirst and desire, because of the many blessings I have received since I have been here and through my whole life. I have therefore wished to begin a German printing establishment here, which was bought for me and sent here. Now I could find no more suitable Vehiculum to make it known through the land than first to print an Almanac, of which I send you only the title page, together with the print of a translation from the English."

From this Governor Pennypacker deduced that the first number of the almanac was not yet completed, or Sower would have sent an entire copy, and therefore the printing of the translation of the Padlin appeal must have preceded the almanac. Only two copies of this broadside have been preserved.

V—THE ALMANAC

Though the Padlin broadside and perhaps other small items may have been printed in 1738, the chief product of Sower's press in that first year of its operation was the Almanac for 1739, the first of the series of almanacs that was continued as long as the two Sowers conducted the Germantown printing house and for many years afterward by other printers.

The title of the almanac is "Der Hoch-Deutsche Americanische Calender"—"The High German American Almanac." Besides the calendar for the twelve months, the pamphlet of twenty-four pages, with cover, contained the phases of the moon, the aspects of the planets, the time for the rising and setting of the sun, information of eclipses, time of court sessions and fairs,

hygienic notes, a chronology of events, interest table, road distances and announcements of books for sale.

For many years the almanac had a wide circulation all along the Atlantic seaboard wherever there were German settlements. In many a household it was the most generally read bit of literature. It was for a long time the only German almanac in America, though it was not the first issued in that language, for Andrew Bradford, of Philadelphia, had published a German almanac for 1731, 1732 and 1733. Franklin printed a German almanac for 1748, but it was not continued. So great was the demand for the Sower almanac that sometimes the supply was exhausted before all who wanted to buy it could obtain copies.

In those times, when few letters were exchanged and scarcely any newspapers were to be had, the almanac fulfilled a high function in the household. Without it confusion sometimes occurred as to the day of the week and the month. It is related that in 1735 some members of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania arrived in Philadelphia a week before the date designated for the meeting of the Council because they had no almanacs at home, and consequently the government had to pay the board of these members during the additional week they were forced to spend in Philadelphia. A woman member of one of the Reformed congregations known for her devoutness failed to appear for the Sunday service, and when a friend visited her home to inquire whether she was sick she was found busy at the washtub, not having realized it was Sunday. Another story of the same period is about a clergyman who, on his way to conduct church services, discovered a group of men hauling logs, and when he reproved them for working on Sunday the

ZIONITISCHER

Sebrauchs Bügel

Oder:

Seyrben Berg,

Worinnen allerley liebliches und wohl riechen-
des nach Apotheker: Kunst zubereitet
Auch: Werck zu finden.

Bestehend

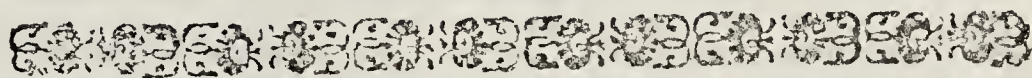
In allerley Liebes: Wirkungen der in GOTT
geheiligten Seelen, welche sich in vieler und mancherley
geistlichen und lieblichen Liedern aus gebildet.

Als darinnen

Der letzte Ruff zu dem Abendmahl des groß-
sen Gottes auf unterschiedliche Weise
trefflich aus gedrucket ist;

Zum Dienst

Der in dem Abend: Ländischen Welt: Theil als
bey dem Untergang der Sonnen erweckten Kirche
Gottes, und zu ihrer Ermunterung auf die
Mitternächtlige Zukunft des Bräutigams
ans Licht gegeben.



Verantwort: Gedruet bey Christoph Sauer. 1739

THE FIRST IMPORTANT SOWER BOOK

It was a hymnal of 800 pages, printed in 1739 for the Seventh-day Brotherhood at Ephrata. A fac-simile of the title page is shown.

astonished men explained they did not know it was Sunday. ⁽⁶⁾

The Sower almanac retained its original form and size until 1743, when it was enlarged to thirty-two pages. On the front page of the cover an engraving displayed a flying angel with a wand and two serpents in one hand and a scroll in the other, the scroll bearing a motto. Occasional changes were made in the motto. About the middle of the eighteenth century it was "Krieg und Kriegs Geschrei"—"War and Rumors of War." In 1765 it was "Kümmertliche Zeiten"—"Troublesome Times." From 1767 on there was a more optimistic motto: "Hoffnung besserer Zeiten"—"Hope for Better Times"—and this was retained by the printers following the Sowers.

A second enlargement, to thirty-six pages, was made in 1748. More medical advice and receipts were printed, adding to the almanac's popularity, so that in 1750 four more pages were added, and later it consisted of forty-eight pages.

In pursuance of the desire to give his readers the benefit of knowledge about easily obtained medical remedies, Sower in 1762 began printing descriptions of herbs from a German herbal, and installments were continued yearly, being completed in 1778, when an index was published. The publication of this material from year to year was one reason why so many families preserved the almanac.

Another installment feature, begun in 1763 and continued until 1778, consisted of a history of England.

Weather forecasts were a favorite feature of the almanac. Many readers looked upon the almanac as almost infallible, and when the weather was not in accordance with the forecast it was difficult for them to under-

stand the discrepancy. Curious stories have come down as to the dependence placed upon the weather forecasts. Once a man named Welker, living in the upper Perkio-men region, planned to travel to Philadelphia. He consulted the almanac and found the weather was to be fair, so he did not place a cover on his wagon. When he was half way to the city rain fell. Passing through German-town he called at the printing shop to berate the printer for his blunder about the weather. He had to be content with Sower's explanation: "I made the almanac, but the Lord God made the weather." Another man who went out without his overcoat because mild weather was promised in the almanac suffered a chill and thereupon denounced Sower. The printer's advice was: "Always take along an overcoat, no matter what the weather may be."

Finally, because of persistent complaints about erroneous forecasts, Sower printed an explanation in the almanac in which he tried to make clear the limitations of his weather lore. He told naively how he obtained his predictions. He did not engage an astronomer, but copied the weather from English almanacs, and in the endeavor to attain accuracy he bought six different almanacs, and, finding that no two agreed on the weather, he did the best he could to effect some sort of compromise among the various forecasts, depending upon his own judgment to select what was best.

He found variations in the several almanacs as to the rising and setting of the moon, and he strove especially to get that right. He believed he had succeeded well enough for all practical purposes. The weather forecasts, he admitted, were nothing but conjecture, yet he believed that by a proper observation of the "signs of

the heavens," the moon and the stars, it was possible to make fairly accurate predictions about the weather.

Sower hesitated about printing the saints' days in his almanac. Such a practice he regarded as a concession to "popery." Yet many Protestants sowed and planted on certain saints' days, and for their benefit the saints' days were included in the almanac, the publisher piously expressing the hope that no harm would result.

An instance of the regard for certain days was supplied by July 15, the day when, according to ancient belief, the apostles of Jesus were directed to go into all the world and preach the gospel. As it was a day of dispersal, farmers believed it was the best day of the year for dispersing or destroying bugs and lice.

When the almanac for 1750 was set up no mention was made therein of Shrove Tuesday, or "Fastnacht." After part of the edition had been printed someone discovered the omission, and it was rectified. In his newspaper Sower made an explanation in which he characterized the observance of Shrove Tuesday as "one of the greatest follies," but added: "Whoever will commit Shrove Tuesday foolishness according to the old custom may do it seven weeks before Easter." (7)

Nevertheless, as certain European almanacs presented saints' days in red ink, Sower put aside his scruples in 1748 to the extent of adopting the same plan, though the use of two colors involved much additional press work. Blank leaves for memoranda were also included in part of the edition that year. It was necessary to increase the price of the two-color edition to 1 shilling, the previous price having been 9 pence. Because of protests about the higher price, two editions were printed for 1749, one in two colors at a shilling and the

other in one color at 9 pence. For 1750 both editions were offered at 9 pence. The use of red and black ink in the almanac continued until 1754.

While the printers were at work on the almanac for 1752 Sower learned that the British Parliament had passed a law rectifying the calendar by taking out eleven days, this surplus having accumulated under the calendar in use since the time of Julius Caesar because it assumed that the year consisted of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, whereas the true length of the year was some minutes less. The printing of the almanac was delayed with the hope that definite information as to the law might arrive in time to permit the necessary changes in the calendar. As nothing further was known by October 1, 1751, Sower became anxious. Finally, about the middle of the month, Sower obtained the text of the act of Parliament, which had received the royal approval on May 22. In accordance with the new law, the eleven days were omitted from the month of September, 1752, September 2 being followed immediately by September 14. Thus September, 1752, had only nineteen days.

Throughout the 1750's the almanac contained dialogues on topics of the times, abounding in pious admonitions. Some readers complained about the dialogue form, saying they preferred narrative.

For several years beginning with 1755 an almanac in the English language was issued from the Sower press, entitled "The Pennsylvania Town and Countrymen's Almanac." This was smaller than the German almanac, and the name of Christopher Sower, Jr., appeared as that of the publisher.

The Sower almanac encountered considerable competition in the 1760's. Besides Franklin's English alma-

nac, which had appeared yearly since 1733, Anton Armbruster, of Philadelphia, began publishing a German almanac in 1760, a feature of which consisted of articles on American history, and two years later Heinrich Miller's German almanac appeared in Philadelphia for the first time.

Upon the confiscation and sale of the property of the second Christopher Sower, in 1778, John Dunlap, a Philadelphia printer who bought much of the printing material, became the owner of the engraved plate used for the cover of the Sower almanac, and he continued to print the almanac under its old name until 1784. A similar cover also appeared on an almanac which Theophilus Cossart, of Lancaster, published. In 1784 Peter Leibert, who had established a printing shop in the upper part of Germantown, acquired the plate from Dunlap. He and subsequently his son-in-law, Michael Billmeyer, continued to print the almanac in the old form until 1835, and thereafter William W. Walker, Third street, Philadelphia, issued what he called the Germantown Almanac until the eighties, the eighteenth century engraving with the legend "*Hoffnung besserer Zeiten*" still doing duty on the cover. (6)

VI—SOWER'S NEWSPAPER

Soon after Sower had set up his printing house suggestions reached him that he publish a newspaper. In the almanac for 1739, discussing these suggestions, Sower wrote: "We are not at all inclined to destroy precious time in such a manner as each week to be hunting something that is of no use or benefit, much less write lies and falsehoods, as is now too much the common way of the world. But for all we are willing to publish

such intelligences as are true and from which good may be hoped as often as there may be occasion to do so."

Thus early was Sower confronted with the problem that many another editor has faced since his day—the problem as to the trustworthiness of so-called news. But few editors since Sower's time have been quite so scrupulous as he in their treatment of news.

In compliance with the policy announced, Sower occasionally issued broadsides giving information of general interest, and these were distributed gratuitously in churches, markets and elsewhere.

In 1739 he concluded to print a newspaper, and a sample number was issued, dated August 20 of that year. Copies were distributed with the almanac for 1740, which contained a prospectus of the newspaper. Announcing his plans, Sower said:

"As there are in this country (for which God be thanked) but few learned men, the majority being either native born or farmers and mechanics, we shall therefore make use of a very plain and simple style, so that it may be understood by all." (21)

The publisher was unwilling to bind himself to print the paper at definitely designated intervals, but he promised it would appear four times a year, in February, May, August and November. The subscription price was 3 shillings a year. For a name this elaborate designation was adopted: "Der Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Geschichts-Schreiber, Oder: Sammlung Wichtiger Nachrichten aus dem Natur und Kirchen-Reich," which may be translated thus: "The High German Pennsylvania Recorder of Events, or Collection of Important News from the Realm of Nature and the Church."

The first number consisted of four pages, each nine and one-half by seven inches. There were two columns to the page.

The top third of the first page was taken up with the heading. Then followed an address to the reader which comprised principally a review of conditions in Europe, with allusions to wars then in progress. This continued to the second column on page 2, where a proclamation of Lieutenant Governor George Thomas began, ending on page 4. On the latter page there were some rhymes, and several paragraphs of news headed "Germantown." Most of the latter space was taken up with an account of an attack by ruffians upon farmers in Frederick Township. At the end of the second column on the last page were two advertisements giving information that a gold coin and a man's coat had been found on the street and that the owners could recover them at the printing office.

Though quarterly issues were contemplated, the paper seems to have been printed monthly, at least from the beginning of 1741, it being dated the 16th of each month.

It was the first successful German newspaper in America. Seven years earlier Benjamin Franklin had attempted to found a German newspaper in Philadelphia, but only a few numbers thereof came from his press.

Ere long subscribers wanted the paper oftener than once a month. Sower announced in 1743 that he was unwilling to attempt weekly issues because of the lack of trustworthy news reports, and then he gave an insight into editorial methods of two centuries ago. He said he was getting sixteen papers every month, and in all of

them he found scarcely enough matter having the semblance of truth and usefulness to fill his monthly.

For a hundred years longer most editors depended upon their exchanges for material to fill their columns. They did not regard it as their duty to "go out and hustle for news" in the modern way. If someone brought a well written article to the office it might be printed. But the editor would not himself investigate any happening of moment for the purpose of writing an account thereof. If Sower had occasionally looked about him and written of contemporaneous happenings of which he must have been aware, such files of his paper as have been saved, valuable though they are to the historian in their present form, would possess incalculably greater interest. However, untrained as he was both in printing and in journalism, Sower could not have been expected to advance beyond the newspaper standards of his time—though he did strive to do so by printing only what he deemed trustworthy.

The greatest piece of news ever printed in the Sower paper—that of the founding of the United States—was in the issue of July 3, 1776. On an inside page were three lines, without heading, which may be translated thus:

"Yesterday the Continental Congress declared the united colonies to be free and independent states."

The fact that this was printed on July 3, a day before the Declaration of Independence was adopted, should not be interpreted to mean that the second Christopher Sower, then the editor, had resorted to modern methods of "anticipating" the news. The paragraph referred to the adoption of the resolution for independence by the Continental Congress on July 2.

The somewhat sneering allusion to other newspapers

in the announcement of 1743 that has been quoted, regarding weekly issues, suggests a censorious attitude on the part of Sower toward the rest of humanity, and that attitude frequently asserted itself in his writings.

Yet in this very announcement there was a strange outburst of generosity not at all in comport with modern journalism, for Sower concluded by advising those who were not satisfied with his monthly issues that Joseph Crellius, of Philadelphia, was about to publish a weekly newspaper, and they were at liberty to subscribe for it. Crellius did begin his paper, but it did not long survive.

Sower's quaint straightforwardness was also in evidence in 1748 when he printed Gotthard Armbruster's prospectus for a newspaper which he purposed establishing in Philadelphia, Sower begged that those dilatory and dishonest subscribers who did not pay him for their papers might not serve Armbruster as they had Sower. Armbruster had learned the printing trade with Sower. No copies of his newspaper are known to be in existence. It certainly was not continued longer than a year.

Editorials in the modern manner were unknown in newspapers of Sower's time. But he gave frequent utterance to his personal opinions in news articles. Often that comment was severely critical and sometimes it was churlish. Here is what Conrad Weiser wrote in a letter from Germantown, dated February 23, 1747/8, after a talk with Sower about something that had appeared in his paper:

"I have been with Christopher Sauer and discoursed with him about the matter in dispute. He thinks he is in the right; at least he says so, and what he has published he thinks he was moved to by divine power, for he sayd Christ will judge all things upon earth, laying his hand on his breast, and said

he could do no other ways. I left him to his notion, and took my leave of him for this time."

Beginning in October, 1756, Sower published his newspaper twice a month. He then made an arrangement with Anton Armbruster, who, in conjunction with Benjamin Franklin, was publishing a semi-monthly newspaper in Philadelphia, that the Sower and Armbruster newspapers should appear in alternate weeks, so that those who demanded a weekly newspaper might be accommodated by subscribing for both publications.

Advertising was at first inserted gratis. But so much was offered that a charge was made to non-subscribers. In 1755 it was announced that advertisements of general interest would appear gratis, while for those of a "private nature" 5 shillings must be paid for three insertions, provided the advertisement was not too large. The publisher requested advertisers, if their stray animals were recovered or if other purposes of the advertisement were attained before the three issues for which they paid had been printed, to notify him so that he could take out the advertisement, as his columns were crowded. In such circumstances 2 shillings would be returned if there was only one insertion, and if the advertisement was printed twice there would be a rebate of 1 shilling. Occasionally to accommodate patrons whose advertisements were urgent but arrived late they were printed in the margin of the paper.

To the historical student the advertisements of Sower's newspaper are of as much interest as the reading matter, for they reveal more as to customs and happenings of the period than do the long articles copied from European publications. They tell of farms for sale, give notice of runaway slaves, redemptioners, ap-

prentices and wives, appeal for the return of stray cattle and announce new books and lottery drawings. ⁽²¹⁾

Sometimes the publisher inserted his own comment following advertisements. Illegible manuscript annoyed him, and after printing a name as it seemed to have been written he would add a note saying this was the best he could do as he was unable to read the scrawl.

In the issue of July 31, 1761, George Adam Weidner, of Amity Township, Berks County, advertised that his negro slave had run away. In the description of the negro his tattered clothing was mentioned. To this advertisement the publisher—then the second Christopher Sower—added the following in boldface type:

“It is to be wondered that that negro was so senseless as to run away barefoot and wearing old clothes. He should have put on new ones. If masters oftener did right and proper to their employes and remembered that they have a Lord in heaven (Col. 4:1), many would not run away, but money is the root of all evil.”

The size of the page was increased in 1752 to eight by thirteen inches. Notwithstanding increased space and more frequent issues, the subscription price remained 3 shillings a year as long as the paper was printed.

Sower announced in 1751 that his paper had 4000 subscribers and the list was still growing, though many neglected to pay. Abraham Harley Cassel, the bibliophile who gathered such files of the Sower paper as have been preserved and made a study of the paper's progress, was of the opinion that the circulation grew to 8000 or 10,000, which was enormous for those times.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadel-

phia, has a file of the Sower paper that is nearly complete from 1743 to 1761, and in the Schwenkfelder Historical Library, Pennsburg, Pa., is a file from March, 1749, to November, 1751.

As postal facilities were in an embryo stage then, the newspaper was distributed through agents, teamsters, merchants or farmers making periodical trips from the interior to Philadelphia. In the 1750's Henry Keppele, of Philadelphia, was distributing agent. Nevertheless much delay occurred in delivering papers to subscribers in the farming districts. Then George Honig was employed to carry the papers from Philadelphia to Lancaster, leaving bundles of Sower's and other issues with storekeepers and others, from whom subscribers might obtain them. At first the publishers paid for this service. Then an attempt was made to collect the charge from subscribers, but they protested. This led Sower to explain that if subscriptions were paid promptly he might be able to deliver the paper without making an additional charge, but some were now in arrears for six to eight years. By the English law, debts the payment of which was not demanded for seven years were outlawed. Eventually Honig refused to deliver the papers of those who did not pay him a fee.

One cause of delinquency in the payment of subscriptions was the difficulty of sending money. To overcome this Sower appointed agents in various centers of the German population. Among Sower's agents in 1750 were: David Daeschler, Philadelphia; Conrad Weiser, Tulpehocken; George Schwab, York; Ludwig Schreiber, Conewago; Caspar Schaffner, Lancaster, and Thomas Schley, Frederick, Md. In 1753 Jacob Billmeyer, York, was agent for the territory beyond the Susquehanna.

Because of the primitive postal service many letters

from Germany and elsewhere intended for settlers in interior Pennsylvania were addressed in care of the Sower newspaper. Sower would then advertise them, so the persons addressed might send for them.

The German and English languages often were curiously mixed in the newspaper. Numerous indications of the inception of the Pennsylvania German dialect may be found. Expressions in English in common use among the Germans assumed a strange aspect when they appeared in print. "Bill of sale" became "Bill of Säl." "Loan office" was written "Loan Affis." John Jones' name appeared as "Tchaun Tchons." Instead of translating "Shopkeeper" into pure German, it went into the paper as "Schappkieper." "Gentlemen" and "meeting house" were probably considered untranslatable terms, so they appeared as "Gentlemaenner" and "Meetinghaus." The German "für" developed into "vor." Other linguistic curiosities were:

English:	Sower:
Fences	Fensen
Laws	Laas
Leases	Lieses
Jimmy	Tchimmie
Berks County	Barricks County
Perkasie	Berkensee
Muddy Creek	Mode Creek

VII—FIRST IMPORTANT BOOK

While the almanac and the newspaper were important achievements, yet Sower's outstanding work was his printing of books. It was for that which he had primarily founded his printing shop and in which he had the greatest pride.

During the score of years that the first Christopher Sower was the head of this enterprise he produced more books and pamphlets, it has been said, than any other printing establishment in America. Moreover, all this was accomplished with primitive equipment. Only four quarto pages could be printed at a time on his press. But generally the workmanship was good, indicating that Sower employed capable printers.

His first notable book, completed in 1739, the second year of his printing shop, was a compilation of hymns issued for the Seventh-day Brotherhood at Ephrata, Lancaster County. Over this book occurred a curious controversy due to Sower's insistence upon censoring the printing done in his shop.

The title of the book, a sample of the mystical verbiage in which Conrad Beissel and his Ephrata associates delighted, was "Zionitischer Weyrauchs-Hügel, oder: Myrrhenberg, Worinnen allerley liebliches und wohl riechendes nach Apotheker-Kunst zubereitetes Rauch-Werck zu finden. Bestehend in allerley Liebes-Würckungen der in Gott geheilten Seelen, welche sich in vielen und mancherley geistlichen und lieblichen Liedern aus gebildet. Als darinnen der letzte Ruff zu dem Abendmahl des grossen Gottes auf unterschiedliche Weise trefflich aus gedruckt ist; Zum Dienst der in dem Abend-Ländischen Welt-Theil als bey dem Untergang der Sonnen erweckten Kirche Gottes, und in ihrer Ermunterung auf die Mitternächtige Zukunfft des Bräutigams ans Light gegeben."

In English this is: "Zionitic Mount of Incense, or Hill of Myrrh, it which may be found all manner of lovely and delightfully odorous incense prepared by the skill of the apothecary. Consisting of all manner of deeds

of love in souls blessed of God which are manifested in many and varied spiritual and lovely songs. Therein the last call to the communion of the great God is strikingly expressed in various ways; and brought to light for the use of the revived Church of God in the New World of the Setting Sun and for its cheer upon the midnight arrival of the Bridegroom."

This hymnbook which it was arranged that Sower should print for Beissel's congregation in 1739 comprised 691 selections, some written by Beissel and his associates at Ephrata and the others old favorites of the mystics in Europe. (3, 5)

Several members of the Ephrata community experienced in printing came to Germantown and set the type for the book and also read the proof. Nevertheless Sower, with the scrupulous, if not intrusive, disposition which was his, was not satisfied with taking the job and doing the work as those who paid for it wanted it done, but he insisted upon giving advice about the arrangement of the book when apparently his advice was not sought. He complained that Beissel and his associates were "sharp and particular" about the book. Furthermore he was annoyed—as many a printer has since been annoyed—because changes were made after the type had been set.

Sower scrutinized the theology of the hymns and found it unsatisfactory according to his standard. He discovered that "one foolish hymn followed another." Finally the climax was reached with hymn No. 400. After this had been set the printers were notified that a larger initial was to be used in place of the one they had chosen. Those who have had experience with printers may readily imagine the sultry comment called

forth by such an order in any printing shop, for it involved considerable resetting of type. But the additional work was not the chief cause of the eruption that followed in Sower's shop—at least not ostensibly. It was the theology of the hymn that stirred Sower into protest, and more especially the thirty-seventh stanza of the hymn.

They favored long hymns, those Ephrata brethren. This hymn had forty-four stanzas of four lines each. The thirty-seventh stanza read thus:

“Sehet, Sehet, Sehet an!
Sehet, Sehet an den Mann!
Der vor Gott erhöhet ist
Der ist unser Herr und Christ.”

This may be rendered literally in English in these words:

“Behold, behold, behold!
Behold, behold the man
Who is elevated of God,
He is our Lord and Christ.”

Sower construed this to be a deification of Beissel, leader of the Ephrata community. He wrote to Beissel asking him to omit the hymn from the book, saying: “A thousand pounds would not persuade me to print such a one for the reason that it leads the way to idolatry.”

Naturally Beissel refused to comply with the demand, and he replied sharply and haughtily. Then Sower printed a statement in which he resorted to mystical lore to confound Beissel, showing that a remarkable combination of stars ruled over Beissel. However, Beissel held that Sower was “entirely unfit to be a judge in godly affairs,” and the hymn remained in the book.

This volume of mystical verse was the first book

of love in souls blessed of God which are manifested in many and varied spiritual and lovely songs. Therein the last call to the communion of the great God is strikingly expressed in various ways; and brought to light for the use of the revived Church of God in the New World of the Setting Sun and for its cheer upon the midnight arrival of the Bridegroom."

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This volume of mystical verse was the first book

printed in America in German type. It consisted of 802 pages, and 1500 copies were issued.

According to Dr. Sachse, Brother Jabez, of the Ephrata community, supervised the printing and read the proof of the book, being assisted by Samuel Eckerling and Michael Wohlfarth, both brethren of the community. Brother Jabez was the Rev. Peter Miller, originally a clergyman of the Reformed church who, upon coming to Pennsylvania, had served several Reformed congregations but was converted to the faith of the Seventh-day Brethren and was long identified with the Ephrata community, becoming its leader after Beissel's death.

VIII—PRINTING THE BIBLE

Having demonstrated that with his equipment it was possible to print a large book, Sower's thoughts were now directed toward publishing the Bible. He had been selling Bibles imported from Germany, and thus he knew the possibilities of the market in Pennsylvania. Though, judging from his announcements, he had the welfare of the German settlers more in mind than any profit he might derive.

Sower issued a two-page prospectus in 1741, explaining on one side his plans for printing the Bible, and presenting a sample page of the new Bible on the reverse.

On March 26, 1742, Sower inserted the following in Andrew Bradford's *American Weekly Mercury*, Philadelphia:

"Whereas Numbers of the Dutch people in this province, especially of the New Comers, are thro' mere poverty unable to furnish themselves with Bibles in their own language, at the advanced price those which are brought from GERMANY are usually sold at here; Therefore CHRISTOPHER SAUER of GERMAN-

TOWN, proposes to print a High Dutch Bible in large Quarto, and in a Character that may be easily read even by old Eyes. And several well-meaning people having promised to contribute something toward the encouragement of the Work in general, that the Books may be offered cheaper to real poor persons whether Servants or others; Notice is hereby given, that the said Work (God willing) will be begun about the end of this Instant APRIL; and that some Judgment may be made of the Quantity necessary to be printed, all persons who are inclined to encourage the Work, or to have one or more of the said Bibles. may subscribe before that Time with the above said CHRISTOPHER SAUER in GERMANTOWN, or with ANDREW BRADFORD in PHILADELPHIA. 2s and 6d is to be paid down towards each Bible (for which Receipts will be given) and the Remainder on Delivery of the Books, which 'tis expected, will be delivered in about a Twelvemonth. If no Charitable Contributions towards it are received, the Price of each Bible will not exceed 14 Shillings, and it shall be as much Less as those Contributions will enable the printer to afford; of which Contributions a fair Account shall be given to the Publick.

“Germantown, March 26, 1742.”

The times seemed propitious for such a venture, for religious activities, long neglected among the German settlers, were now being stimulated. Count Zinzendorf, the Moravian leader, was busy in Pennsylvania in 1742, and that year Henry Melchior Muhlenberg arrived to organize the Lutherans. George Michael Weiss and John Philip Boehm had been founding Reformed congregations. George Whitefield, renowned for his eloquence, had gone through the province on his preaching tours which attracted throngs numbering thousands.

However, because of his affiliation with the Brethren and his sympathy for the various types of unorthodox Christians, Sower could expect little aid from the clergy-

men of the Lutheran, Reformed or Moravian faiths. Nevertheless he could count upon many purchasers of a moderately priced Bible among the Brethren, Mennonites and others of mystical and pietistic persuasions. It is true that for such the Berleburg Bible had been published, but it consisted of eight volumes, and its cost was too great for the average Pennsylvania farmer.

It was not Sower's purpose to copy the Berleburg Bible. He announced he would follow the thirty-fourth edition of Luther's translation printed in Halle. This step failed to win him much support among Lutheran and Reformed people, for they still suspected Sower of heresy, while many of the Brethren and Mennonites were displeased. To placate the latter Sower gave subscribers the privilege of including in their volumes the Third and Fourth Books of Ezra and the Third Book of Maccabees, which were printed in an appendix to the Apocrypha of some German Bibles and were in the Berleburg Bible, but not in the latest edition of the Halle Bible.

In his almanac for 1742 Sower invited contributions for his Bible project in language similar to that in the announcement quoted from Bradford's newspaper. Later he reported that only two small gifts for this fund had been sent to him, one coming from Germany, but nevertheless he reduced the price of stitched but unbound copies to 12 shillings. He gratefully announced that one man had ordered seven copies of the Bible for indigent Germans in his service. For a Bible "in ordinary binding and with clasps" the price was 18 shillings. The paper required for one volume, he added, cost 7 shilling, 6 pence. Andrew Bradford and Benjamin Franklin were designated as Philadelphia agents.

Work was begun on the printing in 1742, each im-

pression consisting of four pages. After fifteen months the first completed volumes were ready for delivery, in August, 1843. Twelve hundred quarto copies, of 1267 pages each, were printed, with the title page in red and back. The pages measured nine by six and one-quarter inches.

The title page read thus:

“BIBLIA, das ist: Die Heilige Schrift Altes und Neues Testament. Nach der Deutschen Übersetzung D. Martin Luthers, Mit jedes Capitels kurtzen Summarien, auch beygefügt vielen und richtigen Parallelen; Nebst dem gewöhnlichen Anhang des dritten und vierten Buchs Esrä und des dritten Buchs der Maccabaer. German-town: Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1743.”

“Gott sei Dank, es ist vollbracht!”—“Thank God, it is completed!”—the pioneer publisher is said to have exclaimed as the last sheet was pulled off the crude press.

Little is known as to the printers who worked for Sower at this time. Even the precise site of the printing shop cannot be determined, though undoubtedly it was somewhere on the six-acre tract on the east side of Germantown avenue, opposite Queen lane, title to which Sower acquired in 1750.

Dr. Sachse tells of a tradition that in the Sower shop of that time there hung upon the wall a motto reading: “Zur Ehre Gottes und des Nächsten Bestes”—“To the glory of God and the good of mankind.”

Few competent German printers were then in Pennsylvania. Several were members of the Ephrata community, and they had come to Germantown to aid in printing the hymn book of 1739. It is not unlikely that they also worked on the Bible and that Brother Jabez—the Rev. Peter Miller—read the proof. ⁽³⁾

Ein
Abgendschicktes

B e r i c h t,

Oder:
Zum öfftern begehrt

A n f w o r t,

Denen darnach fragenden dargelegt. In sich hal-
tendes: zwey Brieffe und deren
Ursach.

Dem noch angehänget worden eine Histoe-
rie von Doctor Schoetz und einige
Brieffe von demselben zu uns-
erem Zeiten nothig zu
werden.

—————

Germantown:

Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur 1739.

SOWER'S CONTROVERSY WITH BEISSEL

In this exceedingly rare book of 1739 the Germantown pub-
lisher gave his side of the dispute with the Ephrata leader. The
original type page measures five and one-half by three inches.

Abraham Harley Cassel was of the opinion that the Bible was printed upon the press that had been used for printing the Berleburg Bible, it having been sent to Sower upon completion of that work in Germany, in 1742.

Examination of copies of the Sower Bible reveals good mechanical work throughout. Several different fonts of type were used. Some of the type, at least, was procured from Dr. Heinrich Ehrenfried Luther's type-foundry and publishing house, in Frankfort-on-the-Main, Germany. There was also more than one kind of paper. Some sheets show the watermark of the paper mill of the Ephrata community. It was a theory of Dr. Sachse that the optional appendix to the apocryphal books might have been printed at Ephrata, though apparently the activities of the Ephrata press did not begin until 1745. Bibles for subscribers in Lancaster County were bound by the Ephrata Brethren. (3)

Sower in a preface to the Bible announced with pride that more than 100 typographical blunders in the Halle Bible had been corrected in his Bible. Nevertheless there is a glaring typographical error on the title page of most of the Sower edition. In the allusion to parallel passages the word appears "Parllelen."

The title page as originally set had the word spelled properly—"Parallelen." This original title page set forth that the book was Luther's version, "nebst dem gewöhnlichen Anhang"—"with the usual appendix." This appendix consisted of the optional apocryphal books, which, however, were not in the Halle edition that Sower announced as his copy. Criticism as to the accuracy of the title page was so well founded that, after a few books had been sold, a new title page was set and

printed, omitting the reference to the "usual appendix." The style of the page was somewhat changed, and in the resetting the omission of the "a" in "Parallelen" occurred. Perhaps Brother Jabez was no longer on duty as proofreader when the change was made.

But the chief criticism directed against the Bible was not because of typographical errors but because the clergy feared it contained theological errors. Lutheran and Reformed pastors warned their people not to buy the Sower Bible. They themselves were supplying Bibles that were above suspicion. Even one of the Schwenkfelder ministers, the Rev. Baltzer Hoffman, who might have been expected to be favorably inclined toward mystical doctrines, preached a sermon against the Sower Bible.

The Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who built the first Lutheran Church at Trappe the same year that Sower issued his Bible and who was trying to bring the scattered Lutherans into some kind of church organization, looked askance at Sower's Bible and told the Lutherans they should be satisfied with the Halle Bible, for which he was agent. A controversy ensued between Muhlenberg and Sower. Muhlenberg wrote, in March, 1745, that Sower "up to the present time has left no opportunity to pass to vilify me and my sacred office." Sower replied in his paper and almanac.

The Rev. Caspar Schnorr, a Reformed pastor in Lancaster County, was severe in his attacks on the new Bible, and succeeded in retarding the sale in that region.

While Sower had in the main followed the latest version of Luther's Bible, objection was made to the "Kurtzer Begriff" at the end of the New Testament because it contained expressions of personal opinion. This

was omitted from the Sower Bibles of 1763 and 1776. It was also pointed out that the appendix to the Apocrypha differed from Luther's translation. Sower explained that, as these books did not appear in the latest Halle edition, he had followed the Berleburg translation. And anyway buyers of the Bible could have copies not including this appendix if they so desired.

The greatest protest was directed at Job xix: 25-27 in the Sower Bible, the passage which in the King James version begins, "I know that my Redeemer liveth." For these paragraphs Sower used the Berleburg version, with Luther's translation added in small type, thus:

"25. Ja ich weiss, dasz mein Erlöser lebet, und er wird der letzte über den staub sich aufmachen.

"[Luth.—U. er wird mich hernach aus der erden auf-erwecken.]

"26. Und nachdem ich werde erwachen so werden diese dinge abgelegt seyn, und ich werde in meinem fleische GOTT schauen.

"[Luth.—Und werde darnach mit dieser meiner haut umgeben werden und werde in meinem fleisch GOTT sehen.]

"27. Denselben werde ich vor mich schauen und Meine augen werden es sehen und nicht was fremdes. Meine nieren sind verzehret in meinem schoos.

"[Luth.—Denselben werde Ich mir sehen, und meine augen werden ihn schauen, und kein fremder. Meine nieren sind verzthret in meinem-schoos.]"

Besides the attacks of the clergy, Sower had to encounter competition from another printer, Joseph Crellius, who took orders for imported German Bibles for less than their cost.

Despite the efforts of agents in different parts of the country to sell the Sower Bible, only about 300 copies had found buyers by January, 1746, and not until five

years after Sower's death, in 1758, was the entire edition of 1200 volumes exhausted.

To Dr. Heinrich Ehrenfried Luther, in Frankfort-on-the-Main, from whom Sower had procured type for the Bible, a consignment of the Bible was sent for distribution among libraries, influential persons and certain potentates in Europe. The ship carrying these Bibles to Europe was seized by pirates, but eventually the books reached their destination.

The Sower Bible, according to Isaiah Thomas, in his "History of Printing," was the "largest work that had issued from any press" in Pennsylvania up to that time. It was furthermore outstanding because it preceded the earliest American Bible in English by thirty-nine years.

By act of Parliament the privilege of printing the Bible was vested in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford and the King's printers. There is some question as to whether Sower had the legal right to print even a German Bible. However, the question was not raised. Because of the English law on the subject, it was not until after American independence was established that any American printer ventured to produce the Bible in English. The first to do so was Robert Aitken, of Philadelphia, in 1782. Meanwhile three editions of the German Bible had come from the Sower press.

One edition of the Bible was printed in America before that of Sower. This was John Eliot's translation of the Bible in the Indian language, published in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1663.

IX—PRODUCTS OF THE SOWER PRESS

Having dwelt upon the almanac, the newspaper, the first large hymn-book and the Bible, which were fore-

most products of the press of the elder Christopher Sower, it will now be in order to review the other issues of his press so far as they have been identified. In some instances not a copy of the books, pamphlets or broadsides named has been saved, and the only information obtainable about them is from Sower's advertisements in his newspaper and almanac. In other instances a single copy, or perhaps two, may still be consulted today, they having been preserved usually either by Abraham Harley Cassel or Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker.

In preparing the list here presented the chief sources of information have been Dr. Oswald Seidensticker's "The First Century of German Printing in America," published in 1893; a compilation of the Sower publications printed in the Sower Genealogy, which was the work of Charles G. Sower, and the catalogue of the sale of books belonging to Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker, in 1907.

1738

"Ein A, B, C und Buchstabier Buch." It is mentioned in the almanac of 1740 and may not have been printed until 1739.

"Der Frühling ist herby gekomme." Two pages.

"Mein Heyland du bist mir." Two pages.

"Oft hast du mir zugeruffen." One leaf.

"Eine ernstliche Ermahnung." One leaf.

"Hoch-Deutsche Americanische Calendar." For this and the successive editions, see above, "The Almonac."

1739

"Ein abgenöthigter Bericht." This relates to the controversy between Sower and Beissel over the hymn book for the Ephrata community.

"Hoch-Deutsch Pennsylvanischer Geschichtsschreiber." See above, "Sower's Newspaper."

"Weyrauchs-Hügel." See above, "First Important Book."

1740

"Georg Weitfield's Predigten." A translation of sermons by George Whitefield, in three parts. Part II consisted of three sermons with an introduction of two pages by Sower.

"Die Gefahr bei unbekehrten Predigern," by Gilbert Tennant. Translation of a sermon by the noted Presbyterian clergyman. 16 mo., 45 pages.

"Gewissenhafte Vorstellung vom Mangel rechter Kinder-Zucht." 16 mo., 32 pages. This treatise on child training does not bear Sower's imprint, but is believed to have come from his press.

"Extracts from the Laws of William Penn." Translated into German by Sower.

"Die Zeichen der neuen Geburth." Translation of a sermon by George Whitefield.

1741

"Bekanntmachung." Two pages. This was the prospectus of the Sower Bible.

"Einfältiche Warnungs—und Wächter-Stimme," by Johann Adam Gruber. Quarto, broadside. This was a rhymed exhortation of eleven stanzas of six lines each. Gruber was one of the mystical "Separatists." From him Sower bought the property in Germantown where he made his home.

"Die Gründe und Ursachen der Christlichen Wiedergeburt," by William Law. Translated from English. 16 mo., 95 pages.

"Eine Betrachtung der Trunkenheit." 16 mo., 56 pages.

"Dreyzehn Regeln aus Ludovica Blosio," translated into German by Bernhart Peter Karl. Broadside. The only known copy is in the Schwenkfelder Historical Library, Pennsburg, Pa.

1742

"Ausbund." 12 mo., 822 pages. With "Bekenntniß

von Thomas von Imbroich, 20 pages, and "Ein Wahrhaftiger Bericht von den Brüdern in Schweitzerland," 46 pages. The body of the volume was a collection of Mennonite hymns first published in 1583 in Europe and frequently reprinted. Some of the selections presented the stories of Mennonite martyrs.

"Bekanntmachung." Broadside, signed by Heinrich Antes and dated Frederick Township, Philadelphia County, September 15, 1742. Those wishing to hear Count Zinzendorf preach were herewith invited to come forward.

"Ein Zeugnis eines Betrübten," by Johann Adam Gruber. 12 mo., eight pages; five pages in prose and three in verse, apparently in opposition to Count Zinzendorf.

"Kurtzer doch nötiger Bericht," by Johann Adam Gruber.

"Hirten-Lieder von Bethlehem." 12 mo., 138 pages. A collection of 369 hymns which Count Zinzendorf had Sower print for him. It was the first Moravian book printed in Pennsylvania.

"Das kleine A, B, C in der Schule Christi," from the works of Thomas á Kempis. Broadside.

"Vorschläge zur Errichtung einer Deutschen Schule," by Count Zinzendorf. A handbill dated Germantown, March 22, 1742, but without signature, announcing plans to open a school in Germantown. Count Zinzendorf did subsequently establish such a school, under control of the Moravians, and later it was transferred to Bethlehem.

"Allen Teutschen Eltern." Broadside about the Moravian school.

"Bekanntmachung an alle deutschen Townshippes." A Zinzendorf broadside.

"Einige Gedichte und Lieder." This is mentioned in Charles G. Sower's list, but no copy is known to exist.

"Wahrer Bericht." Dated Germantown, February 20, 1742.

"Ein Schreiben an die Herrnhütische Gemeinde."

This is a letter on behalf of the Moravians addressed to John Hildebrand, at Ephrata, and signed by Johannes Bechtel, Henry Antes and others.

1743

"Biblia." See above, "Printing the Bible." A copy of the rare first impression is in the collection of Henry S. Borneman.

"Eines Geringen Bericht," by Johann Adam Gruber. It concerns the author's relations with Count Zinzendorf.

"Unpartheyisches Zeugniß über die neue Vereinigung aller Religions-Partheyen in Pensylvanien," by Samuel Guldin. First Part, 12 mo., 127 pages. Guldin, who had been a Reformed clergyman in Switzerland and was now living near Germantown, opposed Count Zinzendorf's project for unifying the various religious denominations in Pennsylvania.

"Wohlgegründetes Bedenken der Christlichen Gemeinde in und bei Ephrata von dem Weg der Heilung," by Johannes Hildebrand. 45 pages. Hildebrand, who was conspicuous in the Ephrata community, attended three of Count Zinzendorf's church unity conferences and then joined the opposition against Zinzendorf and the Moravians.

"Mistisches und Kirchliches Zeugniß der Brüderschaft in Zion," by Johannes Hildebrand. 16 mo., 44 pages.

"Schriftgemässiges Zeugniß von dem Himmlischen und Jungfräulichen Gebährungs-Werk," by Johannes Hildebrand. 16 mo., 20 pages.

"Glaubens-Bekenntniß," by Ernst Christoph Hochmann von Hochenau. 24 mo., 24 pages. The author, a leading European mystic, formulated this Pietistic confession of faith while imprisoned in 1702.

"Declaration," by Jacob Lischy. Eight pages. The author, a Reformed clergyman, was at this time disposed to support Count Zinzendorf, though remaining attached to the Reformed faith. Later he turned against the Moravians.

"Der neue Charter." Quarto, 55 pages. A translation of William Penn's charter for Pennsylvania. Copies were given to subscribers to Sower's newspaper.

"Bekanntmachung—Untersuchung gegen Jacob Lischy." Broadside.

"Der Balsam von Gilead."

"Ein kurtzer Bericht." Explains why the Ephrata community refused to subscribe to Count Zinzendorf's ideas.

"Ein Schreiben der Herrnhütischen Gemeinde aus ihrer Conferenz an Mstr. Johann Hildebrand, in Ephrata." The last two publications probably were printed by Sower, though no copies are extant.

1744

"Anhang zu dem Charter vor Verordnung." Acts of the Pennsylvania Assembly.

"Göttliche Offenbahrung." by Hans Engelbrecht. An account of the author's trances and visions.

"Ein Spiegel der Tauffe," by Heinrich Funk. 12 mo., 94 pages. This was a Mennonite book and the first such by an American author. Sower did not approve of the Mennonite mode of baptism here set forth and did not place his imprint on the title page.

"Der kleine Catechisms," by Dr. Martin Luther. 99 pages. This was edited and published by Count Zinzendorf ostensibly for the Lutherans of Pennsylvania. It was the first American edition of Luther's Smaller Catechism. The Lutheran clergymen as a rule resented Zinzendorf's efforts as an intrusion. Zinzendorf, while working for church unity, professed adherence to the Augsburg Confession, which was the accepted Lutheran statement of faith. In this volume Sower placed a note at the top of a page of "Errata" reading: "As the publisher chose to take upon himself the correcting of the proof, the following errors were found to have crept in."

"Das kleine Davidische Psalterspiel der Kinder Zions." 12 mo., 530 pages and index. This was a hymnal popular with Mennonites, Brethren and other sects of

Pennsylvania and was a reprint of a favorite European collection. Many subsequent editions appeared.

"Der Frommen Lotterie," by Gerhard Tersteegen. This consisted of a collection of 381 cards on which scriptural passages and other religious reflections were printed. Cards were drawn from the set and passages thus revealed were believed to have social application. The cards were often put to use in family groups and Sunday afternoon assemblages. The cards were contained in a leather case or wooden box.

"Die Nichtigkeit der Welt." Translation of an English tract by John Wesley.

"Verschiedene alte und neuere Geschichten von Erscheinungen der Geister." A book of ghost stories, including four from Pennsylvania. It was reprinted three times.

"Eine Beschreibung der wahren Kirche."

1745

"Das Neue Testament unseres Herrn und Heylandes Jesu Christi." 12 mo., 592 pages, with title page in black and red. This was the first American New Testament. The price ranged from 3 shillings, 6 pence to 6 shillings, according to binding.

"Gedanken von der Religion, Kirche und Glückseligkeit der Englischen Nation." A translation from English.

1746

"Die merkwürdige Geschichte der Bekehrung von Jacob Friedrich Duss." 32 pages.

"Der Psalter des Königs und Propheten Davids." 16 mo., 251 pages. Luther's translation of the Psalter.

"Unterricht von der Einsammlung des Willens der Seelen." 131 pages.

"Vom Cometen." Broadside. Sold for 3 pence.

"Leichenpredigt." A sermon which the Rev. John Joachim Zubly, a Reformed clergyman, preached at Salzburg, Georgia, at the funeral of a Lutheran pastor.

"Kurzer Auszug von einem Buch genannt Die umgewendete Bibel."

1747

"Ein geringer Schein." A discussion of baptism. 12 mo., 32 pages.

"Eine ruffende Wächterstimme," by Joh. Hildebrand. 12 mo., 159 pages.

"Ein ernstlicher Ruff," by Benjamin Holme. 12 mo., 78 pages. Translated from English, the original being a Quaker book printed in London in 1725.

"Klare und gewisse Wahrheit." 8 vo., 16 pages. A reply to Benjamin Franklin's "Plain Truth," which set forth the need of a militia in Pennsylvania.

"Noch mehr Zeugniß der Wahrheit."

"Geistliches Blumen-Gärtlein," by Gerhard Tersteegen. 16 mo., 486 pages. First American edition. Includes "Der Frommen Lotterei."

"Glückliche Genügsamkeit," by Gerhard Tersteegen.

"Teutsch und Englische Grammatic."

Lovigny's "Verbirgenes Leben mit Christo."

1748

"Eine kurtze Beschreibung einer langen Reise aus Babylon nach Bethel," by Stephen Crisp. 16 mo., 38 pages. Translated from English.

"Erscheinungen der Geister." Second edition. 125 pages.

"Von dem wahren, ewigen friedsamem Reiche Christi," by Georg Frell. 12 mo., 16 pages. A plea for peace. It was gratuitously distributed.

"Declaration," by Andreas Frey. 16 mo., 88 pages. It tells how the author became attached to the Moravians and why he left them.

"Eine gründliche Anweisung zu einem heiligen Leben." Broadside, replying to Benjamin Franklin's "Plain Truth."

"Gründliches Zeugniß." 8 vo., 24 pages. It sets

forth objections to the resort to arms. The pamphlet was gratuitously distributed.

"Denkwürdige Sprüche aus Christian Hohburgs Postilla Mystica." 12 mo., 312 pages.

"Kurtze Beschreibung des Lebens und Todtes von Jacob Schmiedlein." 16 mo., 16 pages.

"Eine kurtze Vermittelungs-Schrift," 16 mo., 36 pages. A discussion of baptism.

"Jacob Lischys Reformierten Predigers zweite Declaration." Quarto, 20 pages.

"Ein mystischer." 16 mo., 62 pages.

"Der kleine Catechismus," usually called "Der Siegenische Catechismus." Extracts from the Heidelberg Catechism of the Reformed Church. 72 pages. Only known copy is in the Pennsylvania State Library.

"Warnungs-Schreiben," by Gerhard Tersteegen. 12 mo., 48 pages.

"Verschiedene Christliche Wahrheiten." 8 vo., 32 pages. A reply to Franklin's "Plain Truth" and in opposition to war. It was distributed gratis.

"Ein Christ besucht oft und gerne die Zions-Kirche."
"Seelenspiegel."

Date and printer uncertain, according to Hildeburn.

1749

"Nachfolger Christi," by Thomas á Kempis. Though listed in several bibliographies, no copy is known to be extant.

"The Christian Pattern, or the Imitation of Christ." An abridgement of the works of Thomas á Kempis. "By a Female Hand." Reprinted from the London edition of 1744. 12 mo., 278 pages. This was the first American edition of the work, and also seems to have been the first book in the English language from the Sower press, though Sower bought English type from Benjamin Franklin in 1743. Later Sower supplied Franklin with German type, receiving paper in exchange. Sower never became proficient in English orthography, and he em-

ployed an English proofreader for all printing done in that language.

"Eine warnende Wächter-Stimme," by Jacob Lischy, a Reformed clergyman. 8 vo., 48 pages. The author attacks his former friends, the Moravians.

"Treuhertzige und einfaltige Anweisung." 16 mo., 40 pages.

"Sie bekehren sich aber nicht recht." A sermon by Johann Joachim Zubly.

"Beggar and Yet No Beggar."

Johann Habermann's "Kleines Gebetbuch."

1750

"Göttliche Liebes-Andacht." 16 mo., 62 pages.

"Der kleine Kempis." 16 mo., 162 pages.

"Schule der Weisheit in Reimen." 16 mo., 144 pages.

"The Archbishop of Cambray's Dissertation on Pure Love," by Fenelon. Reprint of a London edition. 217 pages.

"Anleitung zur Englischen Sprache, für Teutschen."

1751

"Ausbund." Second edition of the hymnbook of 1742, with additions. 16 mo., 812 pages.

"Eine nützliche Anweisung, oder Beyhülfe vor die Teutsche um Englisch zu lernen." 12 mo., 288 pages.

"Der Frommen Lotterei," by Gerhard Tersteegen. Second edition.

"Evangelisches Zeugniß." 8 vo., 32 pages. Translation of two English sermons by John Joachim Zubly.

"Einige Gedichte und Lieder." Second edition.

1752

"Evangelisches Zeugniß." 16 mo., 16 pages.

"Geistreicher Lieder." 12 mo., 562 pages of hymns and 124 pages of catechism, prayers, lessons, etc. This was the first hymnbook of the Reformed church printed in America. For some of the hymns the tunes were printed.

"Bekänntniss eines Christen." 20 pages. "Ein wahrhafter Bericht," 46 pages. "Fünf schöne geistliche Lieder," 40 pages. By Thomas von Imbroich. They constituted a supplement bound with the "Ausbund" of 1751.

"Der kleine Catechismus des Dr. Martin Luther," with "Glaubenslied," a catechism in verse, by Ziegenhagen, added. 16 mo., 140 pages.

"Unpartheyische Gedanken." Folio, 4 pages. This was a poem which the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg wrote for the dedication of the Lutheran church in Germantown, October 1, 1752.

"Wächter-Stimm." Verse by the Rev. J. Conrad Steiner, Reformed pastor in Germantown. Quarto, 16 pages.

"Religions of the Ancient Brachmans." Mentioned in Charles G. Sower's list, but no copy is known to be extant.

1753

"Die kleine geistliche Harfe." A hymnbook.

"Geistliche und andächtige Lieder," by Johannes Preiss. John Price was a preacher of the Brethren. The only known copy is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"Gesang-Buch." The Reformed hymnal of the preceding year with the Psalter, 214 pages, added.

"The Fatal Consequences of the Unscriptural Doctrine of Predestination." 16 mo., 14 pages. Translated from German.

"The Description and Use of the Globes," by Theophilus Grew, professor at the Academy of Philadelphia. 16 mo., 62 pages.

"The Everlasting Gospel." 16 mo., 160 pages. John Price's translation of a German work by Paul Siegvölck upholding the doctrine of the final salvation of all souls.

"Die neue Acte." Acts of the Pennsylvania Assembly regulating activities of county officials.

"Gesetze der allgemeinen Lands-Versammlung der

Provinz Pennsylvanien." New laws of the Assembly.

"Testimony Against the Present Anti-Christian World," by Paul Siegvolck.

"Der letzte Wille des hochfürstlichen Printzen Diederichs von Anhalt Dessau." Broadside with a poem on the vanity of earthly things. The publisher and the year of issue are uncertain.

1754

"Ein Gespräch," by Johannes Hildebrand. 12 mo., 24 pages.

"Der wunderbare busfertige Beichtvater und Seelsorger Herr M. Aaron." 16 mo., 36 pages.

"Daily Conversations with God." 12 mo.

"Christian Education Exemplified." 12 mo., 8 pages. Published by Christopher Sower, Jr.

1755

"Ein Bettler und doch kein Bettler." 16 mo., 46 pages. Translated from English.

"Pilgrims oder Christen Reise," by J. Bunyan. Third Part, 16 mo., 114 pages. This translation of part of "Pilgrim's Progress" is attributed to Sower. The first two parts were printed at Ephrata in 1754.

"Das angenehme Opfer," by J. Bunyan. 16 mo., 152 pages.

"Eine kurtze Beschreibung einer langen Reise," by Stephen Crisp. 16 mo., 38 pages.

"Treuhertzige Erinnerung," by Henry Kemper. 16 mo., 90 pages

"Das Kinder-Büchlein in der Brüder-Gemeinden." 16 mo., 288 pages.

"The Neue Testament." 12 mo., 562 pages. Second edition.

"Höchst nötige Warnung." Broadside bearing an appeal by Christopher Sower to the Germans to guard their rights as freemen at the election of assemblymen.

"Das Leben Gottes in der Seele des Menschen," by H. Skougal. 16 mo., 22 pages.

"Erscheinungen der Geister." 12 mo., 202 pages. Third edition.

1756

"Eine Erinnerung an die Englische Nation," by Thomas Chamberlain. 12 mo., 14 pages. Translation from English.

"Die Gottliche Beschützung," by Jonathan Dickinson. Translated from English. 98 pages.

"Eine Erzählung." 12 mo., 28 pages. This is a translation of a narrative, originally appearing in English in Lancaster, Pa., of the capture of William Fleming and his wife by Indians.

David Imrie's "Sendschreiben." 12 mo., 26 pages. Translated from English.

"The Uncertainty of a Deathbed Repentance," by Fenelon. 12 mo., 16 pages.

"The Real Christian's Hope in Death," by J. J. Zubly. 12 mo., 196 pages.

"Observations on Enslaving, Importing and Purchasing Negroes."

"The Nature and Design of Christianity." 12 mo., 16 pages.

"A Pattern of Christian Education." 12 mo., 16 pages. The two last named pamphlets were published by Christopher Sower, Jr.

"Marburger Gesang-Buch," 622 pages. First Lutheran hymnal printed in America. Not listed in bibliographies, except that of Dr. Felix Reichmann, who located three copies. (28)

1757

"Die Treaties." Quarto, 56 pages. Proceedings of conferences with Indians in 1756.

"Der Inhalt von verschiedenen Conferentzen." Quarto, 36 pages. Proceedings of conferences with Indians in Easton, Pa.

"Some Gospel Treasures," by John Everard, D.D. Two volumes, quarto, 268 and 280 pages. This German

reprint has been described as being finer than any of the three preceding London editions.

"Eine nützliche Einweisung vor die Teutsche um Englisch zu lernen."

1758

"Ein Spiegel der Eheleute." 16 mo., 32 pages.

"Some Observations upon a Late Piece Entitled The Detection Detected," by A. Gellatly. 8 vo., 204 pages.

"Evangelia und Episteln auf alle Sonntage." 94 pages. Mentioned only in Dr. Reichmann's Bibliography. (28)

"Dove's Lottery." 16 pages.

"Lutherisches A, B, C Buchlein."

X—PRICES FOR PRINTING

A sheet which Sower issued about 1740 showing specimens of the type in his shop and giving prices for printing has fortunately been saved in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The list follows, the price given not including paper but being for the setting, correction and printing of the first 500 sheets, beginning with the largest size of type:

Roman Fraktur, averaging 3600 letters to the sheet,
19 shillings.

Text type, 6690 letters, 20 shillings.

Mittel, 14,650 letters, 25 shillings.

Cicero, 18,944 letters, 30 shillings.

Cicero Schwabacher, 18,000 letters, 29 shillings.

Garmont, 27,500 letters, 37 shillings.

Garmont Schwabacher, not much different.

Petit, 46,768 letters, £3.

Petit Schwabacher, not much different.

Paper cost 10 shillings a ream, and it was advised

that allowance be made for wastage to the extent of two quires a ream.

The diary of David Schultz, a surveyor in the upper Perkiomen Valley, gives prices charged at the Sower establishment in October, 1759, thus: The cost of setting and printing 500 sheets, on ordinary paper, was 35 shillings. Therefore a book comprising fifty sheets would cost £125 for 500 copies. Presumably four to twelve pages could be printed on each side of the sheet. In addition the paper cost 12 shillings a ream. After the first 500 sheets the printing of each additional 100 sheets cost 2 shillings, 6 pence.

XI—CONTROVERSY OVER SCHOOLS

While Sower's interests outside his work were limited, he did enter to some degree into the politics of his time, usually siding with the dominant Quaker faction in the attempts of the Church of England followers, or Gentlemen's Party, to gain control of the provincial government.

He became involved in the religious controversy which Count Zinzendorf stirred up, following his arrival in Pennsylvania in 1741, when he endeavored to unite all religious denominations in the United Brethren, or Moravian Church, though his idea was that the different churches might still retain their old denominational adherence, just as he still professed adherence to the Lutheran faith. The opposition which Zinzendorf encountered from the Lutheran and Reformed clergy gave rise to the publication of many pamphlets, of which a large share were the product of Sower's press. Sower wrote, in March, 1742, that he had printed a small hymn-book for Zinzendorf, but thought it wise to cease correspondence with the Moravian leader, adding that if he

printed all that was offered about the dispute "it would have been a comedy."

However, in 1746, the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the Lutheran leader, complained that Sower permitted the Moravians to use his paper to asperse Muhlenberg's name. Eight years later Sower sharply attacked Muhlenberg in connection with the "charity school" movement. A society had been organized in England, with the co-operation of men influential in the government of Pennsylvania, to establish schools in the German settlements of Pennsylvania where children might acquire a knowledge of the English language and of the principles of the Christian religion. The Rev. Michael Schlatter, a clergyman of the Reformed church, was appointed superintendent of the school system. Muhlenberg warmly supported the endeavor. (20)

Sower was suspicious and denounced the project as an attempt to deprive the Germans of their language and religion and attach them to the proprietaries. In the controversies in the Assembly, where the Quakers predominated, the latter were usually arrayed against the Penns and their representatives, the Penns of that generation being no longer Quakers but members of the Church of England. Sower's influence in the 1740's and 1750's was thrown to the Quaker party.

Benjamin Franklin, who was one of the trustees of the school system, tried to controvert Sower by issuing German publications, but he lacked qualified German editors and printers. Muhlenberg himself thought of establishing a press to oppose Sower. He urged the trustees to open a printing house, promising his support.

Sower's paper of September 1, 1754, had the following:

"In our No. 159 it was erroneously reported that a

high school was to be founded in Philadelphia for the Germans. Reliable reports say English free schools are to be held in the land for the Germans, in Philadelphia, Lancaster, York, Reading, Easton, etc., and the German preachers are to practice preaching in English, so the Germans and the English may become a united people and have English preachers. Reports say this is done so that the mass of the Germans may not become a separate people and in time of war go over to the French and aid them, to the harm of the English nation.

"It is praiseworthy of the new society in England that it is so generous and good-natured as to teach the Germans the English language gratis. But when Schlatter declares the Germans to be a knavish nation which in time of war would treacherously hold to the French, then he has acted unwisely, to the shame of the King and himself. One cannot think that many Germans are as untrue as he may think. The Irish, the Swedes and the Welsh retain their speech and are not regarded as untrue. Oh, if they were given only Godfearing schoolmasters who would afford an example of true Christian life in the English language, there would be hope that something good would result, for only real godliness makes man true to God and his neighbors."

A little later Sower wrote to Conrad Weiser, father-in-law of Pastor Muhlenberg and also a trustee of the school system. Concerning Hamilton, Peters, Allen, Shippen and Franklin, all of whom supported the school plan, Sower declared: "I know that they care little about religion; nor do they care for the cultivation of the minds of the Germans, except that they should form the militia and defend their properties. Such people do not know what it is to have faith and confidence in God, but they are mortified that they cannot compel others to defend their goods."

This was written at a time when Franklin and other non-Quakers were striving to bring about organization

Die Bibel in Germantown gedruckt ist nun fertig; und weil ein jeder Buchbinder nicht Gelegenheit hat zu planiren so will man sie auch alle selbst planiren, (leimen) damit kein unwissender darneben komme, und wann es geschehen ist und sie trocken sind, welches vermuthlich am End dieses Monats auch gethan seyn wird, so kan ein jeder haben, und wird hirdurch berichtet: daß weil die meisten so sich haben einschreiben lassen, die übrigen Bücher Ezra und der Maccabäer dabey begehrt, so sind sie zwar vor alle Bibeln mit gedruckt, und dieses nach der Berleburger Übersetzung, wer aber dieselbe nicht dabey haben will, der kan es nur melden, oder sagen lassen, so werden sie nicht bey gebunden; und also ist es auch mit dem kleinen Anhang vom Unterschied etlicher Übersetzungen in einigen puncten. Wem man versprochen hat seine Bibel zu binden oder binden zu lassen, dem will mans thun, und wer selbst davor sorgen will, der wird uns einer Mühe überheben. Ungebunden ist der Preß 12 Schilling, das übrige ist nach dem sie gebunden und beschlagen wird, in Schafleder, Kalb, oder ander Leder &c.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF COMPLETION OF THE BIBLE

Printed in Sower's Germantown Newspaper, Der Hoch-Deutsches Pensylvanische Geschichts-Schreiber, for August 16, 1743.

The Bible printed in Germantown is now completed, and as every bookbinder does not have facilities for sizing, therefore we will size (glue) all of them, so that the uninformed cannot cause trouble, and when this is done and the pages are dry, which it is expected will be at the end of this month, then everyone may have them, and is hereby informed that, while most subscribers want the accompanying Books of Ezra and the Maccabees, they have therefore been printed for all the Bibles, this being according to the Berleburg translation; but whoever does not desire these two books should send notice or tell us, and then they will not be bound in; and it is likewise with the brief supplement about differences in various translations on certain points. For those who have been promised that their Bibles will be bound, this will be done, and those who themselves wish to attend to this will spare us the labor. Unbound the price is 11 shillings; the additional cost is according to the binding and ornamentation, in sheepskin, calf or other leather, etc.

of a militia in Pennsylvania to protect the province against Indian raids and possible invasion of the French.

Among Sower's numerous objections to the school plan was one intimating that it was a scheme of the Free Masons, as the officials of that body were all in favor of free schools and therefore he seemed to feel that free schools were essentially evil.

It is probable that Sower's help enabled the Quakers to remain dominant in Pennsylvania politics as long as they did. Mennonites, Brethren and Schwenkfelders were pacifists, like the Quakers, and objected to taxation for maintenance of armies, as was demanded by the governor and his council. A large proportion of the Lutheran and Reformed Germans, while they did not hold to the doctrine of non-resistance, voted the way they thought would keep taxes at a low level. Indeed, many of them did not vote at all. Consequently the German districts were often represented in the Assembly by Quakers.

There is a story, probably apocryphal, that Sower, carrying a red flag, once on an election day led 300 Germans from Germantown to Philadelphia to vote against candidates who favored appropriations for military purposes.

The Rev. Dr. William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia, was one of those who sought to further the free school project. After the beginning of the French and Indian War he published a pamphlet, in 1756, entitled, "A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania," in which he arraigned the Quaker control of the Assembly. This, he averred, was possible because the Germans, led by Christopher Sower, voted with the Quakers. The population of the province, said Dr. Smith,

was 220,000, of whom one-third were Germans and two-fifths Quakers. He suggested that a test oath be required of all elected to the Assembly promising allegiance to the King and support of military defense while the Germans should not be permitted to vote until "they have sufficient knowledge of our language and constitution." (14)

XII—EFFORTS TO HELP IMMIGRANTS

Sower made at least two appeals to Governor Denny in an endeavor to ameliorate the hardships inflicted upon German immigrants. March 15, 1755, he wrote the governor that because of the good news he had sent to Germany as to conditions in Pennsylvania thousands of Germans had come hither. But they were subject to harsh and unjust treatment because of the method of selling them into virtual slavery for a term of years to pay for their passage. Furthermore, they were plundered and starved on the ships and their chests stolen. When passengers died from disease due to their foul surroundings, surviving members of their families were compelled to assume responsibility for the fare of the dead and thus their term of servitude was increased. As many as 160 passengers died on one voyage, and fifteen ships lost 1600 passengers by death. A law which had been passed for the relief of the immigrants was not enforced, said Sower. Overseers were appointed, but masters of ships bribed them. Affairs were so manipulated that one man in Rotterdam obtained a monopoly of the transportation of redemptioners. On May 12, 1755, Sower again addressed the governor on the subject.

Because of the protests by Sower the Assembly established a Lazaretto on Providence Island, at the junction of the Schuylkill with the Delaware, where immi-

grants suffering from contagious diseases were landed, so their sickness might not be introduced into the city.

Sower was in the habit of going to the wharves when ships arrived from Germany, and he often took sick and destitute immigrants to his home and provided for them until they found relatives or obtained work.

XIII—CLASH WITH GENERAL FORBES

At the time of the French and Indian War Sower was accused of encouraging the enemy's cause through his pacifist attitude and his support of the Quakers in the Assembly, who naturally were not disposed to adopt any measures looking toward vigorous military action. Conrad Weiser made charges of this nature against Sower before the Provincial Council September 6, 1756, alleging that Sower's paper was alienating the Germans from the English cause. ⁽²³⁾

Weiser objected especially to the following passage in Sower's paper for June 1, 1756:

"On the past May 18 six companies of militia from Philadelphia assembled in Germantown for drill, practicing what they would do to the foe when he comes or when they go to meet him. Each company had something distinctive on its flag, for example, one an elephant, another a sleeping lion. It was most remarkable that on one flag the picture of the Prince of Peace, the Lord Jesus, with his eleven or twelve Disciples, was plainly recognizable. They brought four caissons, with cannon, from Philadelphia, which were fired to right and left. There was a great assemblage of spectators from the neighborhood, from Germantown and Philadelphia, which viewed the scene with pleasure. The minority were sorrowful that this long blessed quiet and peaceable Pennsylvania should now become a den of murderers and is further to be such."

Two years later, when General Forbes was organizing his expedition against Fort DuQuesne in Philadelphia, Sower's newspaper aroused the general's displeasure because of an article printed June 24 concerning a conference held in Easton between Indians and representatives of the provincial government. The article continued:

"The Minnising Indians are hostile because they receive nothing for their land, and the Indians who expected satisfaction from the Proprietors are becoming restless and want to know whether or not they are to get anything. It is reported some Indians are again knocking on the wrong door."

On June 30, 1758, the day General Forbes departed from Philadelphia on his march across the province, he sent a squad of fourteen Highlanders to Sower's house, in Germantown, with directions that Sower was to appear by noon at Forbes' quarters, at the Buck Tavern, on Lancaster road, and explain the paragraph in question. If he was willing to comply the soldiers were not to arrest him. He promised to obey the command, and the Highlanders departed.

Sower arrived at the Buck an hour after the Highlanders. Forbes read a translation of the objectionable article, and asked whether that was not a reflection upon the conduct of the King and the government. Sower replied that the accusation was unjust, declaring the paragraph in question had not been accurately translated. He then told of what he had done to induce immigrants to come to Pennsylvania, and said he believed it his duty to support the welfare of the province.

While accepting the explanation, General Forbes warned Sower not to print anything inimical to the King or the government. Sower promised to heed the admoni-

tion, and he was then dismissed. He published an account of the proceedings in the following number of his paper, closing with a commendation of General Forbes' good sense, zeal, loyalty and moderation. Then he had the Rev. Peter Miller, Brother Jabez of the Ephrata community, translate the account into English, and a copy of the translation was submitted to the Provincial Council. (14, 21)

Information leading to Sower's arrest is said to have come from the Rev. Dr. William Smith an Anglican clergyman who was provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia and who had antagonized Sower in connection with the school issue. After General Forbes had dismissed Sower the latter remarked that he received better treatment from the red coats than from the black coats.

XIV—HIS LAST YEARS

Christopher Sower's wife, who had joined Conrad Beissel's community at Ephrata in 1728 and later became sub-prioress of the Sister House, remained with the community until 1744, when her son induced her to come to Germantown. At first she lived with the son in a dwelling apart from her husband, but in June, 1745, she returned to the home of her husband, remaining there until her death, December 14, 1752.

No portrait of the elder Sower is in existence. Family traditions describe him as having a commanding appearance and a benevolent countenance, while his chief physical characteristic was a long, flowing beard.

Christopher Sower, Sr., died September 15, 1758, aged 65 years. He was buried in the grounds at the rear of his house, but all trace of the grave disappeared long ago.

XV—THE SECOND CHRISTOPHER SOWER

Christopher Sower's son and only child, who bore the same name as his father and who was a bookbinder, had assumed much of the business responsibility in the printing establishment during the father's later years. English books printed there from 1754 on and the English almanac begun in 1755 bear the imprint of Christopher Sower, Jr. Upon the father's death the son continued the business. In an announcement in the newspaper, September 30, 1758, he said:

"I had rather have earned my bread by continuing in the bookbinding business, and so have avoided the burdens and responsibilities of a printer. This would have been much easier; but so long as there is no one to whom I can trust the printing business I find it laid upon me for God and for my neighbors' sake to continue it until it may please Providence to give me a helper, one of whom I feel sure and who dwells in the fear of the Lord, so that he could not be moved, either for money or flattery, to print anything that would not honor God or contribute to the country's best welfare."

He evidently began restricting his bookbinding business some years prior to this time. In 1756 Peter Leibert, living at the upper end of Germantown, advertised in the Sower newspaper that "as Christopher Sower the younger no longer rebinds old books," Leibert would now bind both new and old books.

When he became proprietor of the business his father had founded, the second Christopher Sower was 37 years old, having been born in Laasphe, Germany, September 26, 1721. In 1743, the year before his mother returned to Germantown from Ephrata to live with him, the son removed from his father's home and dwelt in another house in Germantown, though the site cannot be determined. He was married on April 21, 1751, to Catharine

Sharpnack, member of a Germantown family identified with the Church of the Brethren and living at the upper end of Germantown. A street near the present Germantown Church of the Brethren bears the name of the family.

There is reason to believe that the younger Sower in his early life had some thoughts of adopting a celibate life and perhaps emulating the members of the Wissahickon community of the end of the seventeenth century who were commonly termed the "Wissahickon hermits." In his journal he wrote:

"Ich habe meinen Einsidler stand angefangen im Herbst, 1743."

The German word "Einsidler" may be translated "solitary" or "hermit." Evidently he left his father's house at this time to live alone.

The journal continues that his mother joined him in November 1744; that George Schreiber "ist zu mir gezogen"—removed to my abode—May 18, 1745, and Philip Weber did likewise February 24, 1746. George Schreiber left on July 7, 1749, and the following November Henry Weber moved in. Philip Weber left in June, 1751, and Henry Weber a few days later. On April 21 of that year Sower had been married. ⁽¹²⁾

One version says Sower agreed with several other members of the Church of the Brethren never to marry, but he was the first to annul the agreement.

The first purchase of real estate by Christopher Sower, Jr., that is on record was on August 5, 1755, when he bought a house and lot at the northwest corner of "Germantown Main street and Bowman's lane," which, according to the present street nomenclature, is Germantown avenue and Queen lane. This lot had a

breadth on Main street of six perches, two and one-half feet and at the rear of five perches, fourteen feet, while it was thirty-three perches in depth. Sower bought this property and three others when the sheriff sold the real estate of George Arnold, butcher. There is still an old stone house on this site, part of which may have stood there when Sower bought the place. It is now the property of Trinity Lutheran Church, adjoining, and was the parsonage of the congregation from 1836 until 1931.

After his father's death the son and his family lived in the elder Sower's house, on the east side of Germantown avenue, opposite Queen lane.

XVI—A MINISTER OF THE BRETHREN

While the father never identified himself with any church organization in Germantown, the son became a member of the Church of the Brethren by baptism, February 24, 1737. Baptism of the Brethren is by immersion, and in early days the rite was performed in a running stream, as is still the custom of many rural congregations, though the churches in towns and cities generally have a baptismal pool in their buildings. The favorite baptistion of the Germantown congregation in the eighteenth century was in the Wissahickon near Kitchen lane, a mile west of Germantown, and, though the month was February, that did not discourage either minister or convert from undertaking the ceremony in the icy waters.

Ten years after his baptism Christopher Sower became a deacon of the Germantown congregation, and the following year he was made an elder on trial. Among the Brethren, elders exercised the pastoral functions. Sower and Alexander Mack were the pastors of the

Germantown congregation. Ministers of the Brethren did not give up their secular occupations when chosen to their religious office, and that custom still prevails in many rural congregations of the denomination, though specially trained pastors who receive a salary are now in charge of city and town congregations.

Sower recorded in his journal that he performed his first baptism November 3, 1748, three women being immersed. His first marriage ceremony he conducted January 1, 1749, when he united his associate minister, Alexander Mack, and Elizabeth Neiss. Alexander Mack in turn performed the marriage ceremony for Sower and Catharine Sharpnack, in 1751. Sower and Mack, after five years' trial, were both ordained to the eldership on June 10, 1753. ⁽¹³⁾

Until 1760 the Germantown Brethren had their meetings for worship in the homes of members. Many of the services, perhaps most of them after Sower became a minister of the congregation, were held in the Sower home. It is said there were movable partitions on an upper floor which made it possible to convert several rooms into one to permit the holding of meetings. About 1760 a meeting house was built of logs, on the east side of Germantown avenue, north of Sharpnack street. This was replaced in 1770 with a stone church, which still stands, though a larger building was erected at the rear in 1897.

XVII—CONTINUES PUBLISHING BUSINESS

The younger Sower continued the almanac and the newspaper his father had begun, imbuing both publications with religious zeal, as had his father.

In October, 1745, the father had changed the name

of the newspaper from "Der Hoch-Deutsch Penylvanische Geschichts-Schreiber"—"The High German Pennsylvania Recorder of Events"—to "Hoch Deutsche Penylvanische Berichte"—"High German Pennsylvania Reports." In 1746 the "High German" part of the title was abandoned, the name thereafter being "Penylvanische Berichte."

After becoming editor the second Christopher Sower's conscience impelled him to modify the sub-title of the paper, which had been "Sammlung Wichtiger Nachrichten aus der Natur und Kirchen-reich"—"Collection of Important News from the Realm of Nature and the Church." It had transpired that some of the supposed news he was printing was untrue—a condition not unknown in the highly developed journalism of later times. Hence he changed the sub-title to read: "Sammlung Wahrscheinlicher Nachrichten aus der Natur und Kirchen-Reich"—"Collection of What Appears to be News." etc. It was an early use of the equivalent of the modern "alleged." This change was made in 1762, when the main title also was simplified, becoming "German-tauner Zeitung"—"Germantown Gazette."

When the English government undertook to tax America by requiring that stamps be affixed to many articles, Sower, like other newspaper publishers, was embarrassed because no stamps were at hand and yet it was illegal to issue newspapers on unstamped paper. Some papers suspended publication until the law was modified. Others printed their papers on unstamped paper in defiance of the law. The course that Sower followed is indicated by an item in the Schwenkfelder Historical Library, Pennsburg, Pa., entitled "Wahre und Wahrscheinliche Begebenheiten"—"True and Apparently True Happenings." The sheet is dated February

24, 1776, and resembles the Sower newspaper in size and style of type, but it bears no imprint. A notation reads: "Auf ungestempelten Papier weil kein gestempfeltes zu haben ist"—"On unstamped paper because none that is stamped is to be had."

Copies of the newspaper during the second Christopher Sower's ownership are much scarcer than those printed by his father. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which has a fairly complete file for the years preceding 1762, has only stray copies, not more than a score in all, for the period following 1762. These show that early in 1775 the paper was printed bi-weekly. Later that year it appeared weekly, and the name was changed from *Germantowner Zeitung* to *Germantowner Wochenblatt*, or *Germantown Weekly*. A single copy bearing this title, No. 606, dated Thursday, June 22, 1775, is in the Historical Society's collection. This title has not been listed in any bibliography. Christopher Sower still was the publisher, and the subscription price was 3 shillings a year. Underneath the title it was announced that the paper would be issued "eine Zeitlang"—for a while.

The next issue in the Historical Society's collection is for March 20, 1776. The old name of *Germantowner Zeitung* had now been resumed. Copies preserved for this period consist of a single sheet of two pages, ten by sixteen inches.

An issue for March 12, 1777, gives the names of the publishers as Christopher Sower, Jr., and Peter Sower. They were sons of the second Christopher Sower. In the issue for March 19, 1777, Christopher Sower, Jr., announced that he had removed into the house adjoining the Quaker Meeting House, near the Germantown market,

where Moses Hall formerly lived. He was selling Bibles and other books and also medicines.

It is not definitely known when the final issue of the paper appeared. The British entered Germantown in September, 1777, and it is likely that about that time the two younger Sowers abandoned their publishing business in Germantown, and, with their father, went into Philadelphia, seeking refuge under the protection of the British army.

XVIII—THIRD EDITION OF THE BIBLE

The second Christopher Sower published two editions of the Bible, in 1763 and 1776. They were similar in size to the first edition of his father, in 1743.

At auction sales of books higher prices have often been paid for the third Sower Bible than for the first or second, as it was supposed this was the scarcest. There was a tradition that at the time of the battle of Germantown the printed sheets for the third edition were drying in the loft of the Church of the Brethren, in upper Germantown, and that the British seized them and used them as bedding for their cavalry horses. No reason has been suggested as to why the sheets should have been carried a mile from the Sower house for drying, when the Sower house was a large structure with ample space for drying, while the church was a tiny building. Furthermore, the British troops were not stationed in upper Germantown, in proximity to the church for any length of time nor would they be likely to use paper for bedding their horses when more suitable material was available on nearby farms.

That the British were not responsible for destroying any large quantity of Sower's printed sheets is evident

from the records of the sale of the goods confiscated at Sower's shop by the Pennsylvania government in 1778, after the British had left Philadelphia. These records, as will be quoted in more detail in telling of the sale, show that unbound sheets of the Bible in large numbers were sold, mostly to William Hall, a Philadelphia printer and publisher.

In his reminiscences of early printers which William McCulloch, of Philadelphia, gathered in the first two decades of the nineteenth century (¹⁶), he said that Peter Leibert, a bookbinder in Germantown, bought these unbound sheets of the Sower Bible and similar sheets of other Sower books, from John Dunlap, also a Philadelphia printer, and that he bound up the Sower Bibles and sold them. From the records of the confiscation sale it is evident the Dunlap was a buyer, but it was Hall who bought the Bible sheets. McCulloch may have confused the two names many years after the sale, or Hall may have sold the sheets to Dunlap. McCulloch wrote that Dunlap intended to use the printed sheets as cartridge paper and that part of the Bible really was thus used before Leibert bought what was left. Leibert then reprinted the missing sections.

Michael Billmeyer, Leibert's son-in-law and for a time his partner in business, was still living in Germantown when McCulloch wrote his reminiscences. On questioning him about Sower Bibles, Billmeyer told McCulloch he had sold none for some years but had received numerous inquiries for them. The cost of the Bible early in the nineteenth century was \$5.50. Billmeyer also said at this time that he knew of no file of the Sower newspaper then extant, but that he once had three files of the paper, which were torn and lost long ago.

The Billmeyer Almanac of 1788 announced that Peter Leibert had the Sower edition of the Bible for sale.

The tradition as to the scarcity of the third Sower Bible was definitely disproved in 1939, when Edwin A. R. Rumball-Petre, a New York bibliophile and an authority on early Bibles, made a census of Sower Bibles and located more than two hundred copies of the third edition, which was about double the number found of each of the preceding editions. (22)

Prices of the Sower Bible at auctions have varied from \$10 to \$200. There have been few sales and no high prices since 1930.

XIX—THE RELIGIOUS MAGAZINE

From the Sower press, in 1764, came the first issue of a religious magazine, entitled "Ein Geistliches Magazin." Copies were given away, not sold. The publisher explained that profits from the second edition of the Bible were larger than he had anticipated, and, as he did not wish to derive a profit from the Bible, he used the money which thus accrued to print and distribute the magazine. It was probably the first religious periodical issued in America. No complete file has been preserved, though the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania State Library and the Library of Congress possess numerous copies.

The magazine usually consisted of eighteen pages. It appeared not at specified intervals but as material was available and the printers had opportunity to undertake the work. Volume I comprised fifty numbers, issued from 1764 to 1770. There are known to have been fifteen numbers of Volume II, the last appearing in 1772. The contents consisted of miscellaneous religious articles, in-

cluding sermons and generous selections from European mystical writers, though there was no pronounced effort to emphasize religious beliefs of the Church of the Brethren. Sower invited contributions for the magazine, and later lamented the lack of response. Verse had a place in many numbers. A letter from Christopher Dock, a pioneer Mennonite schoolmaster, addressed to his former students and urging them to cultivate piety, appeared, followed by Dock's list of two hundred rules of conduct for children and later by two long hymns which Dock had written for his students. (19, 24)

XX—PUBLICATIONS OF THE SECOND CHRISTOPHER SOWER

Like his father, the second Christopher Sower maintained a careful oversight as to matter printed in his shop, so that his press might issue nothing injurious to morals. About 1765 the Associated Presbyterians wanted him to do some printing for them. He told their representative: "I do not print everything; if irreligious or otherwise dangerous, I refuse." He said he must read the manuscript before deciding. The manuscript was left with him, and presently he sent word it was agreeable to him.

It was Sower's custom to arise at 4 a. m. and to spend the time until 5 o'clock in devotions. Then all the household were called, and at 7 breakfast was served. Dinner was at 12, and at 4 o'clock there was tea, coffee or chocolate for all. A fourth meal consisted of supper at 10 p. m. All workmen in the printing shop ate with the family. Grace was always said before meals. (15, 16)

In his later years Sower was stout, weighing two hundred and fifty pounds, and he presented a patriarchal appearance because of his long white beard. It was the

custom of the Brethren to permit the beard to grow but to shave the upper lip, this being done so they might the better bestow the "kiss of charity" when they met at their religious meetings.

Under the second Sower's management books and pamphlets in the English language appeared more frequently than formerly. The issues, beginning with 1759, were:

"Christliche Morgen—und Abend-Gebäter," by J. Habermann and Caspar Naumann. 24 mo., 118 pages.

"Vollständiges Marburger Gesang-Buch." 16 mo., 556 pages. Second American edition of a favorite Lutheran hymnbook. It contained 649 hymns.

"Observations on the Inslaving, Importing and Purchasing of Negroes," by Anthony Benezet. 8 vo., 16 pages.

"The Way to the Sabbath of Rest." "The Journeys of the Children of Israel." "A Treatise of Extraordinary Dispensations." By Thomas Bromley. 8 vo., 288 pages.

"Mistakes Concerning Religion," by Thomas Hartley.

1760

"Evangelien und Episteln auf alle Sontage." 16 mo., 94 pages.

"Das kleine Davidische Psalterspiel." 12 mo., 576 pages.

"Eine angemüthige Erinnerung," by Alexander Mack. 8 vo., 8 pages.

"Der Psalter des Königs und Propheten Davids." Second edition.

"Observations on the Inslaving, Importing and Purchasing of Negroes," by Anthony Benezet. 16 mo., 16 pages. Second edition.

"Certain Agreements and Concessions made, concluded and agreed upon by and between the contributors to a sum of money for erecting and establishing a

school house in Germantown." Quarto, 8 pages. This related to the founding of the Public School of Germantown, now Germantown Academy, which was opened in 1761.

"Christ's Spirit a Christian's Strength," by William Dell.

"The Stumbling Block," by William Dell. 12 mo.

"The Uncertainty of a Deathbed Repentance," by Fenelon. 8 vo., 16 pages.

1761

"Das Leben und heroischen Thaten des Königs von Preuszen, Friedrichs des III," by W. H. Dilworth. 12 mo., 288 pages. This was in part a translation of an English biography of Frederick the Great.

"Naturalizations-Form." Form of naturalization for those wishing to follow the Quaker method and avoid the taking of an oath.

"Das Neue Testament." Third edition.

Three German and three English A, B, C books.

1762

"Kleines Christliches Gebätbuch," by Johann Habermann von Eger.

"Neu-Eingerichtetes Gesang-Buch." 12 mo., 760 pages. A hymnbook for the Schwenkfelders.

"Eine nützliche Einweisung. 8 vo., 296 pages. Second edition.

"Der Psalter des Königs und Propheten Davids." Third edition.

"Vollständiges Marburger Gesang-Buch." 12 mo., 528 pages and index.

1763

"Biblia, Das ist die Heilige Schrift." Quarto, 1270 pages. Second edition of the Sower Bible, consisting of 2000 copies. In the preface Sower wrote: "So then the Holy Writ, called the Bible, appears on the American

continent for the second time in the German language, to the renown of the German nation, no other nation being able to claim that the Bible has been printed in their language in this division of the globe." Whereas the title page of the first edition was printed in red and black, that of the second edition was in black only. The price, unbound, was 21 shillings. In the autumn of 1762 Sower apologized because the scarcity of workmen delayed publication of the Bible.

"Der kleine Darmstädtische Catechismus." 16 mo.

"Neu-vermehrt und vollständiges Gesang-Buch." Reformed hymnal. Second edition. 850 pages.

"Das Neue Testament." Fourth edition. 12 mo., 684 pages.

"Die heilbringende Menschwerdung und der herrliche Sieg Jesu Christi," by William Otterbein. 8 vo., 16 pages.

"Die wandlende Seel," by J. F. Schablie. 12 mo., 496 pages. This was a popular Mennonite book.

"Zeugniss der Wahrheit." 8 vo., 40 pages.

"The Dreadful Visitation; a short account of the progress and effect of the Plague," by Daniel Defoe. 16 mo., 16 pages.

"A Short, Easy and Comprehensive Method of Prayer," by Johannes Kelpius. 12 mo., 3 pages. Kelpius, leader of the Wissahickon mystics, died in 1708. Dr. Christopher Witt, of Germantown, translated this treatise into English.

1764

"Die almächtige Errettungs-Hand Gottes." 16 mo., 14 pages.

"Christliche Morgen und Abend Gebäter." 24 mo., 118 pages.

"Das kleine Davidische Psalterspiel." 12 mo., 598 pages. Third edition.

"Die Regeln der Teutschen Gesellschaft in Philadel-

phia." 8 vo., 8 pages. These were the rules of the German Society of Pennsylvania, founded in 1764.

"Das Anhangen an Gott," by Gerhard Tersteegen. 16 mo., 74 pages.

"Anmerkung." In opposition to Benjamin Franklin and in defense of the existing provincial government.

"Eine zu dieser Zeit höchstnötige Warnung." A broadside directed against plans to restrict the suffrage of the Germans.

"Protestation gegen die Bestellung Herrn Benjamin Franklin zu einem Agenten für diese Provinz."

"Anmerkungen." Folio, 4 pages. This was a reply by Franklin to the attack made on him in the preceding publication.

"Bekanntmachung," by Johannes Wister. 12 mo., 2 pages.

"Das Neue Testament." Fifth edition.

1765

"Paradies-Gärtlein," by Johann Arnd. 16 mo., 564 pages and index. This was a book of prayers that had the approval of the Lutheran and Reformed churches.

"Die erste Frucht der Teutschen Gesellschaft." 8 vo., 15 pages. A law enacted upon petition of the German Society for the protection of immigrants.

"Werteste, Landes-Leute, sonderlich in Philadelphia, Bucks and Bercks County," by Christopher Sower. Folio, 2 pages. An address to citizens discussing political conditions.

"Antwort auf Herrn Franklins Anmerkungen." 12 mo., 28 pages. An attack on Franklin, without imprint.

1766

"Die Regeln der Teutschen Gesellschaft." 12 mo., 8 pages. Revised regulations of the German Society.

"The Uncertainty of a Deathbed Repentance," by Fenelon. 8 vo., 16 pages.

"Hoch Deutsches Reformiertes A, B, C und Namen Buchlein."

1767

"Ausbund., 12 mo., 924 pages. Third edition.

"Kurtze Unterweisung vor kleine Kinder." 16 mo., 48 pages.

"Confession," by Thomas Imbroich.

"Bericht von den Brüdern im Schweizerland."

1768

"Die wandlende Seel," by J. P. Schabalie. 12 mo., 464 pages. Second edition.

"Der Psalter des Königs und Propheten Davids." 24 mo., 252 pages. Fifth edition.

"Ewige Evangelium," by Georg Paul Siegvölck. 12 mo., 184 pages. A plea for the doctrine of universal salvation.

"Ein merkwürdiger Traum." Quarto, 2 pages.

1769

"Ewige Evangelium," by Georg Paul Siegvölck. 12 mo., 184 pages. Similar to the edition of the preceding year.

"Geistliches Blumen-Gärtlein," by Gerhard Tersteegen. "Nebst der Frommen Lotterei," by Gerhard Tersteegen. 16 mo., 526 pages and index. Fifth edition of "Blumen-Gärtlein."

"Das Neue Testament." 12 mo., 530 pages. Sixth edition.

"The Sentiments and Plans of the Warren Association." Quarto, 4 pages. The association was formed by Baptist clergymen of Warren, Rhode Island, in the interests of the denomination throughout America.

1770

"Schul-Ordnung," by Christopher Dock. 8 vo., 40 pages. Christopher Dock was a Mennonite schoolmaster who lived near Skippack, now Montgomery County. For a time he taught school in Germantown, and it is likely that the younger Christopher Sower was one of his pupils. The elder Sower urged Dock to write out a de-

Ein
Geistliches
Magazin,

Oder:

Aus den Schätzen der Schriftgelehr-
ten zum Himmelreich gelehrt, dargereichtes

Altes und Neues.



German town:
Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1764.

TITLE PAGE OF SOWER'S RELIGIOUS MAGAZINE

Begun in 1764 by the second Christopher Sower, fifty numbers were issued. It was the first religious magazine published in America. Size of original type page, six and seven-eighths by four inches.

scription of his teaching methods. He did so, in 1749, with the proviso that the text should not be published until after his death. In 1769 the younger Sower induced Dock to waive his objections and permit publication of the work though the author was still living. Dr. Brumbaugh and Governor Pennypacker acclaimed this as the first book on education published in America. Two editions were issued in 1770.

"Rosz-Arzney Büchlein." 24 mo., 210 pages and index. A veterinarian treatise.

"Einfältige Lehr-Betrachtungen Michael Frantzen." 16 mo., 48 pages. A religious book of the Brethren, partly in rhyme.

"Die Paradiesische Aloe," by Samuel Lucius. 12 mo., 304 pages.

"Marburger Gesang-Buch." 12 mo., 566 pages.

1771

"Rosz-Arzney Büchlein." 12 mo., 228 pages. Second edition.

"Die wandlende Seel," by J. P. Schabalie. 12 mo., 463 pages and innex.

"Der Weg der Gottseligkeit."

"Neujahrs Geschenk für das Jahr 1772."

1772

"Gesang-Buch." Third edition of the Reformed hymnal, with 730 hymns.

"Anweisung, oder Beyhülffe vor Deutsche um Englisch zu lernen." 12 mo., 268 pages. Third edition.

1773

"Der kleine Kempis." 16 mo., 156 pages. Fifth edition.

"Geistliches Blumen-Gärtlein," by Gerhard Terstee-gen. 24 mo., 560 pages. This reads "sixth edition" on the title page, but Dr. Seidensticker knew of only two previous editions in America. Apparently in this instance European editions were counted.

"Der Psalter des Königs und Propheten Davids." Sixth edition.

1774

"Der geschwinde Rechner," by Daniel Fenning. 8 vo., 280 pages. A "ready reckoner."

"Grundforschende Fragen," by Eberhard Ludwig Gruber. 16 mo., 58 pages. Second edition.

"Kurtze und einfältige Vorstellung," by Alexander Mack. 16 mo., 154 pages. Second edition. This is a statement of the Brethren faith by one of their ministers in Germantown.

"Nachdrückliche Buss-Stimme und Warnungs-Posaune." 16 mo., 22 pages. A funeral sermon from English.

"Marburger Gesang-Buch," containing 680 hymns.

"The Ready Reckoner," by Daniel Fenning. 8 vo., 280 pages.

1775

"Hoch-Deutsches Lutherisches A, B, C und Namen-Buchlein."

"Das Neue Testament." 12mo., 530 pages. Seventh edition.

1776

"Biblia, Das ist die ganze Göttliche Heilige Schrift." Quarto, 1220 pages and register. The third edition of the Sower Bible consisted of 3000 copies.

"Christliche Morgen- und Abend-Gebäter." 24 mo., 118 pages.

"Die Kinder Bibel." 24 mo., 488 pages.

1777

"Der kleine Davidische Psalterspiel." 12 mo., 572 pages and index. Fourth edition.

"Marburger Gesang-Buch." 12 mo., 600 pages and index.

THE THIRD GENERATION OF THE SOWERS

The imprint of Christopher Sower, Jr., third of the name and son of the second Christopher Sower, appears on some products of the Germantown press for 1776, as follows:

"Das alte Zeugnisz." 8 vo., 8 pages. Translation of a paper, "The Ancient Testimony," issued by the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, in Philadelphia, January 20, 1776, setting forth the loyalty of the Society's membership to the King of England.

"Robert Barclay's Apology." 12 mo., 798 pages and index. The first German translation of a well known Quaker work.

"Der Tod Abels," by Solomon Geszner. 12 mo., 158 pages.

In 1777 two Germantown works bore the imprint of Christopher Sower, Jr., and his brother, Peter Sower, as follows:

"An die Deutschen in Amerika," by A. Emmerick. This was a passionate appeal to Germans in America to support the British cause in the Revolution. The author, a Hessian living in America, returned to Germany and enlisted in one of the German commands destined for service with the British army in America. After the war he returned to his native country, and in 1809 he was shot for being implicated in a treasonable plot.

"Der kleine Catechismus des Dr. Martin Luther." 24 mo., 144 pages.

XXI—YEARS OF PROSPERITY

With regard to public affairs, Christopher Sower the second continued the policy of his father in supporting the Quakers, though in his time the Quaker control of the provincial government had terminated.

Apparently he was not as suspicious of free schools as was his father, for he joined other citizens of Germantown in 1760 in founding Germantown Academy, which is still serving as an educational institution. He was one of a committee of six appointed to gather subscriptions for the school, and he collected £189, 15 shillings. Of this amount he gave £20 for himself and £50 from the estate of his father. Christopher Sower was a trustee of the school for some years and was twice elected president of the Board. With a legacy from a descendant, Charles G. Sower, Sower Hall, the main auditorium of Germantown Academy, was built early in the present century as a memorial to the pioneer printers.

Sower prospered, and just before the Revolution he was one of the wealthiest citizens of Germantown, owning numerous pieces of real estate.

He built a house on the six-acre tract he had inherited from his father, on the east side of Germantown avenue, opposite Queen lane, now 5253-5265 Germantown avenue. The house stood until 1860, and pictures of it are extant. It was a large two-story stone dwelling, its longest dimensions being along the highway. The printing business was conducted in buildings at the rear. According to Dr. Sachse, Sower built this house shortly before the Revolution.

About 1772 Sower built a paper mill at Falls or Schuylkill to make paper for his printing house. In that and the preceding year he bought two and three-quarters acres here, between Ridge road and the Schuylkill, as a site for the mill.

XXII—FIRST TYPEFOUNDRY

Through the aid of Christopher Sower, the first

American typefoundry was established in Germantown in the early 1770's.

No. 12 of Volume II of the *Geistliches Magazien*, published by Sower in 1772, contained 100 stanzas by Alexander Mack, entitled "Reim-Gedicht vor die liebe Jugend"—"Rhymed Composition for the Beloved Youth." At the end were these words: "Gedruckt mit der erste Schrift die jemals in Amerika gegossen worden"—"Printed with the first type ever cast in America."

The new type was also used in the latter part of the Bible of 1776.

In January, 1775, a provincial conference was held in Philadelphia to take steps toward enforcing recommendations of the Continental Congress, especially as to the fostering of domestic industries and the discouragement of importations. One of the resolutions adopted declared "that as printing types are now being made to a considerable degree of perfection by an ingenious artist in Germantown, it is recommended to the printers to use such types in preference to any which they may hereafter import."

In the early nineteenth century David Sower, a grandson of Christopher Sower, was publishing the *Norristown Herald*. Discussing early typecasting in America, he wrote, in 1829: "If we have been correctly informed, the first movable type manufactured in this country was made for Mr. Sower (grandfather of the editor of this paper) by Jacob Bay, a German, who resided in Germantown several years before the American Revolution. The metal was imported by Mr. Sower, and the type was made by Mr. Bay. Some years after Justus Fox commenced the manufacture of German type and continued to follow that business for a number of years."

Jacob Bay was a tenant in the house belonging to Christopher Sower, at the southwest corner of Germantown avenue and Queen lane, which he had bought in 1755. Justus Fox was Bay's neighbor.

The typesetting venture in Germantown antedated by twenty-four years the establishment of Binney & Ronaldson's typefoundry in Philadelphia, usually regarded as the American pioneer in this industry. There is evidence that several early American printers cast type to meet their needs in emergencies. But the Germantown typefoundry was the first such undertaking that gained a foothold as a commercial enterprise, enduring for some years and supplying type to various printers.

The first Christopher Sower made some experiments in typesetting. Henry Kurtz, an apprentice in the printing shop before 1750 who attained great age, said that when they were setting type in 1749 for the first English book, the abridgement of the works of Thomas à Kempis, the supply of lower-case "o's" was exhausted. Sower then made moulds of lead and cast additional type.

The story of the inception of the typefoundry was told with considerable detail by Henry Kurtz to William McCulloch, of Philadelphia, who, between 1812 and 1815, assembled much information about the earlier printers of Pennsylvania. ⁽¹⁶⁾ Kurtz gave Justus Fox a large share of credit for the enterprise, though in Germantown Fox was better known as a maker of lampblack than as a typefounder. Lampblack was essential for making printers' ink. Fox was ingenious in many ways, as also was Jacob Bay. ⁽¹⁷⁾

Fox was born in Mannheim, Germany, March 4, 1736, and had the benefit of education in a Latin school. He

came to America with his father, arriving at Philadelphia in September, 1750. As the father could not pay the son's passage costs, it was necessary, according to the custom of the times, to indenture the boy to someone who would defray the costs, the youth working a specified time to earn the money expended for him.

At that time Henry Kurtz was an apprentice in Sower's printing shop. His father wanted him to leave the shop and join the father in Philadelphia. It was therefore arranged to have Justus Fox take Kurtz's place in the Sower shop. The indenture required Fox to serve Sower for six and a half years. Upon completion of the apprenticeship Fox remained as a workman in the shop.

Fox was skilled in penmanship and drawing, and this talent he utilized to make woodcuts to illustrate the Sower almanac. He engraved a new plate for the title page of the 1759 almanac, and this continued to serve the purpose down to the time that Michael Billmeyer printed the almanac. Fox also became adept in most of the occupations and professions that Sower followed—as apothecary, bleeder, cupper, dentist, farrier and turner,—and he made instruments required for his various crafts.

When Sower experimented in typecasting his thoughts were directed to the possibility of providing all the type he needed, instead of sending to Germany for it. He imported some type moulds. When they proved defective Fox, with his skill in engraving, corrected the defects in the letters, and also made new matrixes for typecasting.

Thus from time to time type was cast in the Sower shop. But it was not until Jacob Bay arrived that the typefoundry became an independent and important commercial enterprise.

Bay was born about 1735 at Moenchenstein, near Basel, Switzerland. He became a silk weaver, working in Lyons, France. After the death of his wife he came to America, bringing a son with him. They arrived at Philadelphia in December, 1771. In the ship list the name is written B y. For a time Jacob Bay was employed as a dyer and calico printer in Philadelphia. In April, 1772, he entered Sower's employ in the typefoundry, and soon cast a font of type, though so far as is known he previously had had no experience as a typefounder. Fox at this time was making new type matrixes in the Sower shop.

For two years Bay remained as an employe of Sower. Then he removed from the Sower house and established his own typefoundry. It is said he cast type in the kitchen of his house, on Dannehower's lane, now Wister street, Germantown. Three years later he removed to a house owned by Christopher Sower, at the northwest corner of Germantown avenue and Queen lane. Bay bought this house when Sower's confiscated real estate was sold. At the sale of the goods in the printing shop he bought type moulds.

McCulloch in his reminiscences said John Dunlap, a Philadelphia printer, provided the money to enable Bay to buy the house, taking type in settlement.

Type which Bay cast was used for the Marburger hymnal of 1777, and also for part of the Bible in 1776. As there was a steady sale for the hymnal among Lutheran congregations, Sower had enough type made to permit him to keep the type for the hymnal standing, so further editions might be printed without resetting. Likewise he thought that with abundant type the Bible might also be kept standing in type. For the earlier

editions of the Bible, when there was no great supply of type in the shop, only a few pages could be set at a time, and after these were printed the type had to be distributed so more pages could be set. Sower, it was said, spent £3000 for type in 1775 and 1776.

According to McCulloch, Bay lived at Germantown avenue and Queen lane for nine years. A deed on record shows he sold this property in 1783. McCulloch says Bay removed to a house near Market Square, Germantown, where he remained two years, still casting type and also weaving diaper cloth.

Whether by purchase or otherwise, Justus Fox succeeded to the typecasting business in Germantown in 1784. He lived on Germantown avenue, adjoining Bay's house at Queen lane.

From Germantown, Bay removed to Frankford, in northern Philadelphia County, where he was engaged as a weaver for three years. His son was killed in the blowing up of a powder mill near Frankford. Then for a year Bay's home was at Rising Sun, on York road, after which he was a resident of Philadelphia. McCulloch says Francis Bailey, a Philadelphia printer, bought Bay's typecasting outfit. About this time Bay was on the verge of destitution.

When the United States Mint was opened in Philadelphia, in 1792, competent engravers were needed. A position was offered to Justus Fox. He preferred to remain in Germantown but suggested Bay for the place. He was employed, but less than a year later he died from yellow fever, in the early days of the great epidemic of 1793.

Bay is described as having been a remarkably ingenious workman, but unreliable. He would begin a job

with great enthusiasm, but might abandon it before its completion. While in Germantown he made a bass drum, and he delighted to lead parades. For a time he was drum major in the militia, and he also was constable for five years. Some of his type, it is said, was carelessly finished. Dunlap, the Philadelphia printer, after buying a font from Bay, had Fox recast it. Bay also was skilled in making machinery for weaving and other purposes. He was too impatient to work from plans, but depended upon his memory. One of his contrivances was a stove like a pitcher that could be set upon a window sill to heat a room.

Justus Fox, according to McCulloch, was much more dependable than Bay. But he also was deliberate. Once a printer came out to Germantown from Philadelphia with an order for type which was wanted in a hurry for shipment to South Carolina. Fox would make no promises. "I'm never in a hurry," he remarked. He continued to cast type and make lampblack in Germantown until his death, January 26, 1805, at the age of 70. His son, Emanuel, carried on the lampblack business, but sold the typefoundry to Samuel Sower, of Baltimore, son of the second Christopher Sower. Justus Fox had a large collection of Sower newspapers and other publications. The son used this paper for wrapping lampblack. The elder Fox was one of the few members of the Church of the Brethren who did not wear a beard but always was clean shaven.

XXIII—SOWER'S PROPERTY CONFISCATED

Now when he was at the zenith of his prosperity a great blow fell upon the Germantown printer. Because he refused to give the required assurance of his adherence to the American cause in the Revolution, all his

property was confiscated and sold, and he spent the remainder of his life in poverty.

Being a minister of the Church of the Brethren, Sower, in compliance with the faith of that sect, was a pacifist. While that may have created some prejudice against him in the early days of the Revolution, it was not the immediate cause of his misfortune. That came when he failed to heed a proclamation directing that he surrender himself for trial on a charge of treason.

When Captain Henry Hill was organizing a company of militia in lower Germantown, in the early days of the Revolution, financial aid was sought from citizens for equipping the company. The subscription paper, preserved in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, shows that thirteen citizens contributed, and that the largest gift was £1, which came from Christopher Sower. After the amount he wrote the words: "for die arme Weibr und Kinder"—"for the poor wives and children." Christopher Sower, Jr., added 7 shillings, 6 pence to the fund.

If the father sought to remain neutral, there was no question as to which side his sons Christopher and Peter took. The third Christopher Sower was now to a large degree in control of the printing business. In 1776 he printed the Quaker statement of adherence to the British government, and the following year he issued A. Emmerick's appeal to the Germans to support the British cause. When the British army occupied Philadelphia Christopher Sower, Jr., and his brother Peter went into the city and established a printing shop there from which they issued a German newspaper, "Der Pennsylvania Staats Courier," which was regarded as a mouthpiece of General Howe.

There is an intimation of the feeling against the Sowers in a letter of Mary Pemberton, wife of one of the Philadelphia Quakers whom the Americans transported to Virginia in 1777. The letter, written to her husband and dated 3 and 4 10 mo., 1777, is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. She was evidently writing of the third Christopher Sower and his plans to print a German translation of the address of the Quakers relative to the action of the American government against some of their members. Her words were:

"Sower did not go on with the German edition, being intimidated by his countrymen and his press removed out of his house. He tells he is like to set it up in this city, when I suppose he will be at liberty to go forward."

In a statement made after the war when he claimed reimbursement from the British government for his losses, young Sower asserted he had refused to serve in the Pennsylvania militia or to pay the fine assessed on those who did not serve. William McCulloch, in his reminiscences, declared that Sower was exempted from militia duty because one of his legs was shorter than the other.

In 1777 the *Germantowner Zeitung* was published by the third Christopher Sower and his brother Peter. With their removal into Philadelphia its publication ceased.

The British took possession of Germantown in September, 1777, and then also of Philadelphia. The army was extended across Germantown at School lane and Church lane, three blocks north of the Sower house. On October 4 the Americans attacked the British in Germantown. The battle was fought in the upper part of the town, a mile north of the Sower house and in close proximity to the Church of the Brethren. Soon after the

battle the British withdrew into Philadelphia. In November and December the American army was encamped at Whitemarsh, five miles north of Germantown, and the territory between the two armies, including Germantown, was a "no man's land" which parties from both armies overran from time to time.

Early in December, 1777, General Howe, the British commander, undertook his movement against the Americans at Whitemarsh, marching his army out to Chestnut Hill. But after several skirmishes Howe concluded the Americans were too strongly situated to warrant a battle and hence he withdrew his troops into the city.

In this foray of the British the third Christopher Sower accompanied them as far as Germantown. It has been asserted he served as a guide. Other accounts say he wanted to get papers from his house. Robert Morton, in his diary, noted that while Sower was in Germantown at this time a party of American troops from Frankford, under Captain Nicholas Coleman, invaded Germantown, at the rear of the British, seizing young Sower and took him before General Washington for questioning. Washington is quoted as remarking: "Well, Mr. Sower, you will be likely now to get some sour sauce."

Almost opposite the Sower house, at the southwest corner of Germantown avenue and Queen lane, lived George Losch, a powdermaker who had a mill west of Germantown where he made powder for the American army. On their raid the British captured several Germantown residents who had been active in the American cause, among them George Losch. It was whispered that young Sower was instrumental in causing Losch's arrest. Subsequently it was arranged to exchange young Sower upon the release of Losch. Sower gained his freedom January 10, 1778.

The elder Sower also made his home in the city of Philadelphia during the period of the British occupation, remaining there from October 19, 1777, until May 23, 1778. This course intensified the popular impression that his sympathies were with the British. Some of his friends explained that he went into the city because of his son's insistence.

He had been back in Germantown a little more than a day when he was taken into custody. The arrest was made at 10 p. m. on May 24, 1778, by a detail of Americans under command of "Captain McClean," according to Sower's journal. Captain Allen McLane was a daring commander of a band of troopers that were busy all winter in the territory between the two armies. But there also was a Captain Joseph McClean, who commanded a militia company in Whitemarsh at this time.

Sower's account of his arrest is as follows: ⁽⁸⁾

"Having heard how a number of Quakers were punished and carried away to Virginia and being informed that there was yet some hundreds of substantial inhabitants on the list to be taken up and secured, among which my name also was put down, and as there was already a beginning made and some of the millers on the Wissahickon were actually taken away from their families, I considered what I would do, knowing Germantown would always be a disturbed place. English and Americans would continually march through it forward and backward, and having three of my children already living in Philadelphia, I bethought myself to go there to live in peace, and accordingly went to Philadelphia on the nineteenth day of October, 1777 (many months before that act was passed which forbade to go to Philadelphia.) I lived there quietly and peaceably until the twenty-third day of May, 1778, when I went back to Germantown, and was in my house that night and the next day until 10 o'clock at night, when a strong party of Captain Mc-

Clean's company surrounded my house and fetched me out of bed.

"It was a dark night. They led me through the Indian corn fields, where I could not come along as fast as they wanted me to go. They frequently struck me in the back with their bayonets till they brought me to Bastian Miller's barn, where they kept me until next morning. Then they strip'd me naked to the skin and gave me an old shirt and breeches, then cut my beard and hair, and painted me with oil colors red and black, and so led me along barefooted and bareheaded in a very hot sunshiny day.

"A friend of mine seeing me in that condition asked them whether they would take the shoes from me if he would give me a pair. They promised not to take them from me. And so he took the shoes from his feet and the hat from his head and gave them to me. But after we had marched six miles a soldier came and demanded my shoes and took them, and gave me his old slabs, which wounded my feet very much. On the 26th, at 9 o'clock, I arrived at the camp and was sent to the provo.

"My accusation in the mittimus was an oppressor of the righteous and a spy. On the 27th in the morning God moved the heart of the most generous General Muhlenberg to come to me and enquire into my affairs, and promised that he would speak to General Washington and procure me a hearing, and the next day sent me word that I should make a petition to General Washington, which I did; and through the good hand of Providence and the faithful assistance of the said General Muhlenberg, I was permitted to go out of the provo on the 29th day of May; but as I was not free to take the oath to the States, I was not permitted to go hence to Germantown, as appears by the following pass:

"'Permit the bearer hereof, Mr. Sower, to pass from hence to Meduchin, not to return to Germantown during the stay of the enemy in this State, he behaving as becometh. Given under my hand and seal at the Orderly

Office the thirtieth day of May, 1778. Nich Gilman, Asst. Ad. General.' ”

The “provost,” or army prison, where Sower was confined, was in the winter camp at Valley Forge, where the army lingered awaiting the next step of the British in Philadelphia. Nothing has come to light among the Valley Forge military records relative to Sower’s arrest. However, the diary of Christopher Marshall, who lived in Lancaster at this time, notes that on May 28, 1778, Christopher Ludwick, the American Army’s superintendent of bakeries, came to Lancaster from Valley Forge and reported that Sower had just been arrested and that his captors had shaved his head and painted him.

General Peter Muhlenberg, who interested himself in behalf of Sower, was the eldest son of Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the Lutheran leader who once complained about the vilification to which he had been subjected in the newspaper of the first Sower. Peter Muhlenberg had been a Lutheran pastor in Woodstock, Virginia, but he forsook the pulpit to join the American army.

A tradition once current among the Brethren regarding Sower’s captivity at Valley Forge was to the effect that a soldier took Sower’s trousers from him and wore them, whereupon he was seized with intense pain. The soldier removed the trousers, but the pain continued and he died.

Sower is said to have written the account of his captivity eight days before his death, in 1784, at the request of Frederick A. Muhlenberg. The latter was a brother of General Peter Muhlenberg, and prior to the Revolution he was a Lutheran clergyman. At the time of

Sower's death he was a justice of the peace at Trappe, the family home of the Muhlenbergs. This is a few miles west of Methacton, where Sower was living. Frederick A. Muhlenberg held numerous public offices. He was the first speaker of the United States House of Representatives under the constitution.

The region later known as Methacton but called "Meduchin" by Sower comprises the vicinity of Fairview Village, on Germantown pike, three miles northwest of Norristown, in Montgomery County. Here Sower remained until June 23, 1778. Then, the British having evacuated Philadelphia, he returned to his home in Germantown.

The military authorities had been responsible for Sower's arrest and imprisonment. Now the civil authorities of Pennsylvania also proceeded against him.

In June, 1777, the Pennsylvania Assembly had passed an act requiring all white male inhabitants past the age of 18 and not in the army to subscribe to the oath of allegiance to the United States. Sower, like most Quakers, Mennonites and Brethren, disregarded this requirement. Some Quakers and certain former officials under the British rule were seized and interned in distant districts where they could not come into contact with the enemy. But no further action was taken against those suspected of being disaffected until the spring of 1778.

On May 9, while Sower was still in Philadelphia, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania issued a proclamation containing the names of fifty-seven persons who were directed to stand trial on the charge of high treason. On May 21 following, two days before Sower left Philadelphia for Germantown, another proclamation was issued by the Council in which seventy-five names of

persons similarly accused were listed. Among these were "Christopher Saur the Elder" and "Christopher Saur the Younger," both printers, together with five other residents of Germantown Township. ⁽²⁶⁾

The proclamation ordered these persons "to render themselves respectively to some or one of the Justices of the Supreme Court or of the Justices of the Peace of one of the counties within this state on or before Monday the sixth day of July next ensuing & also abide their legal tryal for such their Treason on pain that every one of them not rendering himself as aforesaid and abiding the tryal aforesaid shall from and after the said sixth day of July next stand attainted of High Treason to all intents and purposes & shall suffer such pains & penalties & undergo all such forfeitures as persons attained of High Treason ought to do."

By no means everyone thus accused of treason was convicted if he surrendered and abided by the results of the trial. But Sower chose not to comply with the terms of the proclamation. Hence, without further legal proceedings, all his property was forfeited to the state.

It is difficult to assume that he was unaware of the requirements of the proclamation, which was printed in the newspapers and upon handbills. In the passages quoted from his journal describing his arrest he admitted knowing that his name was included in the lists of "substantial inhabitants" under suspicion of disloyalty. There was an interval of more than a month when he might have appeared before some court. In that time, even if he did not read the newspapers, it seems incredible that someone should not speak to him about the action taken against him. He and his friends complained afterward that he had been deprived of his property and classed as

a traitor without trial. But such evidence as is available seems to show that it was his own fault that he did not have a trial.

XXIV—APPRAISAL AND SALE

The documents revealing the pathetic story of the seizure and sale of Sower's property may be consulted in the Pennsylvania Archives, Sixth Series, Volumes XII and XIII.

First an appraisal was made, on July 27 and 29, 1778. The appraisers were Winnard Nice and George Losch, both of Germantown, the latter being the powdermaker whom the British had captured the preceding year. The appraisal was made at the direction of Colonel George Smith, agent for confiscated estates in Philadelphia County.

Sower recorded in his journal that when the appraisement was begun he begged he might be permitted to keep his bed, but this was refused, and he was allowed to retain only his clothing and some provisions. Then he asked that his stock of medicines might remain in his possession. This, too, was refused, he being told that medicines were very valuable just then and they must be sold. His final appeal that he might keep his spectacles was granted.

Describing the visit of the appraisers, Sower made his nearest approach to an explanation of his conduct in declining to undergo trial. He wrote: (s)

"I returned to Germantown and lived there quietly until the 27th of July, when Colonel Smith and Colonel Thompson came to my house and asked me whether I had entered special bail at the Supreme Court at Lancaster. I told them, No! 'Why not?' said they. 'Because I had

no notice.' 'That cannot be,' said Thompson, 'it was in all the newspapers and handbills.' I told them I had at that time been in the provo and at Methacton, and had seen none of those papers, and nobody had told me of it until the time was expired. 'Have you taken the oath to the States?' 'No.' 'Why not; were you so attached to the King?' 'No, it was not the attachment to the King, but as you have in your act that they that do not take the oath shall not have a right to buy or sell, and as I find in the Book of Revelation that such a time will come when such a mark would be given, so I could not take that oath while it stood on that condition.' "

The inventory records show not only the great mass of goods and materials in the Sower house but they give some details of the house itself, its contents being listed by rooms.

The inventory begins with the "southeast room upstairs." This evidently was a bedroom, but it contained many books.

In the "southwest room upstairs" were odds and ends, including "5 books on the Chimely."

"A corner cubbart full of Sundry sorts of new books" was "in the entry upstairs," and was valued at £30.

The "northwest room upstairs" was a bedroom, with "an old fashioned stove."

When the appraisers came to the "northeast room upstairs" they made this note: "James Haslet taken in as third Praizer."

In this room, besides books, casks and medicines, was "a large parcel of printed paper ready for the bookbinders," and this, together with "some clean paper," was valued at £500—the highest value given to any one item in the appraisalment.

In the "room over the printing office" were hair

Der
Kleine
Katechismus
D. Martin Luthers.
Mit Erläuterungen
herausgegeben
zum Gebrauch
der
Lutherischen Gemeinden
in
Pennsylvanien.

Germantown
Gedruckt bey Christoph Sarr.
1744

FIRST AMERICAN EDITION OF LUTHER'S SMALLER
CATECHISM

Sower printed this book in 1744 for Count Zinzendorf, leader
of the Moravians.

ropes, three chaff beds—whereon, perhaps, the apprentices used to sleep—two bookbinders' presses, a bedstead and a bookcase.

Then the appraisers visited "the garret over the printing office." Here they found a tub of linseed oil, a lot of curled hair, a "piece of brazile," white lead and "a number of old stills."

The "northeast room of the printing office" contained type and other printing equipment, and in the "press room" were old type, old lumber and a copper kettle, but no presses so far as the list shows.

"Part of a printing press" was found in "the entry to the printing office."

Contents of numerous drawers in "the southwest room downstairs" were enumerated, being mostly chemicals, but there were also "sundry sorts of roots."

Then "the medicen shop" was visited. Here, besides drugs, were glass and paints and two feather beds and a tick.

"Sundry sorts of type and a press," in the "northeast room downstairs" were inventoried at £100.

There was more type and another still in the "northwest room downstairs."

That the Sowers were ready to do their duty in time of fire is suggested by these items for "the entry downstairs": "A glass lanthorn, six fire buckets, a hand engine."

"The lampblack house" also supplied a list of articles. This was where the printers made their ink.

Other rooms and corners of the place, in each of which numerous items were listed, included "the kitchen," "at the pump," "the outhouse upstairs," "downstairs

outhouse," "cyder press house," "the stables," "in the front cellar," and "in Jacob Bay's house," the latter being across the street where the typefoundry was conducted.

Colonel Smith, one of the agents of confiscated estates, made an appraisal of Sower's real estate on July 29, 1778. Eight properties in Germantown and Roxborough Townships were listed. A notation was added that the deeds for Sower's real estate and bonds to the amount of £1500 were in the hands of General Sullivan, of the army, having been seized when Sower was arrested.

Sower's son Daniel pleaded with various officials to stay the sale and grant his father a hearing, but without effect.

The "publick vendue" for the disposal of the personal property took place August 15, 24 and 28, 1778. The list of items sold is long. This is the first notation:

"I saking bottom Beadstead Bought by John Man, £5, 5s."

For a "cover lid" Peter Snyder paid 15s, 6d.

Conrad Asher paid 9s for an "old sheet." Jacob Freas obtained a sheet and an old blanket for 18s, while James Haslet paid 7s for two old sheets.

Wollry Fryheffer bought a featherbed weighing eleven and three-quarter pounds for £4, 15s, and for another featherbed weighing twenty-seven pounds Godlip Boll paid £11, 2s, 9d.

It was evident that the clerk of the sale was not familiar with the German names of Germantown residents of that time, and his resort to phonetic spelling results in some queer mangling of names.

Books were sold in lots of two to six. Michael Billmeyer bought several lots. After the Revolution Billmeyer was the leading printer of Germantown for many years.

John Dunlap, a Philadelphia printer, bought eleven lots of type, paying 6d to 1s, 10d a pound for it, while for another lot of type Francis Baily paid at the rate of 6s, 9d a pound. Dunlap also bought a bookbinder's press for £11 and a printing press for £99.

It must be remembered that these prices were in depreciated Continental currency. About this time in Philadelphia coffee cost 16 shillings a pound, sugar 50 shillings a pound and a pair of shoes 135 to 150 shillings.

Unbound copies of the Bible were sold in bundles. William Hall bought seventeen lots, most of which comprised six bundles of unbound Bibles. The price varied from £21 to £35 a lot. Hall also made numerous other purchases, including "all the unbound Bibles upstairs," for £270.

Great quantities of books, English and German, were sold in bundles and lots. "Ready Reckoners" went in lots of a dozen each. Andrew Gier made numerous purchases of books, including "six bundles of the Wandering Souls at £1, 19s per bundle."

Here are a few other items from this part of the account:

Andrew Gier, 543 books, £61; 950 books, £26; 290 books, unbound, £9, 15s.

Will Hall, 1169 catechisms, £31; 900 catechisms, £40; 900 psalm books, £87; "572 books called flower gardens," £21; "370 Everlasting Gospel," £5.

William Hall and John Dunlap also bought large

quantities of paper, and for "a lot of lose paper in the garret over the printing office" Hall paid £50.

For a "box of curiosities" James Lukens paid 3 shillings, and Mathias Lukens bought a squirrel cage for 9 shillings.

The six fire buckets that hung in the entry of the house were sold for £2, 12s each. The buyers were John Mace and Andrew Gier, the former acquiring four and the latter two.

"Jacob Bay, a lot of letter moles, £3," is an item recalling the typesetting project.

From ancient times until modern sanitation ended its existence the printing office towel was a notorious institution. Sower's printing shop also had a towel—apparently only one. In the good old days printing shops needed only one towel, and that was never washed and it rarely wore out. John Mace bought the Sower towel, and he paid £1, 2s, 6d for it.

Large quantities of chemicals, used in the printing shop and on sale in Sower's drug shop, were sold. For a bottle of whisky Joseph Hyser paid 8s, 6d. George Bringhurst bought "a jug with spirits of turpentine" for £18. For a barrel of sweet oil William Leasher paid £13, 16s. Dr. Charles Bensell, Germantown's leading physician, bought various lots of medicines and chemicals. This curious item appears: "Doctr Bensel to something that beats ye Doctr, 7s, 6d." A wooden medicine box sold at this time is now in the museum of the Germantown Historical Society.

Even the growing things in the garden were not overlooked in the sale, as these items show: "John Mace,

to the Garden," £3; "James Haslet, to Indian Corn and Potatoes in ye ground," £7, 10s.

The total amount realized from the sale of the personal property was £5141, 14s, 3d.

The greater part of the real estate of Christopher Sower was sold at the Philadelphia court house on August 25, 1779, as follows:

The Germantown homestead and six acres, with an adjoining tract of thirty square perches, and a lot of one and one-half acres, on Bowman's lane, now Queen lane, to Colonel John Bull, for £9930. Colonel Bull lived where Norristown now is. He commanded a regiment of militia in the Revolution, and was one of the agents to take charge of confiscated estates.

Seventy acres on Ridge road, in Roxborough Township, to Daniel Clymer.

A tract of six and one-half acres on Keyser's lane, Germantown, now East Washington lane, to Captain George Geddes, for £1670.

Paper mill tract, between Ridge road and the Schuylkill, at Falls of Schuylkill, to Colonel Jacob Morgan, for £10,149. Colonel Morgan complained to the court April 3, 1780, that Daniel Sower, son of the former owner, was still in the possession of the mill, house and lands and refused to give them up to Morgan. Thereupon the sheriff was directed to see that Morgan obtained possession. Morgan sold the property July 19, 1783, to Simon Class, a papermaker of Lower Merion Township, for £700. While this sum seems much less than what he had paid, Morgan probably made a profit, as he paid for it in greatly depreciated Continental currency, while in 1783

the war had ended and money again had its normal value.

Eleven and three-quarters acres in Roxborough Township, to Benjamin Harbeson, for £6000.

Nineteen and one-half acres in Bristol Township, later the Forty-second Ward of Philadelphia, to Abraham Rex.

Six and one-quarter acres of meadow land on Bowman's lane, now Queen lane, Germantown, to Joseph Carson, for £1610.

"Piece of ground near the Falls of Schuylkill," to Joseph Carson.

Lot with buildings at the northwest corner of Bowman's lane and the main street of Germantown, now Germantown avenue and Queen lane, comprising one acre and thirty-eight perches, to Jacob Bay, for £4200. The house on this property was later for many years the parsonage of Trinity Lutheran Church. It was here that Jacob Bay, tenant of the property, cast type.

Eighty-three and three-quarters acres in Roxborough Township, to Daniel Clymer, for £13,207.

A tract of nearly twelve acres in Germantown, was sold May 5, 1780, to Benjamin Harbeson, for £6000.

Christopher Sower was required to vacate his house on July 30, 1778, and from then until the time of the sale this, as well as his other properties, was rented to tenants by the commissioners of forfeited estates.

After the sale Sower presented a claim to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania for the return of the property, but the court dismissed the claim on December 20, 1780.

In his *History of Printing*, Isaiah Thomas estimated that Sower lost \$90,000 by the confiscation.

XXV—LAST DAYS AT METHACTON

Christopher Sower's wife died shortly before he experienced his misfortunes, on January 8, 1777.

When ejected from his home Sower and his four youngest children took up their abode with Henry Sharpnack, his wife's brother, in Germantown. There he remained until April 7, 1780, occupying himself at his trade of bookbinder. Then according to his journal, he dealt with "Brother Stamm." His diary has entries of money loaned him at that time by members of the Germantown Church of the Brethren. All of these loans were later repaid.

One tradition relates that at Methacton Sower lived in a loft over a springhouse, while another account is to the effect that he had his home in Conrad Stamm's weaving shop. The latter seems to agree with Sower's journal. Several generations of the Anders family subsequently lived on the farm where Sower spent his last days, and, according to the information handed down in this family, the house in which Christopher Sower lived was not what is usually termed a springhouse, but it was a small, one-room building standing close to a spring. This structure probably was the weaving shop of Conrad Stamm, who owned the property. The farm in question is situated west of Fairview Village and southwest of Germantown pike, in Lower Providence Township, Montgomery County. (25)

While living at Methacton Sower sometimes preached. The Brethren at their annual meeting in 1780 chose Sower and Martin Unger to visit Pennsylvania congregations and ordain elders and deacons. They left on August 9, and spent ten days attending meetings of the Brethren in Lancaster County, during which time Sower

preached ten times. Two weeks before he died he walked twelve miles to preach at a service of the Brethren. Dr. Brumbaugh, himself a minister of the Brethren, described Christopher Sower as a "preacher of great power and a pastor of marvelous insight." ⁽¹³⁾

In 1781 there appeared in print a four-page versified acrostic upon the name of Christopher Sower which he had composed for his sixtieth birthday anniversary, on September 26. The name of the printer was not given.

At Methacton Sower worked at his trade of book-binder. Copies of the 1776 edition of his Bible which he bound here he presented to each of his seven living children. Isaiah Thomas' History of Printing narrates that while binding books he overheated himself in beating the folded sheets to make the fold firm. Thereupon he drank copiously of spring water, and soon thereafter he was stricken with apoplexy.

His death occurred August 26, 1784.

There was no congregation of the Brethren nearby. But a mile distant from the Stamm farm, to the northeast, in Worcester Township, was Methacton Mennonite Meeting House. The Brethren and the Mennonites readily affiliated, both being "plain sects." Their principal difference in doctrine is in relation to baptism, the Brethren requiring immersion, while the Mennonites are satisfied with sprinkling, though both sanction only the baptism of adults.

So Christopher Sower was buried in the grounds of Methacton Mennonite congregation. Elder Martin Urner, of the Brethren, and Samuel Hopkins, a Philadelphia Quaker, conducted the funeral service, and Alexander Mack, minister of the Germantown Brethren,

wrote a hymn for the occasion. Sower was buried in a walnut coffin, a mark of special distinction. ⁽¹³⁾

In 1938 the Church of the Brethren replaced the original marble tombstone at Sower's grave with a modern marker.

Sower's daughter Catherine was her father's faithful attendant during the four years spent at Methacton. The year after her father's death she became the wife of Samuel Harley.

Near the grave of Christopher Sower is that of his daughter Esther, who married Christopher Zimmerman and who died in 1786, aged 23 years. Farther on is a stone marking the grave of David Sower, a son of Christopher Sower, who died in 1835.

Sower's resentment of the treatment to which he had been subjected is evident in the manuscript narrative that he left. Summing up the account of the confiscation of his property, he wrote:

"And so they have not only broken the fundamental rule in selling my estate, but have also published me in almost all newspapers as a traitor, without cause and without ever giving me a hearing or a trial; although I was never gone an inch from my place of abode, and their attorney, Mr. Bradford, has himself declared to a friend of mine that if I had not forfeited my life I had not forfeited my estate, for they had no more right to my estate than my life."

In his last years and after his death the feeling of antagonism toward Sower subsided, and in 1792 the Pennsylvania Legislature enacted a law giving his heirs whatever remained unsold of the confiscated property, either real estate or uncollected debts. However, little if anything became available.

The Germantown homestead of the Sowers stood until 1860. For many years it was owned by Charles J. Wister, who lived at Grumblethorpe, the historic Wister house, adjoining the Sower place in the north. Mr. Wister had the interior of the Sower house reconstructed and leased it to a succession of tenants. It then comprised twenty rooms, the house measuring ninety by two hundred and sixty feet. In 1860 Mr. Wister had the house torn down and an ornate brownstone dwelling erected on the site, according to what was then deemed the best architectural style. This house Mr. Wister turned over to his son, Dr. Owen J. Wister, who, with his family, lived there. Thus it was the boyhood home of Owen Wister, later a famous novelist. He was born a few months before the family moved into the house.

Later the brownstone house was owned in succession by Moses Brown, Robert Pearsoll Smith and T. Wistar Brown. Robert Pearsoll Smith was the father of Logan Pearsoll Smith, widely read English essayist of recent times, some of whose boyhood days were spent here.

Beginning in 1910 the house was for some years the quarters of the Young Republican Club of Germantown. After being sold, in 1922, the house was demolished and a row of one-story stores was erected on the site. The excavations at this time revealed cellar walls of the Sower house close to the sidewalk line. The lot now measures ninety-two feet along Germantown avenue, with a depth of three hundred feet, being numbered 5255 to 5263 Germantown avenue.

XXVI—CHRISTOPHER SOWER, 3D

Christopher Sower was the father of nine children, of whom seven were living when the father lost his property. The daughter Catherine seems to have been the

only one who did anything to mitigate the distress of the father's closing years.

Christopher, the oldest son, who was born January 27, 1754, cast his fortunes with the British when they occupied Philadelphia, as has been told, and he and his brother Peter printed a German newspaper in Philadelphia supporting the British cause.

Henry Miller, a German printer in Philadelphia, who upheld the American side in the war, fled from the city in September, 1777, when the British entered. After his return to Philadelphia, in July, 1778, following the departure of the British, Miller issued a statement charging that on January 29, 1778, Sower, whom Miller described as "Howe's German printer," took possession of Miller's printing shop, saying General Howe had presented him with the shop. Sower, says Miller, was associated with James Robertson, one of Howe's English printers. In June when the British were preparing to evacuate the city, Miller's statement continues, Robertson came to the shop saying he had orders to take away its content to compensate him because the Americans had seized his shop in Albany. The presses, type and other equipment were hastily loaded into wagons and carts and taken off to the ships upon which the British were preparing to depart from the city. Robertson left two presses and some type. Sower then took parts of these presses and damaged the remaining type. Miller surmised that because he had once worked for Benjamin Franklin the British suspected Franklin might have an interest in the plant. As some of Sower's printing equipment had been located in the city after the return of the Americans, Miller asked that he be recompensed for his loss with type and other supplies from the Sower material, so he might resume publication of his newspaper. (9)

One of the issues from the press of the two Sowers in Philadelphia, in 1778, was a volume of poetry of 172 pages by the Rev. Johann Christoph Kunze, pastor of the Lutheran congregation in the city.

The publication office of the Sower brothers was on Second street.

The same day his father's confiscated real estate was sold a ten-acre tract in Bristol Township, later the Forty-second Ward of Philadelphia, belonging to Christopher Sower, 3d, was also sold.

When the British army evacuated Philadelphia, in June, 1778, Christopher Sower, 3d, along with many other "loyalists," went to New York. The papers of Sir Henry Clinton, commander of the British army, which have come into possession of the William L. Clemens Library at the University of Michigan, reveal that Sower, while in New York, was in correspondence with Clinton from December, 1778, to May, 1780. (18,27)

In the early letters Sower offered assurances of loyalty to the British cause from "great numbers of people" in "the back parts of Pennsylvania" saying he had received such assurances from a visitor coming from that region. Two Pennsylvania militia officers, he declared, were ready to serve the British but would continue to hold their militia commissions. Sower was in contact with these Pennsylvania "loyalists" through Andrew Fürstner, of Lancaster County, a British spy.

When Clinton went to South Carolina to conduct the southern campaign of the British, Sower continued to supply him with information about Pennsylvania "loyalists." He said that Colonel William Rankin, of the Pennsylvania militia, had six thousand men ready for duty under him in Lancaster and York Counties if Clinton

would send them aid. Apparently Clinton was not impressed by this suggestion, as he did not try to comply with the request.

Sower also sought in vain to induce William Franklin, royal governor of New Jersey, to help the Pennsylvania "loyalists."

From New York Christopher Sower, 3d, went to St. John's, New Brunswick. There he printed the Royal Gazette. He went to England in 1784 to try to obtain restitution from the British government for the American confiscation of his father's property.

To substantiate this claim, Sower made a statement declaring that he had "inherited loyalty" to the British cause from his father, and that his father had orally transferred his property to his son. He valued his father's lost estate at £6433 and his own at £596. After leaving Philadelphia Sower said he had suggested plans to General Clinton for overcoming the Americans; he had sent an emissary to York County, Pennsylvania, to try to influence the German settlers to support the British side; he had issued a pamphlet with a similar purpose, addressed to the Germans of Pennsylvania, which General Knyphausen, the Hessian commander, had revised, and at the request of Major Andre he had addressed an appeal to the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. He admitted that all these efforts had proved fruitless insofar as changing the attitude of the Germans in Pennsylvania concerning the Revolution.

The statement added that while in New York Sower had visited a prison ship where the British confined American prisoners. One of the prisoners he met there was Captain Coleman, who had commanded the company that captured Sower in Germantown. Sower said he pro-

vided Coleman with clothing and obtained his release.

The British government finally granted Sower an annuity of £40 and an allowance of £1289 for his losses. In addition £518 was ordered paid to each of his three brothers and one sister. Whether the entire amount really was paid is doubtful.

Christopher Sower, 3d, was appointed postmaster of St. John's, New Brunswick, and printer to the King for New Brunswick, to which province he returned in 1785. He lived there until 1799, when, his health failing, he went to Baltimore, the home of his brother Samuel. There he died July 3, 1799.

Christopher Sower, 3d, was baptized into membership in the Church of the Brethren. He married Hannah Knorr, of Germantown, and they had six children. A son, Brooke Watson Sower, was a printer in the employ of William McCulloch, of Philadelphia, early in the nineteenth century, and from him McCulloch obtained some information he included in his reminiscences of early printers.

XXVII—DANIEL SOWER

Daniel Sower was born October 14, 1755. When his father's property was confiscated Daniel appealed to Timothy Matlack, secretary of the Assembly, and other state officials, asking that his father be given a trial, but his efforts were in vain. He held possession of his father's paper mill at Falls of Schuylkill after it had been sold, and an order of court was necessary directing the sheriff to dispossess him. He then bought a snuff mill in the neighborhood and converted it into a paper mill, which he operated for some years.

Samuel W. Pennypacker, in his "Annals of Phoenix-

ville and Its Vicinity," published in 1872, says, in telling of incidents in Schuylkill Township, Chester County, at the time of the Valley Forge encampment: "In the barn of David James spies, deserters and delinquents were confined and were watched continually by a provost guard. Daniel Sower was arrested upon some charge and kept there for several days. Nothing could be proven, however, and he was liberated."

Daniel's later life was spent on a farm near Phoenixville, Pa. It was said he saved some equipment of the Germantown foundry, and this later came into possession of his brother Samuel when he established his type-foundry in Baltimore.

Daniel Sower married Maria Seiler, or Saylor, and they were the parents of three children. He died December 27, 1812. ⁽¹³⁾

XVIII—PETER SOWER

Peter Sower, son of the second Christopher Sower, who was born January 8, 1759, learned the printing trade in his father's shop, and accompanied his brother Christopher to Philadelphia at the time of the British occupation, being associated with Christopher there in the printing business. He went with Christopher to New Brunswick, but later returned to the United States, studied medicine and practiced his profession on Cat Island, in the British West Indies, where he died of yellow fever in 1785. ⁽¹³⁾

XXIX—DAVID SOWER

David Sower, another son of the second Christopher Sower, also continued the family vocation of printer and publisher. A newspaper which he founded is the only one of the various Sower publications that has survived

to the present time—the Norristown Times Herald, long one of the leading newspapers of interior Pennsylvania.

David Sower was born in Germantown November 6, 1764, and as a youth he worked in his father's printing shop. After his father lost his property and moved to Methacton, David lived in Germantown with Henry Sharpnack, a brother of his mother, with whom he learned the trade of saddletree making. Subsequently he was employed at this trade in Montgomery County, but about 1790 he opened a wholesale and retail grocery store on Race street, above Second, Philadelphia. Business conditions during and after the yellow fever epidemic of 1793 were such that he sold out his store at a heavy loss.

He seems to have taken some steps toward entering into the publishing business, for a German primer issued in 1794 was printed for David Sower. It was a 12 mo. volume of ninety-four pages, most of its contents being translated from the New England Primer. A little later David Sower and William Jones conducted a book and stationery store and bookbindery on Third street, above Arch, Philadelphia. This firm, in 1794, published an English edition of the Bible illustrated with wood cuts and dedicated to George Washington with these words:

“Most helpful George, into whose hands we give
The sum of that which makes us ever live.”

In the spring of 1799 David Sower went to Norristown, Pa., county seat of Montgomery County, and there established a printing shop from which he issued the Norristown Gazette, the first newspaper printed in Montgomery County. The initial number was dated June 1, 1799. It consisted of four pages, each ten by eight and one-half inches, with three columns to the page. The

subscription price was \$1 a year, the publication appearing weekly. At the end of the first year the name of the paper was changed to Norristown Herald and Weekly Advertiser, and the size of the page increased to nineteen and one-half by ten inches, the price now being \$2 a year.

In 1802 David Sower began publication of a German weekly newspaper, the Norristown Bote, but it was continued only for a few months. Sower published the English paper until 1809, when he turned the business over to his eldest son Charles, and then for a year he conducted a store in Norristown.

David Sower, Sr., published the following books and pamphlets in Norristown:

"Eulogium on the Death of General Washington,"
1799.

"The History of Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded," 18
mo., 1799.

The Psalms, by Dr. Watts.

"An Account of the Awful Death of an Irreligious
Youth."

"The Storm," two volumes, 12 mo., 240 pages, 1801.

"Spirit of Despotism," 1803.

"Beauties of Seneca," 1803.

Leaving Norristown in 1810, David Sower was a farmer in Westmoreland County, Pa. Then he had a farm and store at Methacton, Montgomery County. In 1824 he returned to Norristown and opened a bookbindery. For a time he was a minister of the Church of the Brethren, like his father, but he lost that position in consequence of a disagreement as to his methods of baptism.

In 1786 he married Catharine Saylor. They were the parents of seven children. David Sower died in Norristown October 19, 1835, and was buried at Methacton Mennonite Church, where his father was buried.

Like his journalistic ancestors, Charles Sower, who succeeded his father in the printing business in Norristown, evidently was not in sympathy with militarism, and his attitude in this regard brought him misfortune. Militia musters of the early nineteenth century often were grotesque spectacles, being opportunities for hilarious assemblages at rural taverns. In his newspaper in 1812 Charles Sower published some adverse comment about a militia muster in Philadelphia. A few days later a group of aggrieved militiamen raided the Norristown printing shop and caused much damage. Soon thereafter Charles Sower sold the plant to Samuel Ladd and removed to Maryland, where he published a newspaper.

Charles' brother, David Sower, Jr., who was born in Philadelphia in 1794, worked in the printing shop of the Norristown Herald, and after Charles sold out David was employed at his trade in Baltimore and Washington. In 1816 he returned to Norristown and bought the Herald establishment. He enlarged and improved the paper and conducted it until 1834, when he sold it to John Hodgson.

While conducting the Norristown printing house David Sower, Jr., published the following books:

"The Pocket Companion, or Every Man His Own Lawyer," 1818, 108 pages. Two editions.

"Village Sketches, or Tales of Somerville," "by a native writer," 1825. 12 mo., 154 pages.

"The Law Without the Advice of an Attorney," 8 vo., 152 pages, two editions, 1830 and 1831. This was pre-

pared by Benjamin F. Hancock, father of General Winfield Scott Hancock.

"The Norristown Musical Teacher," 1832.

After disposing of the printing plant David Sower, Jr., opened a book and stationery store in Norristown, in 1836, which was the first store in the town dealing in a specific line of merchandise, for up to that time general stores had supplied the needs of the people. In his new store David Sower made the first attempt at window display ever undertaken by a Norristown merchant. Two years later he also opened a dry goods store, with his brother Edwin, but Edwin and his three children died in 1839 of scarlet fever. In 1842 David Sower turned over the book business to his son Charles G., but continued the dry goods store until 1850. He died in 1862. In 1819 he married Cecilia Chollet. They had five children. ⁽¹⁰⁾

Charles G. Sower, son of David Sower, Jr., who was born in 1821, relinquished the Norristown book store to his brother, Franklin D., who continued it for many years. Charles G. Sower went to Philadelphia in 1844 and established a book publishing business there. He took William H. Barnes as a partner in 1851, and later F. C. Potts, the firm being known first as Sower & Barnes, then as Sower, Barnes & Potts, and after 1870 as Sower, Potts & Company, while in 1888, just 150 years after the first Christopher Sower had founded his Germantown printing house, the Philadelphia firm was incorporated as the Christopher Sower Company, which name it still retains.

Charles G. Sower compiled and published a genealogical chart of the Sower family, in 1887. He presented a bronze tablet in memory of the first and second Chris-

topher Sowers to the Germantown Church of the Brethren, where it was dedicated on January 1, 1899. Mr. Sower died in 1902. By his will he provided for the erection of Sower Hall at Germantown Academy.

The Sower ownership of the Norristown Herald terminated in 1834, when David Sower, Jr., sold the paper to John Hodgson. Three years later Hodgson sold out to Robert Iredell, who consolidated the Herald with the Free Press, which he had founded in 1829. Mr. Iredell in 1854 disposed of the business to his son, Robert Iredell, Jr., and Morgan R. Wills, and a year later Howard M. Jenkins joined the firm, which thus acquired the Norristown Republican, a newspaper which Mr. Jenkins and Wilmer Atkinson had been publishing. Mr. Jenkins remained in the firm two years. In 1869 Mr. Wills bought the interest of his partner, Robert Iredell, Jr., and on December 20, of that year he began publication of the Daily Herald, the first daily newspaper in Montgomery County. Morgan R. Wills conducted the newspaper until his death, in 1908. His estate continued publication until 1921, when Ralph Beaver Strassburger bought the Herald. Subsequently Mr. Strassburger also bought the Norristown Times, founded in 1881. Beginning January 1, 1923, the consolidated newspapers were published under the name of Norristown Times Herald.

XXX—SAMUEL SOWER

Samuel, youngest son of Christopher Sower, who was born in Germantown in 1767, was also a printer, and he opened a shop of his own, in 1790, at Chestnut Hill, north of Germantown, "near the tenth milestone" on Germantown road. At that time Chestnut Hill constituted the northern end of Germantown Township, Philadelphia County. His place of business was near the

BIBLIA,

Das ist:

Die

Heilige Schrift

Altes und Neues

Testaments,

Nach der Deutschen Uebersetzung

N. Martin Luthers,

Mit jedes Capitels kurzen Summarien, auch
beygefüget vielen und richtigen Parallelen;

Nebst einem Anhang

Des dritten und vierten Buchs Esra und des
dritten Buchs der Maccabäer.

Germanstown:

Gedruckt bey Christoph Sauer, 1743.

TITLE PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE
SOWER BIBLE

This shows the revised title, with the misspelled "Parllelen."
The type page in the original measures six and one-quarter by
nine and one-eighth inches. The first, fourth, sixth, eighth,
eleventh and fourteenth lines are in red.

junction of the Germantown and Bethlehem roads. Here he remained four years. He issued an almanac, "Der neue Hoch Deutsche Amerikanische Calender," a weekly newspaper, "Die Chestnuthiller Wochenschrift," and also the following:

1791

"Lutherisches A, B, C Buchstabier- und Namen-Buch."

"Eine kurtze Beschreibung einer langen Reise," by Stephen Crisp. 12 mo., 24 pages.

"Das kleine Davidische Psalterspiel," 12 mo., 572 pages and index.

"Die kleine Harfe," 12 mo., 56 pages.

1792

"Geistiges Wetter-Glöcklein," by Christian Brodbeck.

"Hand-Büchlein," by Tobias Hirte. 12 mo., 96 pages.

"Die kleine Harfe."

"Ein Gespräch," by Valentine Mack. 12 mo., 72 pages.

"Geschichten von Erscheinungen der Geister," 12 mo., 168 pages.

"Eine kurtze Beschreibung einer langen Reise." 12 mo., 24 pages.

"Die Wege und Werke Gottes in der Seele." 12 mo., 60 pages.

"Kurtzer Bericht von der Pest," by Peter Gabriel. 12 mo., 60 pages.

1793

"Geschwinder Rechener."

"Federal or New Reckoner."

1794

"Ein kurtze Nachricht von dem böartigen Fieber in Philadelphia," by M. Carey. 8 vo., 106 pages. Contains the names of those who died from yellow fever in Philadelphia in 1793.

In the spring of 1794 Samuel Sower transferred his business to No. 71 Race street, between Second and Third streets, Philadelphia, where he continued the almanac and printed "Das Philadelphier Wochenblatt," a weekly newspaper. Other products of his press in Philadelphia were:

"Prophetische Muthmaszungen über die Französische Revolution." 12 mo., 88 pages.

"Durchschauen und Beharren." A sermon in the interest of Americans held captive by the Turks.

In 1795 Samuel Sower removed to Baltimore, where he spent the remainder of his life. There, besides conducting his printing business, he established a type-foundry, buying the equipment of Justus Fox, of Germantown, in 1806, after Fox's death. For some years he did a large business in the manufacture of type. He printed a German newspaper and continued his almanac. Other issues of his Baltimore press were the following:

1795

"A, B, C Buchstabier und Namen Buch."

"Der heilige Krieg," by John Bunyan. 12 mo., 304 pages.

"Eine neue Charte." Folio, two pages.

"Johannes Lassenius politische Geheimnisz." 12 mo., 196 pages.

1796

"Der Psalter des Königs und Propheten Davids."

1797

"Das kleine Davidische Psalterspiel." 12 mo., 572 pages and index.

"Die kleine Harfe." 12 mo., 56 pages and index.

1798

"Der merkwürdige Lebenslauf des Dr. Benneville," by E. Winchester.

1799

"Christliches Handbüchlein," by Jeremias Felbinger,
12 mo., 130 pages.

"Beichte und Ordnungen des Hauses Gottes," by A.
Mack.

"E. L. Grubers grundforschende Fragen," by A.
Mack. 12 mo., 40 pages.

1801

"Der Geschwinde Rechener."

"The Ready Reckoner."

1803

"Der hundertjährige Calender von 1799 bis 1899."
16 mo., 80 pages.

Samuel Sower was married three times, but had only
one child. He died in Baltimore October 12, 1820. ⁽¹³⁾

XXXI—THE DAUGHTERS

Besides the sons named, Christopher Sower the second was the father of a son named Samuel, who was born December 17, 1757, and lived only six days, and also of these daughters: ⁽⁸⁾

Maria Christina, born October 12, 1752; died August 13, 1753.

Catherine, born February 25, 1761; died July 16, 1823. She remained with her father in his later years at Methacton, and after his death she married Samuel Harley, in 1785. They were the parents of twelve children.

Esther, born August 30, 1762; died June 13, 1786. She married Christopher Zimmerman in 1781, and they lived at Methacton.

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Part III

John Caspar Stoeever

Colonial Pastor

and

Founder of Churches

by

The Rev. R. L. Winters, Ph. D.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY

Norristown, Pa.

1948

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Pennsylvania German Society

In its original form this work was accepted
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INTRODUCTION

About four miles north-west of the city of Lebanon, Pennsylvania, stands the historic Hill Church. It is the original Church of the Quitpahila, the Berg Kirche, as it was known to the fathers who established it. The edifice was erected on the southern slope of a gravel ledge where it is surrounded by majestic oaks and stately pine. In the clearing before it is the city of the dead where the saints of several centuries sleep the sleep that awaits the Lord's Call. At the most commanding spot appreciative and grateful sons have raised a monument whose stones are emblematical of the rugged character to whose memory the shaft was dedicated. Its principal inscription reads as follows:

ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF
JOHN CASPAR STOEVER
PASTOR OF THE LUTHERAN CONGREGATION
AT HILL CHURCH FOR 46 YEARS

Such is the mute but enduring witness of this scion of German blood who came to Pennsylvania fifty years before the patriots of Seventy-Six grasped their muskets in their common need.

The Stoevers, father and son by the same name, reached Penn's Colony in 1728. They came during the migration of the Europeans to the New World which extended from the colonial period to the days following the Civil War. Not the least of these streams of immigration was the German influx which brought, according to the census of 1790, about 375,000 persons to the United States.

From Penn's City the Stoevers made their way into the interior. The father ministered to the spiritual needs of the colonists in Virginia. The son remained in Pennsylvania

where he labored as a missionary for more than a half-century. He has been characterized as "a spoiled son of a good father" and as a "half-fledged theological student of no spirituality." An appreciative testimony, however, states that "wherever there were any number of Germans John Caspar Stoever organized an evangelical Lutheran congregation and started a church book for them; upon the title of which is found his autograph with this addition: 'dermahligen evangelischen Pfarrherrn daselbst.'" A reference to his private ministerial journal reveals that he founded congregations or ministered at 84 different localities in the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia.

In bringing this study to its readers the author is conscious of many obligations. Accordingly, acknowledgments are made to the Pennsylvania-German Society for publishing this biography; also to the late H. E. and C. M. Jacobs and to the Library of the Philadelphia Seminary of the Lutheran Church; to President A. R. Wentz of Gettysburg Theological Seminary and its Library; to Doctor H. H. Shenk and the State Library at Harrisburg, Pa.; to the late Emma Schmauk for access to her brother's unpublished notes; to the late Rev. U. Henry Heilman and Capt. H. M. Richards, Miss Elizabeth and Henry Heilman, descendants of John Caspar Stoever, for original documents; to Pastor Lehmann of the Lutheran Church in Frankenburg, Hessen, Germany, for the use of congregational registers; to the State Library at Hartford, Connecticut; and above all to the committee, Professors C. M. Geer, Plato Shaw and the ordinarius Elmer E. S. Johnson, under whose direction this study was originally prepared as a thesis for the degree of doctor of philosophy at Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford, Connecticut.

Part I

THE BACKGROUND

Stoever's Native Land and the Pennsylvania Colonial Scene

During the eighteenth century the principal source of German immigration into America was the Palatinate. It comprised two provinces: Kur Pfalz or Rhein-Pfalz, which, as the name suggests, was located in the Rhine River Valley, where it was bounded by Baden, Alsace, Lorraine, Treves and Hesse; the second portion, the Ober-Pfalz, included sections of the modern state of Bavaria.

The reasons for withdrawing from the Fatherland are legion. The German is given to a natural wander-lust. The desire to see the world was intensified by the glowing description by travel-agents who assured restive souls that the New World offered relief not only from poverty but also from the constant political changes that brought uncertainties in civil and religious life. A new ruler, and there were many, usually wrought a different religious complexion, changing denominational affiliations as well as widening the gap between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism.

But the most important impulse to drive the Germans to seek a new beginning is found in the deprivations that resulted from constant military incursions. Perhaps no one political ruler ravaged the Palatinate so mercilessly as did Louis XIV of France, (1638-1715). Under his direction the region was punished for harboring the French Huguenots who escaped to Germany following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. As if these German territories had not been sufficiently harassed the French monarch ordered another devastation during the War of the Grand Alliance (1688-1697). Among the cities destroyed were Mannheim, Heidelberg and Speyer whose ruins became si-

lent witnesses to the barbarity of a capricious king.

Reduced to abject necessity, the Palatinates were animated by a deep desire to start life again under new surroundings. Even before the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) two powerful German families, the Fuggers and the Wel-sers, had attempted to open settlements in South America. Despite this example the preponderant number of eighteenth century emigrants made its way to North America where they established their homes in New England, Nova Scotia, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia and Pennsylvania.

Of all the regions into which the German pioneers went the last-named proved to be the most attractive haven. Here they were more numerous and more important than the Germans of all the other settlements combined, for at least one-third of the population was comprised of this stock. They were found among the Swedes who came in 1638; in fact, the governor of this expedition, Peter Minuit, was of German nationality. The first definite German colonization in Pennsylvania began with the arrival of the "Concord" (the German Mayflower) at Philadelphia in 1683. Her passengers became the settlers of Germantown. From this humble beginning the influx into Penn's Woods reached such overwhelming proportions that in a single year (1727) fifty thousand Palatinates entered the port of Philadelphia. This moved the Provincial Council to adopt a resolution requiring all colonists to take the oath of allegiance to the English monarch and demanding strict observance of the laws of England and the Provincial Government.¹

The reasons for the ascendancy of Pennsylvania are not difficult to ascertain. The missionary zeal of the English Quakers was focussed on the Rhine Valley. These efforts

included visits by their leader, George Fox, and his most illustrious convert, William Penn. Through these trips and a series of pamphlets Penn prepared the mind of the Germans for participation in his American project. Immediately after receiving his grant of land from Charles II, Penn turned his attention to the Rhine Valley as a possible source from which he might obtain a desirable class of settlers for the newly organized colony. Communications were opened with Pietistic leaders, and these efforts resulted in the formation of two companies, one at Frankfurt, where Francis Daniel Pastorius became the leader, and the other at Crefeld, which was comprised largely of inhabitants of Crefeld and Kriegsheim. These groups became the settlers of Germantown.

Besides the attempts of Penn and his associates to persuade the Palatinates to settle in his province, there was another element that exercised a telling influence upon the settlement of Pennsylvania. It was the liberal government that was established in the middle colony. The Holy Experiment, as the enterprise became known, was based upon principles that would be particularly attractive to the oppressed and harassed inhabitants of the Palatinate. Here there should be perfect harmony, complete freedom in religion, equality of justice and fairness in dealing with the Indians and neighbors; here the love of peace and brotherhood should so permeate the lives of its colonists that there would be no need for military preparedness; here a man's word was his bond. This nobility of spirit accounts for the assertion that no other colony presented such a diversified religious complexion as Penn's Colony; and it supports the claim that Pennsylvania was the most successful proprietary colony in America.

Another reason for the favorable consideration of Penn's Woods was the failure of the German settlement in New

York. To relieve the congestion in England, where more than 10,000 Germans were finding refuge from the political and religious storms of the continent, the English Government contrived the plan to send 3,000 German sojourners to the Colony of New York. Shortly after settling in the Schoharie Valley, they fell into difficulties with the colonial authorities. Feeling that they were treated unjustly, a contingent made its way along the Susquehanna River into Pennsylvania, where they found conditions more satisfactory. Their letters to friends in the Fatherland raised a prejudice against New York and strengthened the position of Pennsylvania.

In addition to the several external circumstances that stimulated the Germans to come to Penn's Colony there are two distinct natural features. The one is the climate. Concerning it Henry Melchior Muhlenberg reported to Halle as follows: "As respects climate, Pennsylvania is for Germans the best country in America." ²

The other advantage lies in the soil. Coming from regions where limestone soil prevails, the Germans were fortunate to find that large areas of Penn's Colony were bottomed with this same type of soil. The so-called "Limestone Island" includes the sections adjacent to Philadelphia; it floors Berks and Lancaster counties; it prevails in the "Great Valley," which is dotted by Easton, Allentown, Bethlehem, Reading, Lancaster, Lebanon and Harrisburg; crossing the Susquehanna River this formation appears in Central Maryland and in the fertile Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Oscar Kuhn, a keen observer of Pennsylvania-German activities, aptly describes the tendency to ferret out the limestone soil: "The best soil in Pennsylvania for farming purposes is the limestone, and it is significant that almost every acre of this soil is in possession of German farmers." ³

The consideration of the background for the ministry of John Caspar Stoever would not be complete without a glimpse into the religious life of the people whose souls he stirred. While the spirit of Germany was crushed in many respects by the impacts of a foreign military machine, it can not be said that the land was entirely devoid of the higher realities of life. The age produced the author, Furchtegott Gellert (1715-1769); Paul Gerhardt, the hymn-writer (1607-1676) and Johann Albert Bengel, the eminent New Testament scholar (1687-1752). In the field of theology the notable figures include Johann Arndt (1555-1621), Jacob Boehme (1575-1624), John Valentine Andrae (1586-1654), John Jacob Rambach (1693-1735), Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705) and Augustus Hermann Francke (1663-1727) whose vision in a period of darkness kept the light of culture and religion burning.

The religion forged out of a combination of idealism and oppression supplied the fortitude necessary for the rigorous life in the New World. Even before they saw its shores the future colonists encountered the hardships of the eighteenth century oceanic voyage. In his journal John Wesley, who came to America in 1735, described the contrast in the behavior of the Germans and other travellers during a violent storm at sea.⁴

Unmistakable evidence of the religious stature of the German pioneer is revealed in his love and reverence for the Bible. The Scriptures were cherished as one of the choice possessions; and in the confusion and dishonesty accessory to the trip to America they were deeply concerned about the precious book. They had the custom of buying a Bible as one of the first items for a newly established home. On the Lord's Day a copy of the Sacred Scriptures was carried to the church service where it was used to locate passages during the sermon or the period for religious in-

truction. In his report to the Halle authorities Peter Brunnholtz tells about the eagerness with which the young people including servants used their Bibles in his early Philadelphia congregation.⁵ The increasing demand for Bibles and other devotional literature was an important factor in the opening of colonial printing establishments. Among them the work of Christopher Sauer at Germantown and the Cloister Press at Ephrata are prominent.

Second to the Bible in sacred reverence was the hymn-book. One of the most touching incidents of colonial religious history is the case of Regina, the Indian captive, who was recovered after an absence of eight years by her ability to sing several stanzas of well-known hymns. As early as 1730 Conrad Beisel and his Ephrata colleagues compiled 64 hymns which were published by Die Presse der Bruderschaft. Because of the paucity of pastors and spiritual leaders there was a call for additional devotional materials. Through the courtesy of Court Preacher Boehm of London a large number of Arndt's *Wahres Christentum* and Starkes' *Gebet Buch* were distributed, but this supply was not sufficient to meet the demands of the growing colonial society. In many respects one of the most remarkable books published for the use of the pious pioneers was Teilmann Jans von Braght's *Der Blutige Schau-Platz oder Martyrer-Spiegel der Tauffe-Besinnnten oder Wehrlosen Christen*. Known as "Marytr's Mirror," the volume brought consolation and fresh determination to many distressed souls.

One of the significant aspects of the religious life of the Pennsylvania-German was his deep concern for the Christian nurture of the children. Whenever possible, they were presented in infancy for baptism, as the old church records and Taufscheinen (frequently elaborately decorated manuscripts — Fraktur Schriften) reveal. Early in life they

were taught to respect and love the Scriptures and to approach God in prayer and to express gratitude for blessings received. At the proper time they were instructed in the catechism in preparation for full church membership. The religious temper which they sought is expressed in "One Hundred Necessary Rules of Conduct for Children," compiled by Christopher Dock, a renowned schoolmaster of colonial Pennsylvania.

Intermingled with this deep piety was a strong superstition that attended practically every aspect of life. These curious practices are generally regarded as vestiges of heathen customs. Heavenly bodies, including the moon and stars, lucky and unlucky days, *brauche* and *Himmelsbriefen*, — all were brought into play to assure good fortune, to control crops, to ward off disease, to regulate weddings and funerals and to govern life in general.

While the Germans had a deep religious sense, it must not be presumed that the conditions under which they lived in the New World were conducive to its development. Pastors, church buildings, Bibles, hymnals and other devotional helps were not of sufficient number to inculcate the religious attitude. To meet the demands, efforts were made to secure additional supplies from Europe, but they were feeble against the high tide of irreligion raised by atheists, deists, naturalists and those who were no longer tolerated in Europe. So appalling was the distress that literally thousands of young people who were reared in Christian homes attained maturity without any religious instruction. The tragedy of the situation is revealed, and the significant role which the Stoevers were to perform is expressed in a letter written on October 15, 1739 by the joint councils of the "united congregations" (New Hanover, Trappe and Philadelphia) to Court Preacher Michael Ziegenhagen in London: "There is not one high German preacher in the whole land except Caspar Stoever who is sixty English miles from Philadelphia." ⁶

Stoever's Early Life

Among the earliest emigrants from the Duchy of Berg, Germany, to gain prominence in the North American Church were John Caspar Stoever, father and son.⁷ In his autobiography the son discloses that he was born on December 21, 1707, and that the name of his mother was Gertraudt but her family name is not mentioned.⁸ The grandfather was Dietrich Stoever, a burgher and merchant in the city of Fankenberg, Hessen. The name of the grandmother was Magdalena, the daughter of the Reverend Andrew Eberwein, who was pastor of the Lutheran congregation in that city (1646-1690). To this union there was born on January 13, 1685, a son, who was christened John Caspar Stoever—known to us as Senior. At his baptism Caspar Stoever and Johann Christopher Eberwein, Student, (later the Pastor and Praeceptor Primarius at Giessen) served as sponsors.⁹ The birthplace of the senior Stoever has been described as "in the Upper Province of the Electorate of Hessen, now in the Hessian Province of Prussia, at the city of Frankenberg on the Eder, a branch of the Fulda which empties into the Wester."¹⁰

John Caspar Stoever entered upon a teaching career, having secured a position in Annweiler, which is located on the eastern slope of the Haardt Mountains in Bavaria. Thither the pious pedagogue went in 1720 with complimentary letters of introduction signed by the elders of his home church, and he continued there for five years. In addition to his duties as a teacher he officiated as church organist. His leisure was devoted to the study of theology preparatory for the Christian ministry.

The wife of the teacher and church organist was Gertraudt (family name unknown) of Amt Solingen, Duchy of Berg. (Amt is the name that corresponds to the Penn-

sylvania county.) Its chief city, or county seat, was Solingen, which was a center for the steel industry whose beginnings were made in 1147 under Adolf IV.¹¹ Tradition affirms that the art of making cutlery was introduced by the returning crusaders who were taught by the smiths of Damascus.

At Luedorf in Amt Solingen John Caspar Stoever, Junior, was born. Two places by this name are listed in Meyer's *Orts- und Verkehrs Lexikon des Deutschen Reich*. The first is a hamlet (dorf) which is nestled among the hills in the district of Lennep, and belongs to the community Neuhuckeswagen. Although the 1905 census reported a population of only 59 persons, the village enjoyed railroad facilities. The second Luedorf is listed as an estate (hof); it is also situated in the district Lennep but in the community of Dabringhausen. The number of persons who were reported in 1910 was 106 souls.¹²

That young Stoever was a precocious child is revealed by this statement from his own pen: "when he was six years of age he learned to read German perfectly under his father's instruction. After this he also commenced to study Latin under his father." The parental instruction was supplemented by tutoring which was done by four pastors — H. Nicolaus Muentz, H. Samuel Bratschisch, H. Valentine Kraft and H. Antonius Pfaffman. They continued the Latin courses and also introduced him to the mysteries of the kindred language, the Greek. In time his curriculum was expanded to include Hebrew and French. He also studied theology. This was offered by H. Knabel and Superintendent Adolph Ruehfeld who was located at Brumath about three hours (twelve miles) from the city of Strassburg.

Concerning the instructors who wielded an influence upon the mental development of young Stoever, the following has been discovered: —

Samuel Bratschisch — pastor at Annweiler, 1704–1722

H. Valentine Kraft — Lutheran Praeceptor, 1712–13; Professor and Corector at Zweibrucken, 1713–1718; Pastor at Hornbach, 1718–1722; and Pastor at Annweiler, 1722–1725.

H. Antonius Pfaffman — Pastor at Kutbenhausen, 1720–1726; Pastor Secundus at Zweibrucken, 1726–1730; Died at Hamburg, 1740. He was a pietist and the author of "Bericht über Verfolgungen, 1730, Untruglicher Wegweiser."¹³

Johann Heinrich Knabel — Born at Eberstadt; Pastor at Lambsborn-Breitenbach, 1700–1710; and at Breitenbach, 1713–1717.¹⁴

George Adolph Ruehfeld — Pastor at Sand, 1714, Sand, Diocese Rheim, Bischoffsheim in Baden.¹⁵

While father and son were preparing for the Christian ministry, they were brought to the attention of the Jesuits. At that time this order was persecuting the non-Catholics in the Province of Bavaria and the Rhine Valley as a portion of the Counter-Reformation. This knowledge resulted in their expulsion from the Fatherland, and to the Land of Penn they turned for new hope and fresh inspiration.¹⁶

The Voyage to America

In his autobiography the younger Stoever informs that he "journeyed from Europe to America in 1728 on the Rhine and on an ocean vessel preaching on Sundays. Arrived in Pennsylvania, September 29th." The voyage was made on the ship "James Goodwill" with 90 Palatinates on board. With David Crocket as master, the boat put to sea from Rotterdam and "last from Deal whence she sailed on June 15th."

The date of disembarkation which Stoever mentioned is probably incorrect. It is generally attributed to the advanced age at which he wrote his life-sketch and the change

in the calendar. According to Rupp's *Thirty Thousand Names of Immigrants* and the *Pennsylvania Archives* no vessels with immigrants on board docked at the port of Philadelphia after September 11th in the year, 1728, but this was the very day on which the "James Goodwill" arrived. Among the names of its passengers one finds those of "John Caspar Steffer, Senior," and "John Caspar Steffer, Junior."¹⁷ On the original and official oath of allegiance to the Crown of England and the Provincial Government, which they took on the day of landing, their names appear as "John Caspar Stoever, Missionaire" and John Caspar Stoever, S. S. Theol. Stud."¹⁸

Historical research has disclosed no information describing the experiences of their long voyage across the Atlantic Ocean. Account of such journeys are, however, not lacking, and they reveal an insight into the perils and sufferings of 18th century oceanic travel. Among these efforts is that of Gottlieb Mittelberger.¹⁹ A native of Würtemberg, he came to this country in 1750 and returned in 1754. From the experiences of this traveller, who made the voyage 22 years after the Stoevers came, the student can speculate on the privations endured by that little band of 90 Palatinates who sailed on the "James Goodwill." Like the Stoevers, Mittelberger journeyed down the Rhine River to Holland. Because of the time lost at the many custom houses at which the necessary examinations were conducted when it suited the convenience of the officials, this trip required from four to six weeks.

In Holland there was another delay of five or six weeks. During this time the passengers were compelled to spend a goodly portion of their meager supply of money. At Rotterdam and at Amsterdam the travellers were densely packed, like herring, into a vessel for the trip to England. One person was assigned to a space two feet wide so that

the ship could carry from 400 to 600 passengers. In addition to the human cargo there were innumerable items such as tools, provisions, water, barrels and the like. When contrary winds prevailed, the passage from Holland to England might require from one to two fortnights, but in good weather the distance could be covered in about eight days.

The emigrants experienced another postponement in England. Everything had to be examined, the duties had to be paid, and by the time that the cargo was completed a week to ten days had elapsed. This period occasioned additional drains upon their purses; in fact, during this delay most of the passengers used their last travel-money and ate the little food which they had reserved for the long voyage across the ocean.

When the ship had weighed its anchor for the last time at the English port, it turned the prow to the west for seven weeks in good winds; but if the breeze were adverse, the voyage required from two to three months. It will be recalled that the vessel on which the Stoevers travelled sailed from Deal on June 15 and arrived in Philadelphia on the 11th day of September, a period of nearly twelve weeks.

During the voyage these emigrants underwent terrible misery: there were stench, fumes and horror; there were many kinds of disease, such as dysentery, fevers, headaches, boils, scurvy, cancer and mouth rot. These afflictions were caused by old and sharply salted food and meats, and by very bad water. To increase the horror, passengers were subjected to hunger, thirst, cold, dampness, anxiety and lamentations. Lice were so prolific, especially on the sick, that they could be scraped off the bodies. The distress of the travellers reached its climax during a storm. For several days it would rage with such ferocity that the passengers despaired of the ship and their own lives.

These wretched physical circumstances wrought dire consequences. Impatience was intensified into embitterment so that one cursed the other and himself for the day of birth and the suggestions that prompted the American adventure. Children growled at their parents, while husbands, wives, brothers and sisters, friends and acquaintances railed against one another. The heart-breaking anguish experienced by parents when their children suffered can hardly be exaggerated. The little ones, ranging from one to seven years, rarely survived the long voyage. Mittelberger informs that he saw no less than 32 bodies of children cast into the sea.

In this manner the lamentable voyage continued until the sight of land revived their drooping spirits. The sick took new courage as they realized that forthwith they would be delivered from their pitiable affliction. When the ship finally did reach land, no one was permitted to leave except those who could pay for their passage or give good security. The others were compelled to remain on board until they were sold into indentured servitude. The sick fared the worst; they waited until someone would purchase them or until the angel of death would bring an end to their miserable existences. The price which these unfortunate souls brought depended upon age, sex and physical condition. Usually, the period of service which the immigrant agreed upon was long enough to earn the equivalent of \$176.00, which was a very conservative estimate for the cost of passage from Germany to Philadelphia.²⁰

The general unwholesome situation of the 18th century travel is heightened by the complications produced by the deprivation of just one single item. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who came to America 14 years after the Stoevers, relates in his diary on August 30, 1742, that because of the shortage of drinking water the passengers contrived a

method of securing it by hanging handkerchiefs, shirts, bed clothes and sail cloths in the rain. When these were saturated, the materials were wrung and the resulting liquid was collected in tubs and barrels. Though this water tasted very bitterly because of the ingredients which came from the various receptacles used for catching, it was not nearly so stagnant or of such an offensive odor as the remnant of drinking water on the ship.²¹

Two weeks later the water shortage was still critical. On September 16, 1742, Muhlenberg stated that the supply was completely exhausted. After due deliberation it was decided to display a Spanish flag to attract the two English men-of-war that were patrolling the Carolina coast. As they approached, the one on the right and the other on the left, the ship nearer at hand fired his cannon. When the captain of the vessel on which Muhlenberg was travelling was challenged for his irregular conduct, he explained that there was a desperate scarcity of water. Whereupon, three barrels of water were ordered for the relief of the suffering passengers.²²

The *Hallesche Nachrichten* (Halle Reports) tell about a harrowing consequence to the shortage of water: —

This want of water was so extreme that the very rats suffered for it. It had been noticed that some of them gnawed out the stoppers of the bottles containing vinegar, then projected their tails into the liquid and then sought to allay their thirst by drawing their tails through their mouths. Others would mount beds at night and lick the perspiration off the brows of the people who were asleep.²³

Like St. Paul, the early emigrants to this country were "in journeyings often," "in perils of waters," "in perils of the sea," "in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in

hunger and thirst, in fastings often in cold and nakedness." ²⁴

About a year before the Stoevers came to America, the Provincial authorities became perturbed because of the overwhelming influx of Germans into Pennsylvania. The arrival of 50,000 immigrants, mainly Palatinates, at the port of Philadelphia in one year, 1727, moved the Provincial Council to action.²⁵ A resolution was adopted on September 21, 1727, requiring all colonists to take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty King George the Second and to the strict observance of the Laws of England and the Provincial Government.²⁶

In accordance with this ordinance the Stoevers and their fellow-passengers presented themselves to the Council on September 11, 1728, at Philadelphia. The officials present were the Honorable Patrick Gordon, Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, Thomas Laureance and other city magistrates. For some reason, no special license had been granted for the transportation of this group. Consequently, they were called before the council and when they declared that they had come hither with intentions to settle and live peaceably in the Province, they repeated and signed the following declaration:

We, subscribers, Natives and late Inhabitants of the Palatinate upon the Rhine and Places adjacent, having transported ourselves and Families into this Province of Pennsylvania, a Colony subject to the Crown of Great Britain, in hopes and Expectation of finding a Retreat and Peaceable settlement therein, Do solemnly promise and Engage, that we will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the present Majesty King George the Second, and his successors, Kings of Great Britain, and will be faithful to the Proprietors of this Province; And that we will demean ourselves peaceably to all His said Majesties Subjects and strictly observe and conform to the Laws of England and of this Province, to the utmost of our Power and best of our Understanding.²⁷

The activities in which the Stoevers engaged immediately after their arrival in Philadelphia are still unrevealed. Living near the Trappe for a year and a half, they probably searched out the settlements of the Germans in that section.²⁸ Not only were their fellow-countrymen eager to hear the Word of God, but they were particularly desirous that their children should be baptized. Under these circumstances the father and son, in all probability, began to minister to the spiritual wants of the early colonists residing in their immediate areas.

Although the younger Stoever was not yet ordained, he officiated at baptisms and weddings in 1729 in Lancaster and Philadelphia.²⁹ The initial entry in the Record Book at the Trappe bears authentic evidence of these ministrations. Here he baptized Amelia Elizabeth, a daughter of John George Marstaller, on March 8, 1730.³⁰ During the same month (March 18th) he officiated at the marriage of Daniel Rausch and Elizabeth Optograef of Providence (Trappe); and throughout the year he solemnized additional marriages at Hanover, Leacock, Tulpehocken, Earlstown (New Holland) Cocalico and Macungie.³¹ According to his private ministerial journal he also baptized in 1730 Maria Catarina, the daughter of Christoph Labengeiyer, of Swatara, on May 18th (p. 23), and officiated at a similar ceremony for Anna Maria, daughter of Michael Schauere of Heidelberg on December 13th (p. 36).

In May, 1730, the Stoevers pushed into the interior of Pennsylvania and established their home on the "upper Conestoga Creek in the neighborhood of the present New Holland."³² From this as a center they travelled through Lancaster and the adjoining counties to preach the Gospel, to administer the sacraments and to defend their religion. But before following the stalwart missionaries, and particularly the younger Stoever, on these tours, we turn to the story of his ordination.

Part II

A Pastor in Penn's Holy Experiment

The Ordination of John Caspar Stoever, Jr.

According to his autobiography, John Caspar Stoever, Junior, was ordained to the Christian ministry by John Christian Schultze on April 8, 1733. The first pastor of the Trappe Church, Schultze was born June 11, 1701, in Scheinbach, Oberamt, Gerabronn, Germany. He was the oldest son of Pastor John Valentine and Anna Julianna Schultze. After studying for the Christian ministry in his home land, he journeyed to America and landed at the port of Philadelphia, on September 25, 1732. He made the trip on the ship "Loyal Judith" which sailed from Rotterdam, and "Last from Cowes" under the mastery of Robert Turpin.³³ Although he was probably not ordained, he took charge of the congregations at Philadelphia, New Hanover and Trappe. He left no records of his pastoral acts and remained for only six months. Shortly after the ordination of Stoever he returned to Europe with two laymen, Daniel Weisiger and John Daniel Schoner, for the purpose of soliciting money. These funds were to be expended in the erection of substantial church buildings and adequate school facilities for the respective congregations.

Supplied with "Collection Buch" (Subscription books), which had been endorsed by the Honorable Patrick Gordon, Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, the three delegates made their way to England, Holland and Germany. On this tour Schultze conducted himself so dishonorably that he was arrested in Augsburg in March, 1736, and deprived of his credentials and license to collect money. Having secured his discharge, he resumed his solicitations which were terminated with his second arrest in Nuremberg. Here his book was taken from him as well as the funds in his possession, which amounted to 520 gulden. After serving his term in prison, he probably became a missionary in the East Indies.³⁴

Before leaving his parish on the collection tour to Europe, Schultze ordained John Caspar Stoever, Junior, to the Christian ministry. While Schultze was absent, Stoever served as the supply pastor for the Philadelphia, New Hanover and Trappe congregations. Judging from the character of Schultze, his ordination of Stoever was only an incident of his American adventure. But whatever the aims of Schultze may have been, there was in Stoever an eager desire to be admitted to the full rights and privileges of the Christian ministry. We may assume that ordination was the offer made by Schultze or the price asked by Stoever to bring the latter to the Philadelphia area as the supply pastor of the "united congregations."

As Stoever travelled from place to place to preach, baptize and marry, occasional objections were probably raised to his ministrations because he was not ordained. To add to this embarrassment, he carried the stigma caused by the refusal of his previous attempt to secure ordination. In the summer of 1731, Stoever had travelled to Raritan, New Jersey, where he presented himself to Pastor Daniel Falckner, whose advanced age prevented him from serving his widely scattered congregations. Because the veteran preacher had suggested that his successor should be elected, Stoever offered his services provided Falckner would ordain him. After hearing Stoever's trial sermon, his request for ordination was declined by Falckner. Whether the sermon revealed a lack of spiritual-mindedness or intellectual ability or whether Falckner's views of ordination forbade the administration of the rite in such a way, it is impossible to determine.³⁵ Returning to Pennsylvania, Stoever continued his ministrations and found his opportunity for admission into the sacred office two years later at the hands of John Christian Schultze.

History remains silent concerning the form of ordina-

tion used by Schultze on April 8, 1733. If the character and conduct of the ordainer are any indication, one may assume that the ceremony was very simple. There was nothing in Schultze substantial enough to suggest that the service of ordination for Stoever was as elaborate as the office employed when Justus Falckner, the first Lutheran pastor to be ordained in America, was separated for the holy calling in Gloria Dei Church, Philadelphia, on November 24, 1703.³⁶

Concerning the place where Stoever was ordained there are several conjectures. From his autobiography it might be inferred that the ceremony was performed in Philadelphia. The statement reads, "ordained on April 8, 1733 by Christian Schultz, p.t. pastor in Philadelphia." If it is correct to place a comma after the word *pastor* in this sentence, then it is feasible to draw this conclusion.³⁷

Another possibility has been suggested for the ordination of Stoever: namely, the "Gemeinde an der Gogallico."³⁸ The Church Book at Muddy Creek, as the congregation is now known, shows that Schultze was within the confines of this congregation on December 3, 1732, when he baptized Johann Michael, the son of Johann Michael Kibsch.³⁹ It is not completely amiss to surmise that upon this visit Schultze suggested to young Stoever the possibility of becoming the supply pastor for the "united congregations" during the absence of Schultze in Europe.

In the following April, that is April, 1733, the month in which Stoever was ordained, Schultze was again in the Muddy Creek area. The records show that at this time he baptized Christina, the daughter of George Wendel Bugle with George Michael Wolff and his wife, Elizabetha, as witnesses.⁴⁰ Because of the presence of Schultze at Muddy Creek at that time, it has been maintained that Stoever's

ordination took place within the confines of this historic congregation.⁴¹

The place as well as the date of his separation for the sacred office is intimately connected with another important event in the career of Stoever. In his autobiography he informs that "he was married at the same time to Maria Catarina." His wife was the daughter of Christian and Catarine (nee Brücker) Merckling.⁴² This family was affiliated with the congregation at Trappe. Undoubtedly, the friendship between the energetic missionary and his prospective bride was formed during the period of Stoever's residence at the Trappe immediately following his arrival in America. Here he wooed and won his lady. Was it not natural that he would be married amid the scenes of his courtship days?

Besides this deep sentiment favoring the Trappe as the place for Stoever's ordination, there is strong documentary evidence in the same direction. It has been maintained that the young minister was lifted to the holy office at Providence (Trappe) in the barn which had been erected as a house of worship.⁴³ In his diary Henry Melchior Muhlenberg refers to Stoever's ordination in this manner, "Stoever who was ordained in a barn at Providence by that notorious minister Schultz."⁴⁴ These claims are shared by the statement which appears in the so-called "Confusion of Tulpehocken." This slanderous document maligns the character of Stoever when it speaks of "a certain Caspar Stiever who sometime previously had been irregularly ordained in a tavern called the Trappe by a certain deceiver named Schultz who was afterwards imprisoned in Germany as a criminal." The assertion that the ceremony took place in a tavern was denied by Stoever according to a letter which was written by the Moravian minister, John Philip Meurer, to the authorities at Philadelphia under

date of November 16, 1742.⁴⁵ In the conversation that is reported in this communication Stoeever was asked whether it was true that he had been ordained in a tavern at the Trappe. He replied, "es ware in der Scheuren oder Scheunen geschehen."⁴⁶

In the light of this indefeasible evidence we conclude that John Caspar Stoeever, Junior, was separated for the sacred office at the Trappe. Here he began his spiritual ministrations; here was the Stoevers' first American home; here he won his helpmate; here he served as supply pastor while his ordainer was absent, and he remained there until September, 1733, when he returned to his home in Lancaster County.⁴⁷

Stoeever as Supply Pastor of the Philadelphia, Germantown, Trappe and New Hanover Congregations

A. THE STOEVERS IN PHILADELPHIA

The origin of Lutheranism in Philadelphia is shrouded in mystery.⁴⁸ As early as 1639 Reorus Torkillus arrived to become the spiritual leader for the Swedes, who had set foot upon American soil during the previous year. The first German Lutheran pastor to come to the colony of the Swedes was Jacob Fabritius. On Trinity Sunday, 1677, he occupied the pulpit of Gloria Dei Church in Philadelphia. He preached here and at Tinicum on alternate Sundays. In 1682 he became blind but continued to serve until his death in 1693.

The following year Heinrich Bernard Koster and Daniel Falckner reached Philadelphia. On St. John's Day, June 24, 1694, the former conducted what is regarded as the first German Lutheran service in the Province.⁴⁹ Falckner, who

was an ordained Lutheran pastor, went back to Europe in 1698. On his return in 1700 he brought with him his younger brother, Justus, who was ordained by the Swedes on November 24, 1703. Upon admission to the holy office Justus Falckner became the pastor of the German Lutherans in New York. Daniel Falckner remained in Pennsylvania as the pastor of Falckner Swamp (New Hanover) congregation until 1708 when he removed to New Jersey.

The arrival of three Swedish pastors, Andreas Rudman, Eric Bjork and Jonas Auren in 1697 stimulated the religious activities among the Swedes, but it brought only faint hopes to the Germans of Philadelphia who were in desperate need of a spiritual leader. In 1717 Gerhard Henkel came to Pennsylvania as the pastor of the Falckner Swamp congregation. During the eleven years that he served in this pastorate he undoubtedly made occasional trips to Philadelphia to minister to the spiritual wants of his fellow-colonists. He was in a good position to make these visits, for he was a resident of Germantown for a number of years.

What immediate benefits were reaped by the German Lutherans in Philadelphia through the arrival of the Stoevers in 1723 is rather difficult to estimate. The Halle Reports state that they did not tarry within the city, but followed the course of Henkel and Falckner to the country districts of Falckner Swamp and the Trappe.⁵⁰ By inference T. E. Schmauk concludes that John Caspar Stoever, Senior, founded the congregation in Philadelphia the very year of his arrival in America.⁵¹ For the first five years of his labors in this country there are no definite records. By 1733, the year in which the younger Stoever performed his first official acts in Philadelphia a comparatively flourishing Lutheran congregation was already in existence. From this Dr. Schmauk infers that the elder Stoever

should be credited with establishing the first Lutheran congregation in Philadelphia, the one whose records were destroyed by fire in 1796.

After his ordination in 1733 John Caspar Stoever, Junior, entered upon his work as supply pastor of the Philadelphia congregation with his characteristic energetic spirit.⁵² Under his leadership the congregation enjoyed a season of progress. Two separate church registers were opened. The title of the first record is as follows:

Church Book and Protocol on behalf of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in Philadelphia, Wherein are contained and recorded:

- (1) Objects presented and purchased for the maintenance of public services;
- (2) The List of Baptized Children with the Names of their Parents and Sponsors;
- (3) The Names of Persons Confirmed and their first Communion;
- (4) The List of Persons Betrothed and Married;
- (5) The Names of Persons buried in an honorable and Christian Manner.

Begun by me, Johann Caspar Stoever, at this time Evangelical Lutheran High-German Pastor in this Place.

Anno Salvatoris, 1733.

The second record book bears this title: —

Register of Communicants for the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in Philadelphia. Begun in the Year of Christ, 1733, by Johann Caspar Stoever, at that time the Evangelical Lutheran Pastor.⁵³

In addition to the early Communion records of the Philadelphia congregation, this register states that as early as 1735 the congregation was negotiating for five acres of land. In this same year the congregation moved into another place of worship, probably from the stable or carpenter shop in which the first services were conducted. The

new building was furnished with an altar and pulpit, which were adorned with the proper seasonal paraments. A silver chalice had been secured for the more dignified distribution of the sacramental wine. A parochial school house had also been erected.

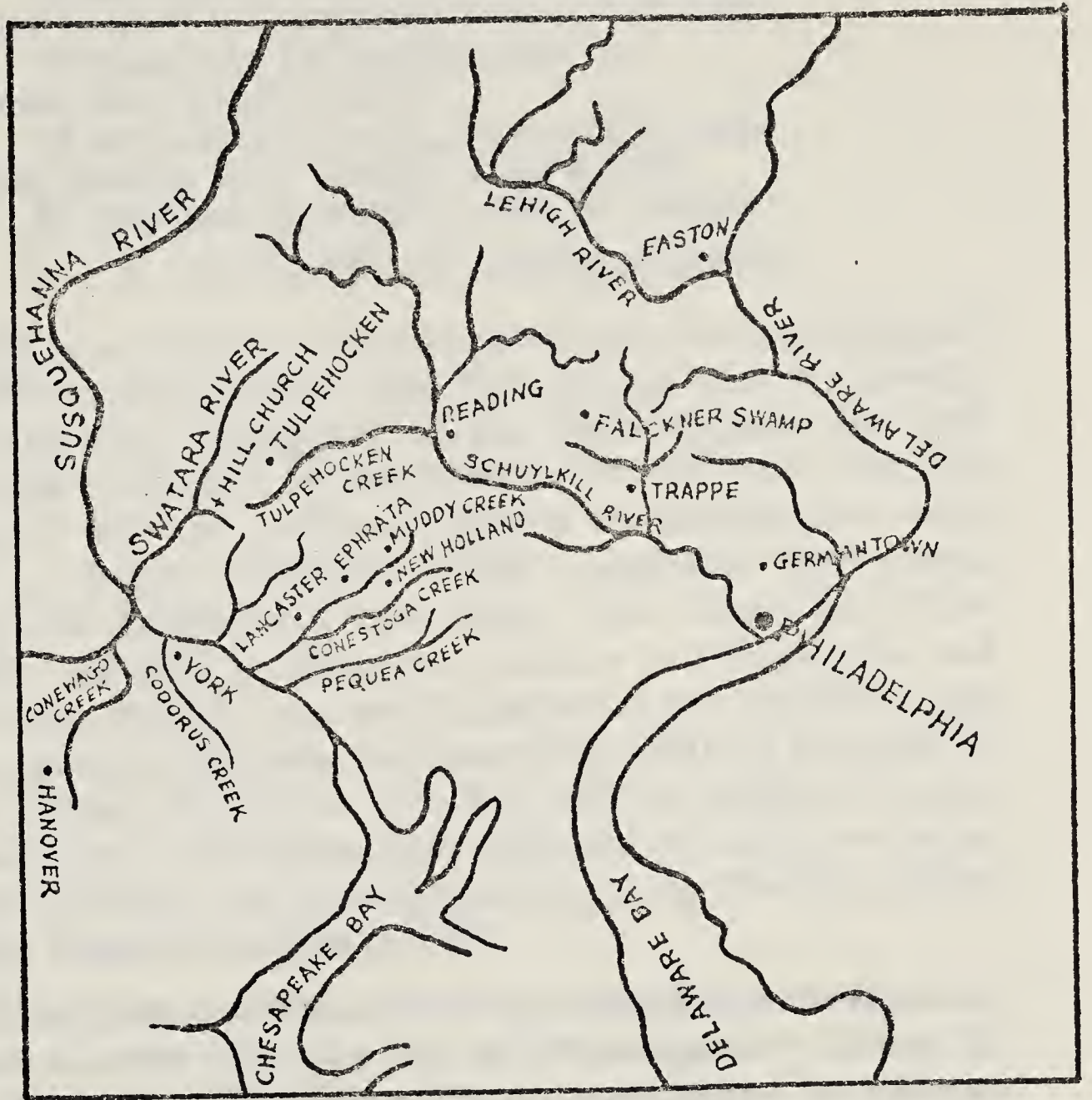
Regular accounts were opened on Whitsunday, June 2, 1734. From the receipts and disbursements it is learned that fourteen public services were conducted during 1735 at which the offering was three pounds, ten shillings, and five pence. On February 27, 1735, there was an expenditure of four shillings for the investigation of the title that covered the five acres of land recently purchased. An item of passing interest pertains to the removal of the congregation to the new house of worship:

	L	s	p
For carrying the benches into the other house	0	1	0
For beer and rum at the labor	0	8	8

In the autumn of the same year, 1735, a Mister Langfeldt was paid one pound for adjusting the accounts of Daniel Weisiger of Philadelphia and Melchior Schultz, a merchant of Harlem, Holland, with the churches at Philadelphia, Trappe and New Hanover. These were the funds collected in England and Holland under the authority of the three congregations. To the balance sheet of January 12, 1735, the name of "John Caspar Stoever, the pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Philadelphia" was affixed as an attest to the correctness of the financial account.

The practical minded Stoever also entered the names and the number of communicants together with the dates when the services were conducted: —

Twenty-first Sunday after Trinity, October 14, 1733
 46 males and 49 females, total 95 persons
 Fourth Sunday after Epiphany, February 3, 1734



The region in which Stoever labored

23 men — 24 women, total 47 persons
Whitsunday, June 2, 1734
24 males — 18 females, 42 communicants
Twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity, September 22, 1734
34 men and 21 women, total 55 persons
First Sunday in Epiphany, January 12, 1735
31 males and 20 females, total 51
Easter Day, April 6, 1735
28 men and 30 women, 58 communicants
First Sunday after Trinity, June 8, 1735
32 men and 28 women, total 60 persons "

B. STOEVER IN GERMANTOWN

The name of Stoever is connected with the beginnings of another congregation in the Philadelphia district, namely, Germantown. According to the Halle Reports the first services conducted in the interests of the group that developed into the Lutheran Church in Germantown were led by Jacob Fabritius.⁵⁵ This clergyman had served Lutheran believers in New York, New Jersey and New Castle. In 1677 he began his ministry in Philadelphia and continued for 14 years as the pastor of the Swedish Lutheran Church. Between the years 1688-1691 he preached to the German Lutherans who had neither building nor organization, — a situation that prevailed for about ten years. This condition was probably caused by the blindness which befell Pastor Fabritius in 1682.

It has been maintained that the congregation in Germantown is older than the one in Philadelphia.⁵⁶ Henry E. Jacobs claims that Gerhard Henkel preached to the German colonists in this area as early as 1717.⁵⁷ In 1733 John Caspar Stoever made his appearance among the group that later was organized into St. Michael's Church. In that same year he opened a church register in which he recorded the names of the baptized children, those who were married and the ones who passed into the Church Triumphant.

Into this same protocol he also entered the names of the donors of several sacred vessels.⁵⁸

With the departure of Stoever from the Philadelphia area to concentrate his activities upon the interior sections, the Swedish pastor, John Dylander, conducted services in the Germantown church.⁵⁹ This arrangement continued for more than a year. Valentine Kraft, who arrived from Germany in 1742, also preached here, having imposed himself upon the Lutheran congregations in this section of the Province. The advent of Count Zinzendorf produced another claimant for the leadership of the young congregation. His dream to unite all the denominations into one conference encountered stubborn opposition especially from Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who landed in Philadelphia November 25, 1742. This pastor came with an authoritative call to become the leader of the "united congregations." One of his first duties was to oust Zinzendorf and other self-appointed preachers.

The presence of Muhlenberg assured definite progress for the Germantown church.⁶⁰ St. Michael's congregation was now added to the "united congregations," which included Philadelphia, New Hanover and Trappe. The need for a new constitution was keenly felt, and under the direction of Muhlenberg another instrument was adopted. Equally necessary was a church building, whose erection was undertaken in 1743. The cornerstone was placed on June 14, of that year. Five years later the new edifice was ready for consecration. In connection with its dedication the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was organized on August 26, 1748.

Under the leadership of Muhlenberg the congregation continued to flourish. Its affiliation with the newly created synodical body strengthened its organizational structure.

The tremendous influx of German Lutherans into the Philadelphia area swelled the membership of St. Michael's congregation to such proportions that the church of 1748, though it accommodated 700 persons, was soon out grown.

C. AT THE TRAPPE

History has not been so gracious to the activities of John Caspar Stoever at the Trappe and New Hanover as it has been in the Philadelphia congregations. There is no definite proof that he opened the church registers for either of these historic congregations. His customary title page, to which he subjoined his characteristic official signature, is missing.⁶¹

The baptismal records at the Trappe bear the following title:

The list of children who were baptized in the Evangelical Lutheran congregation in the Township of Providence.

Inasmuch as the handwriting of the early Trappe records resembles very closely that of the other church registers begun by John Caspar Stoever, the authorship of the Trappe protocol is ascribed to this pioneer pastor.⁶²

In addition to his interest in spiritual ministrations John Caspar Stoever, Junior, enjoyed a peculiar attraction at the Trappe. Within the confines of this congregation lived the family of Christian Merckling. At this home the young preacher made pastoral as well as social calls. He came to court the daughter, Maria Catarina, who became his bride on April 8, 1733. The esteem in which the future son-in-law was held by the Mercklings is disclosed by an entry which appears in the Trappe records under date of October 10, 1730. On that day the baptism of John Caspar, the son of Christian Merckling took place. Not only was

the child probably named after the courting parson, but there is a touch of deep sentiment in observing that the sponsor was "Johann Caspar Stoever, Evangelisch Lutherischer Pfarrherr" ⁶³

The scope of Stoever's activities at the Trappe is revealed by the church register which shows that he performed sixty baptisms. Into his private ministerial journal he entered six baptisms and as many weddings. His ministrations at the Trappe covered about seven years, 1728-1735.⁶⁴ During this time the congregations worshipped in the barn which had been erected for this purpose. It will be remembered that this building was the scene of his ordination in 1733. With the coming of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg in 1742 the historic church, which stands to the present day, was erected.⁶⁵

D. IN NEW HANOVER

The congregation at New Hanover was organized in 1700.⁶⁶ It is commonly known as Falckner Swamp Church: Falckner, because the Reverend Daniel Falckner, the agent of the Frankfort Land Company, effected the organization; and Swamp, because the Swamp Creek flows nearly through the central portion of the present New Hanover Township.

Besides Daniel Falckner, who removed to New Jersey in 1708, Andreas Rudman and Andrew Sandel, two Swedish pastors, assisted in supplying the spiritual wants of the early inhabitants of The Swamp. The combined efforts of these three pastors was followed by Gerhard Henkel, who came in 1717, and Samuel Hesselius, the first resident pastor at Molatton. Henkel was a descendant of Count Henkel, who urged Muhlenberg to come to the New World. A court-preacher near Frankfort-am-Main, Henkel gave up his pulpit when immoral practices were introduced into

the court, and turned to America. His ordination by the worthless impostor, Van Dieren, gave rise to bitter controversy in the colonial church.

Among the persons who emigrated with Henkel was his son-in-law, Valentine Geiger. Well-instructed in Lutheranism and good morals, Geiger was a valuable addition to the little congregation at Swamp. It has been claimed that Henkel lived in Geiger's house from which he journeyed as a circuit preacher into the adjacent sections of eastern Pennsylvania.⁶⁷ Family tradition asserts that Henkel met his death by being thrown from his horse near Chestnut Hill.⁶⁸

The earliest ministrations of John Caspar Stoever in the Falckner Swamp congregation have defied historical investigation. The register records no baptisms by him before 1740 and no confirmations and adult baptisms before 1743.⁶⁹ Into his private journal, however, he entered three baptisms in 1731, three in 1733 and one in 1734. In appraising the activities of Stoever in the "united congregations," it must be remembered that he was only the supply pastor and that during this period he lived in Lancaster County near New Holland, a distance of about 50 miles.

THE STOEVERS IN VIRGINIA

One of the motives behind the ordination of John Caspar Stoever, Junior, was the need for complete ecclesiastical authority to minister in the congregations left vacant by his father. Feeling that his son had received adequate preparation to continue the work in Lancaster County, the elder Stoever removed to Virginia, where he became the first regular pastor of the Lutherans in that colony.

The parish to which John Caspar Stoever, Senior, went was located in Spottsylvania. Among the members were

twelve families who had escaped from a massacre in North Carolina.⁷⁰ The rest had come in 1717 from Alsace and the Palatinate because of the oppressive measures imposed upon them. They journeyed to England enroute to Pennsylvania. After enduring many hardships, chiefly because of lack of food, their ship captain sold the survivors to Governor Spotswood, who sent them to his territory in Spottsylvania, which was on the farthest frontier "twelve German miles from the sea."

By the end of twelve years the congregation had increased to 300 souls. It was resolved to send two delegates to Europe in search of a minister, for they had been carrying on without pastoral oversight. After waiting for four more years, that is, to 1733, their prayers were answered in the arrival of John Caspar Stoever, Senior.⁷¹

In the same year that this stalwart missionary assumed his Virginia pastorate he was set apart for the holy ministry. The ceremony took place in Pennsylvania, with the "Rev'd. Mr. Schulz" as the ordainer. Historical research has not yet revealed that father and son were ordained at the same time, but one is tempted to make this inference. In the financial accounts of the Hebron Church in Virginia for 1733 appear these entries in connection with the ordination of the elder Stoever:—

	L	s
By money paid to inquire for a minister in Pennsylvania		6
By money to Sheibley for traveling to Pennsylvania with our minister to receive his orders		17
By money paid to ye Rev'd Mr. Schulz in Pennsylvania for ordination	1	3
By paid our minister, John Caspar Stoever, his traveling expenses to Pennsylvania	1	9 ⁷²

In the early months of the next year the elder Stoever had the good fortune of being reunited with his family. At the expense of the congregation his wife, mother-in-law and children were brought to his Virginia home.⁷³ The reunion had hardly been effected when the congregation decided to send Pastor Stoever, a deacon, Michael Schmidt, and another layman, Michael Holden, to Europe for the purpose of conducting a collection tour. With the authorization of William Wood, the Vice-Governor of Virginia, the three representatives made preparation to solicit money with which they planned to build a church and a school house, to purchase books and a farm for their pastor as well as to provide an assistant minister.

In England they were graciously received by Pastors Ziegenhagen, Butjenter, Gerdes and Palm, who endorsed their enterprise for solicitations in Germany and Holland. Hamburg, Germany, was reached in September, 1735, where a generous response was made to their appeals in money and books. In Elbingen they met Samuel George Klug, who offered to return to America with them as the additional pastor. He was ordained for the work in St. Mary's Church, Dantzic, on August 30, 1736. The young minister proceeded to England and then to Virginia accompanied by one of the laymen, Michael Holden.⁷⁴

Stoever, however, remained in Germany to complete the financial mission. He also spent six months with John Philip Fresenius in Darmstadt. The Virginia pastor was on intimate terms with this distinguished theologian who tutored him in Christian doctrine and practical theology, the subjects in which Stoever felt his greatest deficiency.⁷⁵ During the sojourn in Europe the serious-minded Stoever published a pamphlet in which he set forth the conditions of the German Lutherans in Virginia. It bore the title, "A Short Report of an Evangelical German Lutheran Congre-

gation in the American Colony of Virginia, and, indeed, in the most distant frontier of the County of Spottsylvania . . . Written by John Caspar Stoever, the first pastor of this congregation, 1787.”⁷⁶

The result of the collection tour was 3,000 pounds. It was divided as follows: — One-third for the travelling expenses; one-third for the erection of a chapel, which was substantially constructed in 1740 in the shape of a cross; and the rest was used to purchase a glebe and slaves to cultivate it. So successful was the enterprise that Pastor Klug could report to the Lutheran brethren in 1749 that “the parson received his salary liberally, and is not in the least burdensome to the congregation on account of his support.”⁷⁷ With deep earnestness this minister labored here until 1761, extending the influence of his congregation beyond its immediate district.⁷⁸

In the spring of 1738 the elder Stoever undertook the return trip to Virginia. Enroute sickness overtook him, and as a result of the attack he died. During his illness he made his last will and testament in which he reviewed the various phases of his visit to Europe; he gave instructions concerning the disposition of his property; and he appointed his “well-beloved son John Caspar Stoever, minister of Canastoken” (Conestoga, that is, New Holland), and Michael Schmidt as executors.⁷⁹ He also listed the books which he secured in Europe.⁸⁰ The deceit of one of his companions, Michael Holden, who returned to Virginia in 1736, is described in these words:

Michael Holdt hath truly accompanied us into Dantzic but with what knaveries, he hath raised against us, and what damage in our Collecting affairs by the Ministry in London on his return there, he has caused cannot be restituted to these congregations with 400 Pistoles.

Of especial interest is the stipulation in the will that the son should succeed the father as the pastor of the Virginia congregation. He entreated:

And if this beloved congregation would call thee for their minister, in my place, thou ought to accept it, in case thine conscience be not hurted thereby.

Evidently, there had been an understanding by which the younger Stoever made occasional visits to Virginia to minister to the spiritual needs of his father's flock. His private ministerial journal shows that he made annual trips from 1734 to 1742. Not the least important of these ministrations was the baptism of twelve children in Conojohela on June 21, 1735, and a triple wedding at "North River, Shenandoah vulgo Cockel Town in Orange County in the Colony of Virginia."

A table showing the extent of John Caspar Stoever, Junior's spiritual ministrations in Virginia follows:—

Year	Baptisms	Weddings
1734	2	
1735	32	
1736	9	2
1737	27	1 (Triple)
1738	8	1
1739	15	1
1740	3	1
1741	1	
1742	1	1

Places of Ministration: Conojohela (18 Baptisms, 2 weddings); Opequon (48 baptisms, 4 weddings); Shenandoah (25 baptisms, 1 Triple wedding); and Moesenutten (Massanutten, 7 Baptisms).

STOEVER IN LANCASTER COUNTY

With the departure of John Caspar Stoever, Senior, for Virginia the religious work in Lancaster County devolved upon his son. Having now been ordained to the sacred of-

fice, the young evangelist was fully prepared in mind, heart and authority for his ministerial career.

The religious history of Lancaster County began nearly two decades before the Stoevers reached the American shores. As early as 1709, a band of Mennonites, who had emigrated from Switzerland, made their first settlement in the region along the little Beaver Creek. Following the Mennonites, a number of French Huguenots came from Alsace and Lorraine. They took up their new abode in the Pequea Valley. In view of the struggle then pending between the English and the French, these newcomers were compelled to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain because they were suspected of complicity with the French.

In 1715 a group of Scotch-Irish immigrants located near the Chickies Creek. Shortly thereafter came a number of English Quakers who settled in the region of Sadsbury and Salisbury townships. They were followed by Welsh Episcopalians who occupied what is now Carnarvon Township. A few years later a colony of Presbyterians arrived; they settled along the Octarora Creek from Sadsbury to the Susquehanna River, and thence along the river to the Conestoga Creek. These immigrants were encouraged to take land close to the disputed Maryland State line, that is the southern Lancaster County boundary, because it was thought that they would be in a better position to defend themselves against the Roman Catholic colonists in Maryland than either the French or the Mennonites.

The Germans who settled in Lancaster County came mainly during the period of immigration which began in 1720. Finding the Germantown settlement densely populated, they pushed westward in search of fertile limestone soil which gave promise of bountiful crops. It would also afford a type of cultivation to which they had been ac-

customed in the home land. In Lancaster County many of them found this desirable soil, flooring the rich valley that is drained by the Conestoga River and its tributaries, especially the Cocalico Creek.

By 1718 Lancaster Township was laid out. It included much of the present Lancaster County. When the first assessment was made in the same year, the count showed a population of 119. By 1729 the remote settlers of Chester County, that is the inhabitants of Lancaster Township, presented a petition to the Provincial Council requesting a division of Chester County.⁸¹ Following the approval and ratification by the Governor on May 10, 1729, Lancaster County was established as a separate political district.⁸²

About a year after the new political entity was erected the Stoevers came to bring Word and Sacrament to their fellow-countrymen living in these fertile parts. A natural question arises concerning their missionary efforts in Lancaster County. Why did they concentrate upon this particular section in preference to the Swatara, Tulpehocken and Heidelberg districts? In all these areas there was a pressing need for the Gospel, but in Lancaster County an alarming situation was lifting its ugly head. The Reformation religions were being assailed by the Sabbatarians, whose teachings had been introduced into Lancaster County as a product of the aggressive endeavors of the Wissahickon Brethren. The origin of this movement is found in a form of mysticism known as Rosicrucianism. A Lutheran court-preacher, Johann Valentine Andreae (1586-1654) was the founder of this secret brotherhood. He wrote an account of a crusader, one Christian Rosenkreuz, who was initiated into this religious order, which was begun in the fourteenth century by a German baron named Rosenkreuz. In his description Andreae wove a pious mystification designed to ridicule astrology and alchemy and to call atten-

tion to various objectives to which a society like the Rosicrucians should devote itself. In one sense, it was an attempt to combine science and Christianity.

The chapter which settled on the Wissahickon River was organized by Johann Jacob Zimmerman, a German mathematician and astronomer. On the eve of his embarkation for America he died at Rotterdam. His successor was Baron Johann Kelpius under whose leadership the chapter came to America. Other members included Henry Bernhard Koester, Conrad Matthae, Johann Philip Seelig and the Falckner brothers.

Known as "The Women of the Wilderness" (Revelation 12:14), the group planned a crusade in the summer of 1724 to win the Germans living in the surrounding sections. For this purpose a company was organized under the direction of Elder Peter Becker who made arrangements for an extensive pilgrimage. The missionaries numbering fourteen persons left Germantown on Wednesday October 23, 1724.

Their itinerary included the Skippack Valley where several successful meetings were held; then they turned northward through Providence to Falckner Swamp where a revival was conducted. After celebrating the Liebesmahl (Love Feast), the missionaries journeyed to Oley in Berks County. From Coventry in Chester County they made their way to the west into the Conestoga Valley where meetings were held among the Mennonites at Webertown in the present Leacock Township. They pressed on to the Pequea Valley where Conrad Beissel was baptized in the waters of the Pequea Creek. After the organization of the "New Born" converts of the Pequea and Conestoga valleys into the Conestoga Church, with Conrad Beissel as the pastor,

the pilgrims returned to their colony on the Wissahickon River.

Because of Beissel's differences with Alexander Mack, the former withdrew from the Conestoga Church and founded the Ephrata Community on the banks of the Conestoga Creek in 1732 or 1733. Here he championed the teachings of sabbatarianism, celibacy and asceticism.⁸³ He was well-versed in New Testament theology, he had a commanding personality and a fluency of speech, — qualities that enabled Beissel to attract many disciples. From Oley, Coventry, Flackner Swamp and Tulpehocken came converts who augmented the original adherents that included Martin Brener, Samuel Eckerline and Anna and Maria Eicher.

As early as 1735 the monastic system was established. Beissel was invested with the title of Friedensam Gottrecht, which means Peaceable Godright. The first building, erected in 1736, was located on the hill called "Mount Zion." The other buildings were known as "Zion," "Periel" and "Saron." A room of the "Saron" was designated as the "Saal" in which the "Agape" or "Love Feats" were held. At its height the movement numbered 300 souls.⁸⁴

To stem the sweeping onrush of Beissel and his aggressive Sabbatarians, the Stoevers come to Lancaster County. After they had established their home near New Holland on the upper Conestoga River in May, 1730, they pushed forward to press the claims of Lutheranism upon the hearts of their fellow countrymen. The center of heterodoxy at Ephrata was surrounded by four citadels of orthodoxy in the form of Lutheran congregations located at Muddy Creek, New Holland, Brickerville and Lancaster. By his positive preaching and teachings and such spiritual oversight as the times afforded, Stoever did much to preserve

the religion which the early settlers brought with them from their home land. Without his persistent efforts the religious complexion of eastern Pennsylvania might have been considerably altered.

A. AT MUDDY CREEK

It has been said that the congregation which Stoever founded at Muddy Creek "is almost certainly the oldest of all his churches, and unless we are greatly mistaken it was the principal congregation at the time."⁸⁵ Located about six and one-half miles northeast of Ephrata, where the Sabbatarians had opened their headquarters, it served as a buffer to the aggressive advances of Beissel and his speculative mystics. Stoever's citadel of orthodoxy was a log church which was erected on a commanding knoll in the historic Bucherthal, at present in East Cocalico Township. In the church annals the congregation is known as Muddy Creek,⁸⁶ but in Stoever's day it was designated as "the congregation on the Cocalico."⁸⁷

In 1733, the year in which he was officially separated for the Gospel ministry, Stoever opened the church register with the following title:

Church Book and Protocol for the Evangelical
Lutheran

Congregation on the Gogallico [Cocalico] wherein
there shall be recorded and contained:

- (1) Objects presented and bought for the maintenance of divine services;
- (2) The list of baptized children;
- (3) Persons who have been confirmed and admitted to the Holy Communion for the first time;
- (4) Those who were betrothed and married;
- (5) Those who were buried in the faith.

Parts have been extracted from other sources and
recorded and herein continued;

Begun by me, Johann Caspar Stoever, at that time

the High German Evangelical Pastor in Pennsylvania.

In the year of Christ, 1733.

As indicated on the title page the Muddy Creek register contains entries of ministerial acts performed by others. The very first record is the baptism of Maria Eva Bugle, which was administered by a layman, Alexander Zartman, in July, 1728, on the high seas. The baptismal entries of this same family, George Wendel Bugle, give evidence of the presence of pastors Peter Miller (January 20, 1730) and Johann Christian Schultz (April, 1733) within the confines of this historic congregation.⁸⁸

The marriage register at Muddy Creek reveals that Stoever entered into this protocol the records of spiritual ministrations which he performed at various points of the then extensive Lancaster County. His failure to enter the places of residence of the contracting parties discloses the difficulty that confronts genealogical experts who endeavor to unravel colonial lineages. These entries taken from the Marriage Records at Muddy Creek illustrate his indiscriminate manner of recording ministerial acts:⁸⁹

Leonhardt Graue and Susanna Simon	
October 28, 1730	Cocalico
Christoph Meyer and Anna Rosina	
Kodppenhover, December 18, 1734	Lebanon
John George Bohrmann and Catharina Motz, August 10, 1735	Warwick
Peter Becker and Susanna Holtzbaum	
November 18, 1735	Conestoga
Abraham Wendel and Barbara Straup	Earltown
April 27, 1741	[New Holland]

In 1744 the congegation acquired a deed for the church property from the Provincial Proprietaries who warranted

the land to the Lutheran and Reformed churches conjointly. An agreement was reached by which each congregation obligated itself to adhere to the Augsburg Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism. The Lutheran elders who entered into the contract were Valentine Schneider, Jacob Fry, Caspar Lutz and Philip Stober. The representatives of the Reformed group included Henry Haller, Christopher Shoup, George Heft and Maneus Egly. The instrument was erected May 9, 1761. The indenture was conveyed on May 30, 1762, and covered 9 acres and 60 perches for the consideration of one pound, eight shillings and eleven pence.

The significance of John Caspar Stoever for the early Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania is enhanced by the defection of the Reverend Peter Miller, who was pastor of the Reformed Church at Muddy Creek. This colaborer of Stoever forsook his congregations to affiliate with Beissel and the Ephrata Sabbatarians. This convert, one of the most brilliant of the early colonial preachers, was the spiritual leader of what was known as the Conestoga Churches, which comprised Tulpehocken, Cocalico (Muddy Creek), Weisseichenland (White Oak in Penryn Township), and Lancaster. So perturbed were the members of the Muddy Creek congregation because of the desertion of their pastor that they decided to institute legal proceedings against him, but when no local magistrate could be procured the matter was dropped.

Despite these distractive circumstances Stoever stood as a bulwark for his religion. His influence in the Muddy Creek region was considerable; for, as late as 1774, thirty-four years after Stoever removed from these parts, two couples sought out the aging Stoever to solemnize their marriages.⁹⁰ Actual count of his ministrations in the Muddy Creek records reveals that he performed 480 baptisms and officiated at 99 weddings between 1730-1774.

B. IN NEW HOLLAND

The center from which John Caspar Stoever, Junior, operated in Lancaster County was New Holland, or Earltown and Earlingtown, as it was originally named. The town is located on a slightly elevated limestone ridge from which the confour slopes northward into the upper regions of the Conestoga Valley, and southward into the recesses of the fertile Mill Creek bottom. Occupying this commanding position on the Old Horse Shoe Road, New Holland offered ready connections to Oley, Falckner Swamp and the settlements on the Schuylkill River. Additional advantages accrued to the hamlet because the Paxton Road, which extends from Harris Ferry (Harrisburg) to Philadelphia, passes through Blue Ball, a village situated less than two miles from New Holland. A third highway, known as the "Peter's Road," leads from Conestoga to Pequea, while the Old Philadelphia Pike lies just four miles to the south.

Surrounding this strategically located town lies the region that was designated as Earl Township in the original allocation of 1729, when Lancaster County was erected. To this district came Hans Graff, a Swiss refugee, after he had removed from the Pequea Valley. In 1717 he re-established his home in the present Groffdale, west of New Holland. A second colony was started in 1724 in the section that is now Weaverland; here the Webers, Goods, Martins, Schneders and Zimmermans found their new abodes. The third settlement developed between these two communities, — at the present New Holland. The father of this colonial town was John Diffenderfer, who sailed on the ship "William and Sarah" from Rotterdam in the summer of 1727.⁹¹ He landed at Philadelphia with 109 Palatinates on September 18, 1727. His brother, Alexander, who accompanied him, made his home in Oley, Berks County.⁹² But John pushed on; in 1728 he settled on the outskirts of the pres-

ent New Holland, where he is honored as the founding father of the town. To this settlement, which was augmented by the arrivals of the Stones, Brimmers, Brubakers, Rolands, Kinzers, Winters and others, the Stoevers were added in 1729 or 1730.⁹³

The missionaries began at once to minister to the spiritual needs of the early settlers through the administration of the sacrament of baptism and occasional preaching which was, no doubt, done at private homes. The Church Register, which was opened in 1733 by the Stoevers, bears the title:

The List of Baptized Children in the
Congregation on the Muhl Creek [Mill Creek],
Paequea [Pequea] and Beber Creek
[near Strasburg].

The first record is the baptism of Johann Balthasar, the son of Matthias Wendrich, on May 1, 1730. Upon this occasion Balthasar Wendrich and his wife, Maria Magdalena, served as sponsors. The list of marriages is headed:

Those persons who were united and confirmed
in wedlock by me.

The initial entry records the marriage of Wilhelm Schiel and Rosina Leitner, which was solemnized on May 30, 1730.⁹⁴

Because there is no title-page, such as appears in the Muddy Creek and Philadelphia Records, it might be disputed that the younger Stoever did not open the church book at New Holland, and that the ministrations entered there were performed by the father before his departure for Virginia. This possibility is strengthened by the unsuccessful search in the private journal of the son for a

record of early ministrations to the New Holland colonists. According to this record the first baptisms performed at New Holland were those of Elizabeth Ellmaker and Elizabeth Boeszhaar on August 26, 1774 (p. 28). This, however, is not a proof, not even an intimation of the younger Stoever's lack of ministrations; for the first baptism at Muddy Creek, whose records are the indisputable work of the younger pioneer, is entered under the date of March 24, 1745, into his private journal (p. 30). It is our opinion that the records at New Holland were opened by John Caspar Stoever, Junior. Unfortunately, the characteristic title-page has been lost. Following his ordination, he opened this protocol, and as his practice was, he entered the ministerial acts which he had performed before his official induction into the holy office.

Tradition has it that a log church was built some time between 1730 and 1735. This was replaced by a stone church in 1763. It is generally held that an organization was effected shortly after 1733, the year in which Stoever was ordained.

It was during the pastorate of John Caspar Stoever, Junior, that the town was laid out. Because of the peculiar design which was used in plotting the lots, old Earltown received the name of "New Design." Out of deference to the Dutch settlers, who were greatly overjoyed on account of the cordial welcome given them upon their arrival, the name of the hamlet was changed shortly before the Revolutionary War to New Holland, which has persisted to the present day. When the town was planned in 1744, the first grant was warranted to George Swope, Wendle Swecker, John Borger, Nathaniel Lightner and Michael Reis for the use of the German Lutheran Church. It consisted of four acres and was conveyed by John, Thomas and Richard Penn, the proprietors of the Province.⁹⁵

The connections of Stoever with the New Holland Church continued to 1767. Though he removed his family to Lebanon County in 1740, he served this congregation regularly in 1746. Subsequent to the pastorate of Valentine Kraft (May, 1747–March, 1748) and that of Tobias Wagner (September, 1748–January, 1755), John Caspar Stoever returned to this group and ministered to them from 1755 to April, 1757.⁹⁶ His significance in combatting the perils of the Beissel movement here is on a parity with the defence of the Reformation at Muddy Creek. While New Holland is located at a point somewhat more distant from the Ephrata Cloister than Muddy Creek, it is much nearer to the Pequea Communiy of which Beissel was the original head.

C. AT THE COUNTY SEAT

About fifteen miles west of New Holland lies the city of Lancaster, the political center of Lancaster County. As early as 1721 or 1722 the first settlers arrived, and by 1730 the cluster of houses that had sprung up sheltered a population of 200 souls.⁹⁷ The colony was located at what was known as "Gibson's Pasture." The owner of this tract was George Gibson, who conducted the tavern, "The Old Hickory." It was named probably from the fact that a large specimen of this species stood near the place where the Indians had a rendezvous for many years. The swamp in front of "The Old Hickory," near the center of the present city of Lancaster, was known as "Dark Hazel Swamp." A second lowland which had been designated as "Long Swamp" extended to the northeast through the northern limits of what was called the "Roaring Brook."

With the establishment of Lancaster County in 1729 a very serious contention arose over the location of the seat of justice. The chief aspirants were Wright's Ferry, the

present Columbia, and Postelwait's Tavern where the proprietor was conducting an Indian trading post. The site where the present Lancaster now stands was selected and laid out by Colonel James Hamilton in 1730. For some unknown reason, the development of Lancaster during the first decade of its existence was not very encouraging, but after 1740 the town began to increase so rapidly that by 1742 a charter was sought and acquired.⁹⁸

The beginnings of the Lutheran Church in the town of Lancaster are shrouded in mystery.⁹⁹ There is a strong probability that it was founded by the Stoevers. The earliest ministrations whose records have been transcribed into the inside of the front cover of the original church register — not in the handwriting of Stoever — were performed in 1729. The entry is as follows: —

November 29, 1729
Lutheran Children were baptized
One was — Anna Maria Lien

The same year in which John Caspar Stoever, Junior, commenced the church book at New Holland, (1733), he opened the official register for the Lancaster congregation. It bears the title:

Kirchen Protocoll
Vor die Stadt, Lancaster
Anno 1733.

Following his custom, he entered the ministerial acts which he had previously performed. The baptismal section bears this title:

Verzeichniss der getauften Kinder
in der Gemeinde der Stadt Lancaster¹⁰⁰

The first baptism on the list is Anna Catharina Bart, the daughter of John George Bart, September 27, 1730, with

Mr. and Mrs. George Klein as witnesses. Four baptisms were performed before this one:

Anna Marie Lien, May 3, 1730, [See above].
 With Conrad Templeman and wife, Anna Maria, as
 Witnesses;
 Frederick, son of John Eichelberger,
 May 8, 1730;
 John George Dieber May 7, 1730; and
 Johannes, son of Sebastian Finck, May 3, 1730.

The adjoining section of the church book preserves the records of marriages; it bears this title:

Verzeichniss der von mir
 Coupulirten Perschonen, 1731¹⁰¹

The first recorded weddings are: Johann Philip Firnsler and Maria Barbara George, April 26, 1731; and Andrea Stantzenberger and Johanna Ernacis, November 9, 1733.

The industry which Stoever displayed and the influence he exerted in Lancaster and vicinity are indicated, in part, by the following list that covers several annual ministrations: —

Year	Baptisms	Weddings
1730	14	0
1731	8	0
1733	10	2
1734	23	7
1735	49	10
1736	20	4
1737	26	13
1738	70	27

Under the faithful leadership of the youthful missionary the congregation developed rapidly into one of the most important churches of Penn's Province. On the Eighteenth Sunday after Trinity, in the autumn of 1733, 149 persons partook of the Lord's Supper. This same year, Septem-

ber 30th, a pewter flagon copiously decorated with an angel's head, a lamb and a wreath, and marked with the initials "J. C. S.," was presented by the Honorable John Martin Weybrech.¹⁰² This same donor gave the pewter cup upon whose embellishments the letters "J. C. S." had also been engraved. The pastor himself, John Caspar Stoever, Junior, secured the pewter pyx for the Communion wafers. The Communion service was completed by the addition of the small paten which John Christian Schultze, who visited the congregation in 1732, had left behind."¹⁰³

On November 6, 1736, the congregation extended a formal call to John Caspar Stoever, Junior, who had been serving since 1729 or 1730. His acceptance made him the first regular pastor of the Lutheran Church in Lancaster. Upon the consummation of this relationship pastor and people concentrated their energies upon the erection of a more suitable house of worship. The work was begun in 1737. The next year the edifice was consecrated with appropriate services on October 28, 1738, the day of St. Simon and St. Jude. The act of dedication was performed by the pastor "in the presence of a large gathering of people with prayer, and preaching of the divine Word and the administration of the Sacrament."¹⁰⁴ The church records have preserved at least a portion of the consecratory prayer:

May God let it attain the desired purpose,
so that the Savior may not have cause to
lament over Lancaster as over Jerusalem,
"My house shall be called a house of prayer,
but ye have made it a den of thieves."

The new edifice was erected on the site that is now occupied by the present Trinity Chapel. It was furnished with a stone altar, which was carved by Caspar Lochman, Jacob and Michael Beyerle. The pulpit, made by Zacharias

Barth, was equipped with a sand clock which had a capacity for one and one-half hours. From the steeple that graced the new church a small bell called the faithful to prayers and by its solemn toll announced the flight of a soul into eternity. In 1739 Pastor Stoever presented a black altar book, and two years later William Ziegler's gift of a white covered altar book was received. An item of equipment of more than passing interest was the addition of an organ in 1744 which was manufactured by George Kraft, a "skillful artist."

Stoever's connections with the Lancaster congregation continued until 1775, although he relinquished his official relationship in 1742. By this time he had removed from Lancaster County to Sunnyside, near Lebanon. He had also become deeply engulfed by the Tulpehocken Controversy. After his departure from the Lancaster congregation clerical adventurers imposed themselves upon this church. One was Valentine Kraft who fled from the disturbed Tulpehocken region upon the arrival of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg.¹⁰⁵ Kraft contracted with the Lancaster congregation to preach once a month for which he was to receive a consideration of twenty-four pounds.¹⁰⁶

Because of his general unworthiness for the sacred office the new pastor was dismissed in 1743. Following his removal, the Reverend John Dylander, the pastor of the Swedish Church in Philadelphia, preached occasionally in the Lancaster Church. He continued his intermittent ministrations until 1744 when the Reverend Lorenz Thorstanssen Nyberg assumed the pastorate. His ministration caused much dissension because of his Moravian persuasions. Despite occasional retrogressions the church in Lancaster, where John Caspar Stoever, Junior, performed 356 baptisms and united 102 couples in the bonds of matrimony.

has become one of the most influential congregations in the United Lutheran Church in America.

D. IN WARWICK

Having buffeted the advances of Sabbatarianism by the establishment of Lutheran congregations to the east (Muddy Creek), to the south (New Holland) and to the west (Lancaster), John Caspar Stoever carried his crusade to the north where he founded another bulwark for the defence of the Reformation religions. At present the congregation is known as Emanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church at Brickerville, but in its beginning it was the "Gemeinde in Warwick."

One of the original sections of Lancaster County, Warwick included the present Warwick, Penn, Elizabeth and Clay townships.¹⁰⁷ Its first settler was Richard Carter, who came from Warwickshire, England, from which the district took its name. With the formation of the township in 1729 its pioneer was appointed a magistrate. Other early immigrants were Christian Bomberger, who arrived in 1722 from Eshelbrun, Baden; George Klein, a native of Kichert, Baden, who took up land where the present Lititz now stands; George Eby, who settled on the banks of the Hammer Creek; Jacob Huber, Michael Pfautz, John Gingrich, John Wister, Christian and Jacob Hershey, John and Daniel Brubaker and others.¹⁰⁸

According to his private records (p. 54), John Caspar Stoever began his ministerial activities in this section in 1735 with the wedding of John George Bohrman and Catharine Motz on August tenth.¹⁰⁹ But the church register, which Stoever opened in 1743, sets 1730 as the date for his earliest ministrations in this region. The protocol bears the following title:

Church Book and Protocol
for the Evangelical Lutheran
Congregation in Warwick,
Begun in 1730. At this time
the entries have been faithfully
extracted from other sources and gathered
together herein as accurately as possible.
Compiled by me, John Caspar Stoever
In the year, 1743.

The baptismal records are headed:

The List of those children who were
baptized in the Warwick
Evangelical Lutheran Church.

Its initial entry on December 3, 1732 is that of John Michael Kibsch, whose father bore the same name. Another interesting record is the baptism of John Jacob Miller, the son of Leonhardt Miller, on February 3, 1732. These entries are duplicates of the Muddy Creek records where the names of the baptizers are given as John Christian Schultze and Peter Miller, respectively.

Two years after Stoever opened the church book and protocol for the "Gemeinde in Warwick" twenty-seven acres of land were warranted to the congregation by John, Richard and Thomas Penn. The new indenture was signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of the pioneer preacher. From the nature of the proceedings of the meeting, which was held on February 24, 1745, it can be inferred that their church building had been erected some time prior, perhaps immediately after the grant of land had been made. There are, however, no records of the corner stone laying nor of the consecration of the church edifice.¹¹⁰

Stever continued as the active pastor of the Warwick congregation until about 1754, when the entries into the church records are no longer in his accustomed handwrit-

ing. Following his withdrawal from the pastorate, an unpleasant situation arose in this congregation. The principal figure was a Mister Mischler, who had thrust himself upon the young church. When the church doors were locked against him, he persuaded a boy to break through a window to open the door; whereupon, Mischler and his party entered the building and conducted a "so-called worship." In 1769 the infamous Mischler was called before the convention of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to give an account of his irregular acts.

After the notorious Mischler left the Warwick area, the officers of the Lutheran congregation turned to "their old preacher, John Caspar Stoever," who agreed to minister to their spiritual needs as his failing health would permit. Under this arrangement he continued until Good Friday, 1779, which was his last appearance in this congregation.

That John Caspar Stoever was regarded with esteem and affection is attested by the statement made in connection with his decease. This minute was written into the church book, "The majority of the members of the Church Council took occasion to pay their last tribute to him [Stoever] by attending his funeral at the old Hill Church in Quitaphohilla." ¹¹¹

Among the influential members of the Warwick congregation was Heinrich William Stiegel, commonly known as "Baron Stiegel." Occupying a prominent place in the pioneer community as a master iron worker and glass manufacturer, he became the outstanding lay figure in the little group. Under date of October 1, 1769, he was honored by the congregation through his election to the trusteeship. Later he presented twenty-five lottery tickets with the provision that in the event of a prize the official body should

decide upon the disposition of the money so that the best interests of the congregation would be served.¹¹²

With the founding of the "Gemeinde in Warwick," Stoever surrounded the headquarters of Sabbatarianism with four citadels of orthodoxy. From them the influence of Stoever penetrated into the adjoining districts. By his positive preachings he strengthened the souls of the sturdy pioneers and urged them to retain their places in the colonial society rather than withdraw into the cloister of Beissel at Ephrata. As a result of admonitions at the sacrament of baptisms he secured the promises of parents to rear their children in strict orthodox fashion. Through the contacts afforded him by the solemnization of marriages Stoever was given an opportunity to impress, particularly upon the young couples, the necessity of establishing homes upon Christian teachings. This influence was far-reaching: his private ministerial journal reveals that he officiated at 61 weddings whose principals lived in Lancaster County. Rugged and individualistic in character, John Caspar Stoever, Junior, was the man, who saved the early settlers from the aggressive inroads of the Ephrata Community.

THE MISSIONARY IN YORK COUNTY

In the same year in which Stoever returned to Lancaster County after his ordination, he visited the Lutherans who had established their homes west of the Susquehanna River. This water-way serves as the boundary line between the two southeastern Pennsylvania counties of Lancaster and York.¹¹³ To this section Stoever was attracted not only by his desire to preach the Gospel but also because of friendship. Several of the early settlers of York County, and subsequently also members of his congregation, were fellow-passengers with the Stoevers on the ship, "James Goodwill." As these settlers, Sebastian Eberle and

George Schumacker and others, travelled to York County they probably passed Stoever's residence near New Holland, where it is likely that he met them and promised to visit them in their new habitations.¹¹⁴

The first white colonist on the territory west of the Susquehanna River was John Grist, who went to York County from Hempfield Township, Lancaster County, in 1719 or 1720.¹¹⁵ Because his attempt at colonization was unsuccessful on account of Indian disturbances, the distinction for the founding of the first permanent settlement in York County has been given to John Hendricks.¹¹⁶ Removing from the banks of the Conestoga Creek in Lancaster County about three miles north of the Susquehanna River, he journeyed to the Kreutz Creek valley and established his home on the tracts which John Grist had abandoned.

In the third and fourth decades of the 18th century York County was a significant factor in the colonization of Pennsylvania. It was the gateway for the emigrants who made their way from Lancaster County, and the counties north and northeast of Lancaster, to the Cumberland and Shenandoah valleys. These early searchers for attractive soils traversed the whole breadth of York County until they reached the Cumberland Valley. In doing so, they followed the Indian Trail which led from the present Wrightsville westward along the Kreutz Creek to the Codorus Creek. At the present site of the city of York the colonists turned south to Hanover and into Maryland.

On Stoever's visit to York County in 1733 he gathered the German settlers in the vicinity of the Codorus Creek into a congregation. He named it, "Die Evangelische Lutherische Gemeinde an der Kathores."¹¹⁷ Following his practice with other young congregations, he opened a record book. On the fly-leaf the names of the twenty-four persons

who had contributed to its purchase were entered. The congregation had no church building; for eleven years the worship was conducted in private homes.¹¹⁸

Beginning his labors in York fully eight years prior to the plotting of the town, which occurred in October, 1741, Stoever continued his ministry in this community probably on a monthly schedule for ten years. During this decade he baptized 191 persons and married 34 couples.¹¹⁹ His work in this section was concluded in 1743, the last recorded ministrations being a baptism on April 28. From this point the official acts were entered in the handwriting of the Reverend David Chandler, whom Stoever probably ordained to the Christian ministry.¹²⁰

Stoever's activities were not limited to the Codorus region. While journeying through the valley of Kreutz Creek enroute to York, he stopped occasionally to baptize and to marry. Such ceremonies were performed between 1736 and 1741. From York he pushed on toward the Maryland State line to the town of Hanover; then, to Conewago;¹²¹ and continuing down the famous Monocacy Road, he reached Monocacy itself, the first permanent settlement of the Germans in the colony of Maryland.¹²² Here Stoever baptized 45 persons and married 6 couples between the years, 1734-1742. In York County Stoever was the earnest evangelist instead of the dashing crusader who defended Lancaster County Lutheranism.

MINISTERING IN BERKS COUNTY

The territory that is embraced by the present Berks County was cut off from Philadelphia, Chester and Lancaster counties. Its organization was effected on March 11, 1752.¹²³ The area was colonized by the Swedes who, as early as 1700, made a settlement at Molatton, which was located at the present Douglassville.¹²⁴ The French Hugen-

nots led by the De Turck family found a peaceful home in Oley Township in 1712.¹²⁵ The Welsh established their colony in what is now included in the townships of Carnarvon, Brecknock and Cumru.¹²⁶ Although the Scotch-Irish settled chiefly at Donegal in Lancaster County, a few found desirable sites in the present Berks County.¹²⁷ But the principal settlers of this section were the Germans, who came in successive waves of immigration to bring sizeable accessions to the population.

The evangelistic activities of John Caspar Stoever in Berks County lend themselves to a two-fold classification: in the east, they were intermittent and limited in scope; and in the western district, which was closer to his home in Sunnyside near Lebanon, his ministrations were constant and more numerous. In the first-named region, Stoever was the characteristic persevering travelling missionary, going from settlement to settlement to call upon his countrymen to supply their spiritual needs, as expressed in baptisms, marriages and by occasional preaching services which were conducted in their homes. Stoever's ministrations at Oley indicate the nature of his connections in eastern Berks County. His own records show that he made visits to this district from 1731 to 1734. His ministerial acts at Mosellem in the present Richmond Township reveal irregular appearances which began in 1731 and continued to 1748. The reason for this procedure is not difficult to perceive; the danger of the Sabbatarians was not nearly so imminent in this locality because it was farther removed from the headquarters of the Ephrata Community than the western portion of Berks County.

The second phase of Stoever's life-story in Berks County was enacted in the territory which lies west of the Schuylkill River. Through this region, known commonly as the

rich Lebanon Valley, the Tulpehocken Creek flows. Farther to the west, close to the Lebanon County line, the Swatara cuts its channel as its waters hasten to join the Susquehanna River.

The settlers of this historic valley immigrated in two directions: one group came thither by pushing on into the interior from the port of Philadelphia; the rest comprised a remnant of the ill-fated German colony which had been established in the Province of New York.

The evangelistic efforts of Stoever in western Berks County were concentrated upon four major fields: Northkill, where he performed 126 baptisms and 11 marriages from 1731 to 1763; Bern Township, where he recorded 35 baptisms and 22 weddings from 1743 to 1765; Atolhoe, where he baptized 43 persons and married 107 couples from 1745 to 1767; and Tulpehocken, the scene of 169 baptisms and 109 weddings in the period, 1734 to 1779.¹²⁸

Two congregations were planted as the immediate results of the unceasing endeavors of John Caspar Stoever. The one known officially as "Christ Church," but more commonly as "Little Tulpehocken," is located in Jefferson Township about a mile southwest of Bernville. It is called "Tulpehocken" because it is situated on the banks of the stream by that name, and "Little" because it has always been a small congregation with a small building. Tradition prevails that it was constituted by the eastern group that withdrew from Reed's Church during the prolonged feud that raged there.

The church register which Stoever opened for this congregation bears the following characteristic title:

Church Book and Protocol
for the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation
down at the Tulpehocken near the Northkill.

In it was noted and recorded the children baptized in this church and congregation, as well as those regularly joined in matrimony from 1730 on.

Derived in part from other church records, and in part from my manuscripts and collected into this [book] and to be continued in the future.

By me, John Caspar Stoever,
Regularly called and ordained an
Evangelical Lutheran minister
and pastor in charge of this and other
congregations in Lancaster County, in the
Province of Pennsylvania.

Done and executed in the year of our
Lord, 1742.¹²⁹

The entries of baptisms extend from 1727 to 1761.¹³⁰ The marriages cover the period from 1735 to 1760. As late as 1774, when the Reverend Emmanuel E. Schulze resigned the pastorate, the congregation requested Stoever to resume the pastoral relationship. He complied by conducting occasional preaching services and administering Communion, records of which were properly entered into the official protocol.

The patent for the land upon which the rude log church was erected was executed in Philadelphia, November 20, 1747; although three years earlier, May 17, 1744, there was a warrant for land in which Michael Shower was mentioned as one of the trustees. That there was a building by 1749 is attested by the record of a marriage which was solemnized "in the church" on September 3, 1849.¹³¹

The second organization effected by John Caspar Stoever in Berks County was Christ Church, Stouchsburg, which represented the western group that detached itself from the quarrelsome Reed's Church. The story of this develop-

ment embroiled Stoever in bitter controversy and will, for this reason, be told in a subsequent section.

PREACHING IN HIS OWN COUNTY

Like Berks and York counties, Lebanon County was originally included in the territory of Lancaster County. When the last-named was erected in 1729, the larger portion of what is now Lebanon County was designated as Lebanon Township. This arrangement prevailed until February 16, 1813, when Lebanon County was established by adding a section of Dauphin County to Lebanon Township.¹³²

The first settlers in this area appeared about 1715. Eight years later, 1723, the first company of persecuted Germans came from the colony of New York.¹³³ In 1729 the second contingent arrived under the leadership of young Conrad Weiser, who followed the trail of their perturbed predecessors. In the meantime, there had been a steady migration into the confines of Lebanon County; William Penn's secretary, James Logan, wrote that they came in crowds.¹³⁴ By the close of the third decade of the 18th century a great influx of Germans of various beliefs, Dunkards, Lutherans, Moravians and Reformed, had taken place. These early pioneers either pushed into the interior in search of more desirable habitations than the established settlements offered, or they made their way to these parts directly from the port of disembarkation. Suitable locations were found chiefly in that fertile portion of the county through which the Swatara River flows as it hastens from east to west to empty its waters into the Susquehanna River at the present site of Middletown; or these sturdy folk decided to found their new homes along the main tributary of this stream, the Quitapahila, on whose banks developed the county seat, the city of Lebanon.¹³⁵

To these rich valleys the earnest evangelist, John Caspar Stoeever, travelled as early as 1731 to establish a spiritual relationship with his native countrymen. On February 25 of this year one of the first marriages in the Lebanon district, if not the first, was consummated. The officiant, Stoeever, recorded the act in his private ministerial journal:

February 25, 1731, Francis Reynolds and
Catarina Steitz, Quittapahilla.¹³⁶

The labors of the hardy missionary in Lebanon County were continued with zealous vigor, sometimes with pointed animosity, for all but a half-century, — to his death in 1779. He concentrated his efforts upon the regions which were located near the Swatara and the Quitapahila, but occasionally he interspersed these constant ministrations to resume the role of a pioneer preacher when he would journey to Paxtang, which borders the Susquehanna River, and even to Upper Paxtang, which is in the extreme northern portion of Dauphin County.

More especially, Stoeever devoted his energy to Bethel, Swatara, Hanover, Lebanon and the Hill Church. The ministerial acts which Stoeever has ascribed to Bethel were probably not restricted to Lebanon County, for Bethel included that large section of the upper Swatara valley which today is divided between Berks and Lebanon counties. The Lebanon section included the modern Swatara, Union, Jackson and Bethel townships.

The district was named "Bethel," which means "House of God," by the Moravians who had established a settlement on the banks of the Swatara. As early as 1740 they had erected a house of worship with the Reverend Johann Brand Miller as the first pastor. The presence of the Moravian Brethren stimulated Stoeever's activities in this sec-

tion so that he baptized 90 persons and solemnized 123 marriages.

It is difficult to determine what Stoever purports by the general term, Swatara, for it will be recalled that the stream by this name flows through the entire breadth of the county. Furthermore, there is a Swatara east and a Swatara west; the former is a division of the original Bethel Township and the latter is a portion of Dauphin County. The probability is, however, that some of the 270 baptisms and 12 weddings which Stoever performed between 1730 and 1767 took place in the eastern section. A "Swatara Kirche" had been established a few miles northeast of old Williamsburg, which was laid out in 1761 by William Jones. After the death of the founder in 1771 the name of the town was changed to Jonestown. As early as 1764, the first Lutheran Church was erected in the hamlet with John Caspar Stoever as the first minister and no doubt its founder. The initial baptismal entries were made in 1779 by the Reverend Frederick T. Melsheimer.¹³⁷

In the consideration of Stoever's activities in Heidelberg the student encounters a confusion similar to the Swatara and Bethel situations. Berks County has three Heidelberg townships, — Heidelberg, Lower Heidelberg and Upper Heidelberg, while Lebanon County had to be content with a single Heidelberg. At the Lebanon County Heidelberg Stoever was compelled to contend with a different religious stock than the Sabbatarians, namely, the Jews. At the beginning of the second decade of the 18th century they are said to have had a synagogue and a cemetery. Undoubtedly, they were overwhelmed by the Germans whose presence was felt in Heidelberg as early as 1735.

The principal town, which was named Schaefferstown in honor of its founder, Alexander Schaeffer, was plotted in

1744. The Lutheran Church was erected in 1767. Its bell was cast in London and bears the inscription, "Pack and Chapman of London, Fecit 1733. For the Lutheran Church, Heidelbergtown, Lancaster County." It was a companion to the one that was made for Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster. The old Communion service bears this inscription:

Michael Weber and his respected wife, Anna Barbara, have donated this Communion Service to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Heidelberg, Lancaster County, 1764.

It is our opinion that the ministerial acts which Stoever has ascribed to Heidelberg were performed in the vicinity of Schaefferstown. The congregation there was a member of the pastoral charge that comprised Warwick, Mannheim, Weiseigenland (White Oak) and Schaefferstown.¹³⁸ Since John Caspar Stoever was the organizer of the Warwick Congregation, it may well be inferred that he was connected with the establishment of the Lutheran Church in Schaefferstown.¹³⁹

Among the more important centers in which Stoever exercised his influence in Lebanon County there is probably none that can compare with the Hill Church,—"*Die Evangelische Lutherische Gemeinde an der Quitopahilla.*" Erected in 1735 on a commanding knoll that overlooks the opulent Lebanon Valley at a point four miles northwest of the city of Lebanon, the log church was one of the first, if not the first religious edifice in Lebanon County; and the organization that was effected during the same year enjoys a similar distinction with reference to the congregations of this county.

At this early date when the Indians were wont to sally forth in an occasional surprising incursion, John Caspar Stoever gathered the "scattered sheep" not only to worship

but likewise to build a church. The worshippers who sat on the rough hewn logs came to hear the Gospel, and they heard it at times amidst great fear provoked by the wild beasts that prowled through the forests, and by the Indians. This danger was so imminent that during the services sentinels were posted at the doors of the church to challenge the approach of the Indian marauders.¹⁴⁰

In 1743 the church register was opened by Stoever with the characteristic title page:

Church Book and Protocol
for the
Evangelical Lutheran Congregation
at the
Quitpahila in Lebanon Township,
In which the names of the baptized
children, as well as the names of
those who were joined in holy
matrimony, are recorded.
Before this time from the year, 1773,
entered into my own book but now
extracted from the same and faithfully
collected into this book for the
regular use of the aforesaid congregation,
Through me, John Caspar Stoever, at present
minister of this as well as several other
congregations in Lancaster County
in the Province of Pennsylvania.
Done the 13th of December,
Anno Christi, 1743.

The next year on the Twelfth Sunday after Trinity, August 12, 1744, the rude log church was consecrated with appropriate ceremonies.¹⁴¹ On the day previous the Lutheran and Reformed congregations, the common owners of the church property, held a joint meeting at which the "Rules of 1744" were adopted for the regulation of both denominations. The original document almost certainly in the hand-

writing of Pastor Stoever was signed by 33 members of the Reformed Church and by 38 Lutherans. At the end appears the seal and the familiar signature of John Caspar Stoever, "dermahligen Ev. Luth. Pfarrherr." At the Hill Church the enterprising evangelist continued his ministry from 1731 to his death in the midst of a confirmation service on May 13, 1779. His remains were buried in the cemetery which adjoins the present edifice.

Other districts of Lebanon County in which Stoever exerted his power for righteousness include Hanover Township where his intermittent ministrations extended over a period that covered almost a half-century. During this time he performed 29 baptisms and 166 weddings.¹⁴² He also carried his religion into Londonderry Township where the historic Bindnagel's Church was established in 1745; into Derry where he performed 13 baptisms and consummated 68 marriages; and into Paxton where he recorded 5 baptisms and 60 weddings. But the center upon which Stoever released his religious fervor to a degree comparable to the Hill Church, or perhaps even exceeding these ministrations, was the city of Lebanon. About his numerous activities in the county seat we have written in a later section of his biography.

The Pioneer Polemics

A. THE TULPEHOCKEN CONFUSION

The Germans who occupied the Valley of the Tulpehocken came largely from two main sources: from the colony of New York and through the port of Philadelphia. The settlers who journeyed from New York were a small portion of the thousands of Palatinates who had found a temporary home in the Savoy, London, in 1708. To relieve the congestion there, 3,200 of these poverty-stricken sojourners were sent at the expense of Queen Anne to the colony of

New York where they were engaged in felling trees, burning tar and raising hemp for the British naval stores. Under the duress of military intimidations and industrial oppression they became sullen and rebellious; consequently, they broke away from their leaders and took possession of virgin lands in the Schoharie Valley.

In this attractive valley five settlements developed. Meadows, fields and gardens blossomed forth under the characteristic German industry. But the peace and contentment of these already over-harassed settlers were destined to be of short duration. The conspiring eyes of the Albany strategists observing their unexpected recovery sent word to the Germans that they held no legal title to the lands which they were occupying; and unless they would secure the proper right to their properties they would be evicted. When this harsh ultimatum was given, Governor Keith of Pennsylvania was in Albany attending a conference on Indian affairs. Hearing of the sorry plight of the Palatinates, his sympathy was quickened to the extent that he assured them that their titles would be clear in the Province of Penn, and that their lands would be free from the claims of white men and Indians.¹⁴³

Enthused by the prospect that would bring an improvement of their deplorable circumstances, they determined upon a removal to Pennsylvania. Under the guidance of a friendly Indian they cut a road from Schoharie to the head waters of the Susquehanna River. At the banks of this water-way they constructed rafts on which they floated down the River to the mouth of the Swatara Creek. Thence they made their way to the Tulpehocken region where they established their settlement in 1723.¹⁴⁴ A second contingent, of which the famous Conrad Weiser was a member, followed in 1729.¹⁴⁵

While these colonists were the victims of political trickery, their souls were not being neglected. Their pastor, Joshua Kochterthal, came with them from Germany and ministered to their spiritual needs both in London prior to their departure for New York, and in the far districts of this colony.¹⁴⁶ His successor in the Schoharie Valley was Bernard Von Thieren, who refused to accompany the settlers to Pennsylvania, but he maintained his pastoral connections with them by making repeated visits to Tulpehocken to baptize their children and administer the Lord's Supper.¹⁴⁷ Occasionally Gerhard Henkel of Falcner Swamp made trips to the Tulpehocken colony to supply the spiritual wants of the settlers there. A Reformed pastor, Peter Miller, also appeared among them; later he was so completely engulfed by the Ephrata movement that he forsook this parish. Another spiritual leader was Caspar Leutbecker, the Moravian. His activities produced the situation that gave rise to the disputes with John Caspar Stoever. The arrival of Moravian missionaries in this area added fuel to the religious confusion which broke out into a devastating conflagration. Finally, when the congregation was split into three factions, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg appeared in 1743 to rescue the torn and scattered flock by providing trained and regularly ordained pastors.

Two years after the first contingent arrived from Schoharie the settlers at Tulpehocken decided to erect a house of worship.¹⁴⁸ By 1727 the church was completed, for that year the pioneers of the district presented a petition to the court at Philadelphia for the opening of a road, "from their church at Tulpehocken to the high road at the Quaker meeting house near Boone's Mill in Oley."¹⁴⁹

The leaders in the movement which culminated in the erection of the first Tulpehocken Church were Adam Rieth,

and his two brothers, Leonard and Michael, Frederick and Michael Schaeffer, George Scholl and Christopher Lechner. So assiduously did the members of the congregation labor under their direction that the building, a log church, was ready for occupancy in less than five months. This development has been described by a later pastor:

When the Tulpehocken was settled by the first inhabitants — this is now almost thirty years ago — when they first took land, they chose here about five or six acres for a parish building, and also out of their great poverty built a block church or house for their assembled company. The money they gathered with pennies so that one contributed to it six pence, another eight pence, another a shilling.¹⁵⁰

With the completion of the simple edifice in the autumn of 1727, the time had arrived for its proper consecration. It is at this point that the connections of John Caspar Stoever with the Tulpehocken Church are said to begin; local tradition persists that Stoever officiated at the services of dedication. This is impossible, for the date of his arrival in Philadelphia is definitely fixed as September 11, 1728. If Stoever did participate in this important service, it took place in either 1729 or 1730: 1729, because Stoever's first baptisms at Tulpehocken were recorded in the autumn of this year;¹⁵¹ or 1730, based upon his initial marriage entries in his private journal for this region.¹⁵²

Because the service of consecration was probably not delayed for two years, we can infer that Stoever was not present. Who then was the officiating clergyman upon this occasion? It was during this time that Bernard Von Thieren, their former pastor in Schoharie, and Gerhard Henkel of Falckner Swamp were making occasional trips to the Tulpehocken for the purpose of baptizing, preaching and administering the Lord's Supper. In fact, the erection

of the building was undertaken at the suggestion of Henkel, — "He advised us to build a church which we did in 1727."¹⁵³ If this pastor was held with such trustworthy esteem that the building program was carried out at his suggestion, then it is reasonable to assume that he performed the solemn act of consecration.¹⁵⁴

The completion and dedication of Rieth's Church, as it was traditionally called, produced a serious problem, namely, the matter of calling a regular pastor. Because of the disturbances that followed the congregation suffered divisions whose vestiges remain to this day. From 1727 to 1734 the community was visited by itinerant preachers, including John Caspar Stoever.¹⁵⁵ During this time, too, Caspar Leutbecker who had been supposedly ordained by Court Preacher Boehme in London and sent to America at his suggestion, also made his appearance among the Tulpehocken Lutherans. Among the lay-persons who ministered to the spiritual needs of the community was Conrad Weiser, who read an occasional sermon to the assembled congregation. He became known as the "Vorleser" of the Lutheran congregation. Not only did Weiser possess a rich fund of Biblical texts, but he applied himself to the study of the Lutheran Pietists, Spener and Francke, from whose sermons he read excerpts to the congregation. He was also concerned about the religious welfare of the children whom he gathered for catechetical instruction.¹⁵⁶ His future son-in-law described the conditions which prevailed among these pioneers:

Many years ago some Lutherans among whom was Mr. Weiser, had taken a piece of ground and built thereon a church, and alongside of it a school house. In the church they were accustomed to have sermons read to them on Sundays, and also have travelling preachers preach to them occasionally in it.¹⁵⁷

It was during this season of uncertainty that Conrad Weiser became attached to the brilliant Reverend Peter Miller, the Reformed pastor, who upon his arrival in Tulpehocken in 1730 became the spiritual leader for the entire community. Favorably inclined to the ascetic life, he was won to the teachings of Beissel and admitted into the membership of the Ephrata Sabbatarian Community. With Miller went at least ten families together with Conrad Weiser, the Lutheran leader. In May, 1735, both Miller and Weiser were baptized into the new faith. Their conversion was so violent that they burned the Heidelberg Catechism, Luther's Large and Small Catechism, the Psalter, Arndt's "Paradies Gartlein" and other orthodox devotional writings.

Several months later the Tulpehocken Sabbatarian Community was established at Millbach in charge of Peter Miller, who now became known as "Peter, the Hermit." When Miller removed to the headquarters at Ephrata, Weiser assumed the pilgrim garb, mortified his flesh and became the head of the new colony. After the completion of the large community house at Ephrata, to which Weiser had contributed liberally, the entire Tulpehocken Sabbatarian colony removed to Lancaster County. But Weiser soon discovered that within the sacred cloister things were not so holy as they should have been. Frictions, differences and ambitions prevailed. The personalities of Beissel and Weiser clashed so implacably that Beissel graciously permitted Weiser to return to the world when he was appointed a justice of the peace in 1741 by Governor Thomas. Miller remained and became an influential leader in the Ephrata Colony.¹⁵⁸

While these defections were taking place, all was not calm on the Tulpehocken; the ferment of discontent was

tearing the little community into factions. Among the itinerant preachers who aspired to the pastorate of Tulpehocken Church was Caspar Leutbecker. This tailor-peacher taught school, most likely in the building provided by the church for this purpose; he also catechized, and occasionally he read a sermon to the assembled congregation at the Sunday services. When the congregation became impatient with his intermittent ministry and desired a regular pastor, they decided to despatch a call to Europe; and they entrusted the document duly signed and sealed into the hands of Leutbecker for transmission to Court Preacher Ziegenhagen. This was done on account of his connections with the authorities in London and because he had suggested the name of a faithful pastor in Germany as a possible candidate for the little church. In the meantime, Leutbecker continued his ministrations. At his suggestion a parsonage was built for the new pastor, and following his proposal the congregation gave permission to Leutbecker to occupy the house during the interim.¹⁵⁹

The year after the call had been extended, Leutbecker reported that the preacher, named Bagenkoph, had accepted the invitation of the congregation; but unfortunately he had died at sea while enroute to America. Because Leutbecker was suspected of double-dealing in the disposition of the call that had been entrusted to him, a portion of the congregation wished to secure the services of Bernhard Von Thieren, their former pastor in Schoharie. This was intercepted by Pastor Knoll of Hackensack, who wrote that Von Thieren was so "ignorant and dumb that he is unable to write a single syllable in his mother tongue without grammatical errors."¹⁶⁰

By this time the supply pastor, Leutbecker, had won ten or twelve families so completely that they "clung to Mister Leutbecker and acknowledged him as their regular minis-

ter, as he gave out that Court Preacher Boehme had ordained him."¹⁶¹ Another evidence states that "When, however, nearly a whole year had elapsed, we received information that our preacher coming to us from Germany had died at sea. Therefore we proceeded to call our already beloved Caspar Leutbecker unanimously to become our regular minister, faithfully to care for our souls in the future, and continue in office as our actual pastor."¹⁶² With the official assumption of the pastorate by Leutbecker the factional lines were drawn more sharply. Conrad Weiser reported that in the congregation a great split soon arose.¹⁶³

While the feud over Leutbecker was raging, John Caspar Stoever was establishing himself more firmly within the confidence and affection of that portion of the congregation who opposed the tailor-preacher. His entrance into the Tulpehocken congregation, according to the maligning pamphlet, "The Confusion of Tulpehocken," is ascribed to the occasion of an infant baptism. In this instance, Leutbecker noticed that the man who brought the child for baptism was under the influence of liquor. Because of this condition Leutbecker refused to baptize the child; he dismissed the man and earnestly admonished him to come back. Instead of returning on the appointed day, the man made application to John Caspar Stoever, who was then residing near New Holland. The latter complied with the request and journeyed to Tulpehocken to baptize the child "without informing the regular pastor loci, or inquiring into the circumstances of the case." This breach of ministerial comity is described as "The first act of interference on the part of Caspar Stiever [Stoever], and the primary cause of the Tulpehocken Disturbances [Confusion]."¹⁶⁴

Using this as an entering wedge, Stoever began to proselyte. He conducted meetings for his adherents first in the barns, but after a time he endeavored to bring his group into the

church. Having gained an entrance into the church building, it soon became apparent that Stoever sought the controlling authority. When a lock was attached to the church door to prevent the use of the building to Stoever's party, it was broken off. A second attempt to frustrate Stoever suffered the same fate. When the Stoever group had obtained the ascendancy, Leutbecker was compelled to conduct his services in the parsonage. This mastery is confirmed from a contemporary source, "The minority remained true to Leutbecker; the majority adhered to Caspar Stoever who now had a rather large following."¹⁶⁵

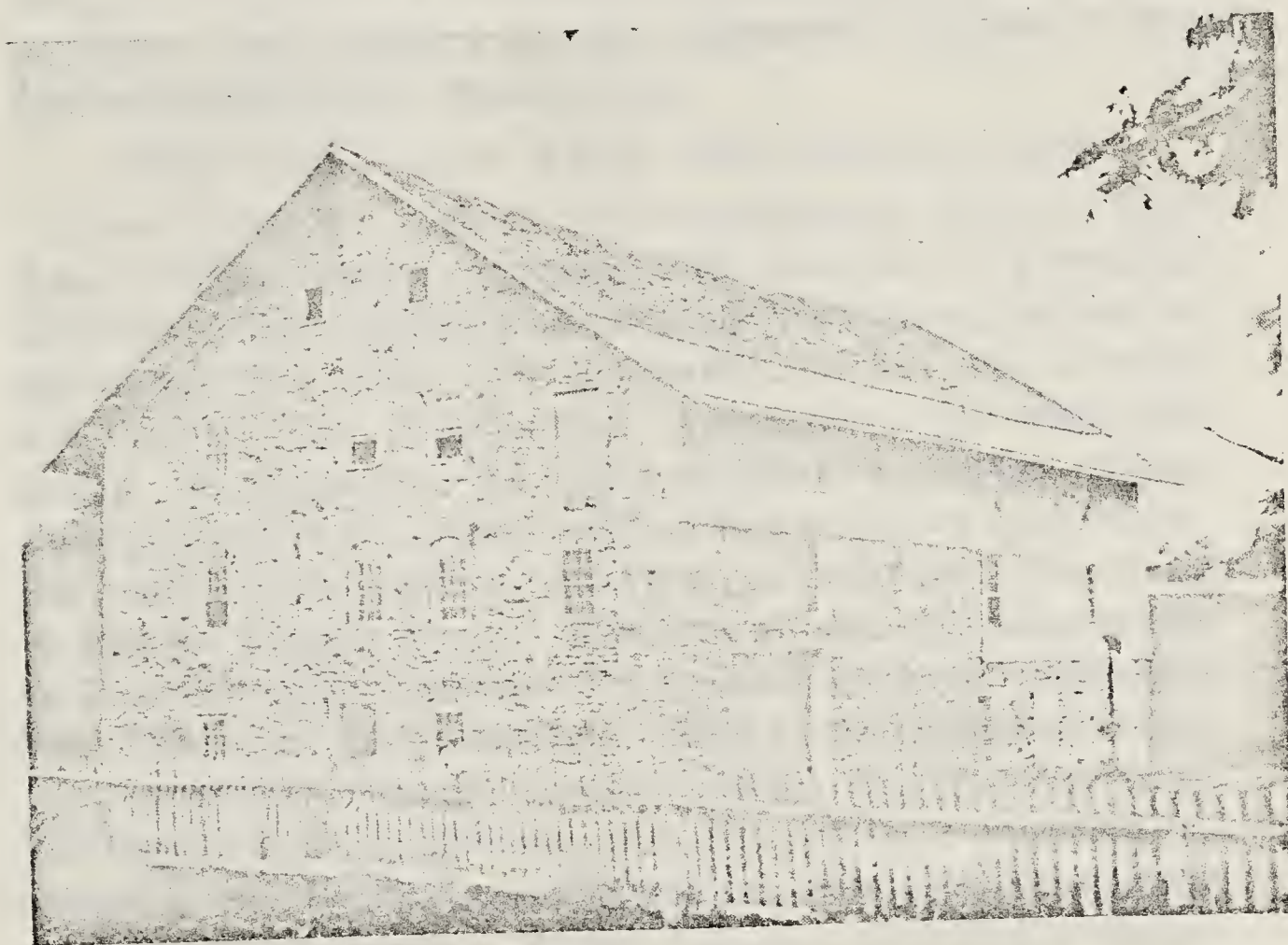
With the ejection of the Leutbecker faction from Rieth's Church, they resorted to the strong arm of the law to regain what they had lost. Accordingly, two delegates were despatched to William Webb, John Page's attorney, who resided at Kenneth Square.¹⁶⁶ After laying the case before the Justice, he granted Caspar Leutbecker exclusive right to preach and teach in the church, and ordered the Stoever party to keep the peace until such a time as he might come among them to investigate the difficulty. But this did not allay the confusion; Stoever paid no attention to Webb's decision and "continued to act as if the matter lay entirely in their own hands."

Upon this refusal Justice Webb found it advisable to institute his examination. As a result, he authorized and empowered Leonhard Rieth, Frederick Schaeffer, Michael Rieth and Michael Schaeffer or any of them to keep in possession the keys to the church; to see to it that no one was to molest or disturb Caspar Leutbecker in the exercise of his duty; and that the house should be kept and prepared for the use and services of the religious society of the Lutherans, among whom Caspar Leutbecker was now the minister. When this legal pronouncement did not bring

compliance, Webb suggested a compromise which Stoever immediately rejected. The situation is described as follows, "denouncing and reviling [Stoever] walked out of the church. Mister Webb begged him to come back. But he could not prevail upon him, and Stoever in a perfect fury of rage reviling and scolding, went his way."¹⁶⁷

By this time the ferment of dissension had permeated the districts surrounding the Tulpehocken settlement. For this reason, another attempt was made to quell the storm by allowing Stoever and his party the right to use the church on the fourth Sunday of the month, when it should be opened for him. This arrangement proved so aggravating to Stoever that his followers pushed a girl through a window, and she and another girl who stayed outside sawed a hole into the church wall. Through this opening Stoever and his group entered the church, and when their opponents came upon them, the intruders were engaged in conducting preparatory services prior to the administration of the Holy Sacrament. Again, despite even legal restrictions Stoever gained the ascendancy; on the following Sunday and those succeeding it, he entered the church and conducted his services with the result that Leutbecker and his adherents were compelled once more to worship at the parsonage.

With the church building in possession of the Stoever party, acts of bitterness were heaped upon the person of Leutbecker. Firearms were discharged in front of his residence and stones were hurled through the windows of his house. These annoyances caused such distress that Leutbecker was constrained to spend the night at the home of his friend, Leonhard Rieth. Upon another occasion the services were disturbed by an explosion which was caused by a powder-loaded piece of wood that had been placed into the heated stove. These tumults over-taxed the already



John Caspar Stoever's Mill—Fort—Parsonage

weakened Leutbecker. His condition became gradually worse and he was removed to the house of George Lesch where he died in 1738. His contemporary wrote, "At last Leutbecker died. Before his death the wearing of the priest's cap became rather heavy for him."¹⁶⁸ The funeral services for Leutbecker were conducted by Bishop Spangenberg. The death of Leutbecker ended the first phase of the struggle; the presence of the Moravian Bishop at the funeral heralded the second stage.

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE MORAVIANS

From 1738, the year in which Leutbecker died, to 1742 John Caspar Stoever continued his schedule of preaching once every four weeks in accordance with the agreement of September 15, 1736. The commotion which had shocked and divided the Tulpehocken Community was gradually losing its sharpness. In the meantime, however, Bishop Spangenberg was gaining hold on the hearts of some families and came to conduct "edifying and instructive meetings in George Lesch's house." With the return of Spangenberg to Europe in 1739, Andrew Eschenbach arrived. He settled near Oley and made occasional visits to the perplexed members of Rieth's Church. Conrad Weiser had returned from his Sabbatarian aberration and was taking a renewed interest in the Lutheran congregation, although he was not an admirer of Stoever. Weiser had also met Bishop Spangenberg and had aroused in him a desire to Christianize the Indians, while Spangenberg, on the other hand, had awakened in Weiser the belief that the Moravians are a devoted class of pietistic Lutherans. The Moravians, Weiser felt, offered the solution to the Tulpehocken troubles; and accordingly, he proceeded to Oley where he attended the first conference held in 1742 by Count Zinzendorf.¹⁶⁹ Following the discussion of the Tulpehocken difficulties, Zinzendorf journeyed with Weiser from the Oley Conference

to Tulpehocken where he preached the following Sunday on the Second Article (Apostles' Creed in Luther's Catechism) and "read out that he was a good Lutheran."¹⁷⁰ As a result of this visit, a call was entrusted to the Count whereby he should secure a pastor from Halle for the congregation. Incidentally, Zinzendorf proposed that Gottlieb Büttner whom he had just ordained at the Oley Conference might serve them "as long as he should please the people, or possibly until some one out of Germany could be brought over."¹⁷¹

The coming of Büttner in February, 1742, was hailed as a rallying point for the distracted little Tulpehocken flock. Its hopes were fantastic, for his presence rekindled the smoldering embers of discontent. In his introductory sermon the new pastor urged the inhabitants of the community to live peaceably. But before six months had passed the peace-maker, who had won only the Leutbecker faction to his side, "was up in arms and in hot and heavy pursuit of his antagonist, Stoever." He was actually trying to drive him out.¹⁷² Under date of April 17, 1742, about three months after his arrival, Büttner undertook to write to Stoever; in his letter he regretted that he had not written earlier, for his attack upon Stoever's person would have been of a milder tone.¹⁷³ He questioned Stoever's authority as a pastor, and he urged him to repentance and conversion. Particularly caustic were the challenges to Stoever's ordination. They follow: (a) Who made him to be a Lutheran pastor? (b) How can he prove that he has taken the necessary examination for the Lutheran ministry? (c) How can he boast of a regular ordination? (d) Where and by whom was he ordained? (e) How has this person who ordained him the right to do so and by what authority? (f) Whence had Mister Stoever the authority to install elders and to authorize them to perform sacred duties

without my (Büttner's) knowledge? The letter did not bring peace but only a sharpened sword. In May, 1742, Büttner publicly resigned and departed the same day, but his period of absence was not unduly prolonged. Five weeks later he submitted to the pleadings of the little group in Rieth's Church and returned to resume his pastorate.

In the very month in which Büttner left the Tulpehocken Church — when it appeared that Stoever had again obtained the supremacy — there was legal manoeuvring to steal the march on Stoever's group. Because of Conrad Weiser's confidence in his new friend, Count Zinzendorf, he counselled the Büttner party to secure possession of the church property. Hastening to Squire William Webb, they secured the deed, the conveyance being made on May 15, 1742. Instead of executing the deed in the name of the Lutheran Congregation at Tulpehocken, it was conveyed to "Michael Schaeffer, Frederick Schaeffer, Leonhard Rieth, George Loesh and Hemanus Walborn." This action on the part of the Büttner group incensed the opposing side to such a degree that Zinzendorf was threatened with bodily violence on his visit to the region in August or September, 1742. To offset this outburst of passion, these men explained that when the deed was conveyed to them they bore witness that they were to be regarded as trustees of the congregation.

With the arrival of Zinzendorf the strength of the Stoever faction began to decline. Having snatched away the legal right to the building, the Moravians made a striking gesture for complete victory. On June 3, 1742, Zinzendorf held a Religious Conference of the Congregation of God in the Spirit at Philadelphia. Besides the Count, Pastor Büttner, Pyrlaus and Bryzelius were present. They constituted themselves into the Consistory of the Lutheran Church of Pennsylvania, and they heaped insult upon shame and

sensation by deposing John Caspar Stoever from the Christian ministry.¹⁷⁴

This daring stroke on the part of the Moravians intensified the already impassioned feelings. Additional animosity was generated by the return of Büttner. When he was recalled, Count Zinzendorf appointed John Philip Meurer. The new pastor, who was a school master, came with the instructions to "leave all untouched in teaching and ceremonies and continue as it has been in Leutbecker's time, among the same flock that had followed Leutbecker." During this time Conrad Weiser observed:

The Majority ranged themselves with Caspar Stoever until at last only several families remained over. But these capitulated to the so-called Moravians as follows, that they would remain Lutheran as before in all points, that on the other hand the congregation at Bethlehem should give them a preacher, who would preach for nothing, and thus it remained to this day.¹⁷⁵

At the beginning of the Meurer pastorate another element wedged its way into the Tulpehocken disturbances. This was the arrival of Valentine Kraft, who may have been one of Stoever's tutors in Germany.¹⁷⁶ He had been a pastor in the Palatinate until he was dismissed by the authorities at Zweibrücken.¹⁷⁷ At this turn of events, he decided to come to America and landed at Philadelphia on August 25, 1742, on the brigantine, "Mary" commanded by Captain John Mason.¹⁷⁸ He imposed himself upon the Philadelphia, New Hanover and Trappe congregations and continued to serve until Muhlenberg arrived in November, 1742. Then he moved into the outlying districts, making his appearance in Tulpehocken during the Meurer pastorate.

What motives prompted Kraft's activities at Tulpehocken? Did he attempt to form a third party of which

he would be the spiritual head? If this was his intention, did he hope to unite the distracted flock and thus bring an end to the shameful controversy? In his report to the Philadelphia Consistory Meurer revealed the situation; he stated that the "old newly arrived minister Kraft had been preaching in the Reformed Church."¹⁷⁹ Stoever and his party were also conducting services in this edifice because the authorities of Rieth's Church had prohibited the further use of their building.¹⁸⁰ Evidently, Kraft had become the head of Stoever's followers, for Pastor Meurer informs that Kraft "returned the congregation to Stoever after they had recalled Stoever for another year. He announced that Stoever had determined to amend his ways, acknowledging that he had been guilty of dishonorable forwardness."

This lengthy document (The Meurer Report) describes in detail a conference which was held at Michael Rieth's residence for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between the estranged spiritual leaders. The meeting was attended by the three pastors, namely, Kraft, Meurer and Stoever, together with their representative deacons. Each pastor submitted his plan for peace. Kraft suggested that amicable relations could be restored if Stoever and Meurer would associate with each other, thus providing examples for their respective groups. Stoever could perceive of no complete reconciliation because of the intense hostility, but he believed a beginning could be made through a more intimate fellowship. Meurer felt that no harmony could be reestablished except through the conversion of the pastors as wrought by the Grace of God and the preaching of the Atonement. Although the discussion continued for three hours, no permanent results accrued.

Toward the end of the interview, as Meurer reported, it was intimated that Stoever and his party were contem-

plating the erection of a church which was to be located about three miles from the original Rieth's Church.¹⁸¹ This step was necessary because the Moravians forbade Stoever from entering the place of worship. According to the Meurer report, the Moravian deacons declared that while no person shall be prevented from accompanying the Moravians to the church, Stoever should be refused admittance because he had never been acknowledged as the regular pastor and that he was a brawler. With the announcement of the church building program by the Stoever party, they requested the Sacramental vessels as well as financial assistance for the new church and parsonage. But this was declined by the church officials because they felt that the dissatisfied faction had withdrawn from the original congregation.

By this time the Tulpehocken confusion had again reached an over-heated stage. Several important developments had added fuel to the fire. For one thing, Stoever had removed from his residence in Lancaster County to Sunnyside near Lebanon. This enabled him to devote more time and energy to the Tulpehocken situation. Then, too, the population of that region was rapidly increasing, for by 1742 numerous immigrants had settled in the rich agricultural Lebanon Valley. Many of these newcomers were of the Lutheran faith and naturally affiliated with Stoever and his group. These factors stimulated fresh interest in their efforts to secure a new place of worship. The project developed rapidly; Sebastian Fischer, Christian Lauer and George Unrah each offered five acres of adjoining land as a gift upon which the new church should be erected. Abraham Lauk and Michael Muller comprised the building committee. Their fellow Lutherans living in the surrounding community assisted the congregation in assuming the financial obligations incident to the new enterprise.¹⁸²

In the spring of 1743 the building operations were begun. On May 12, 1743, the corner stone was officially laid. Into the cavity made by two stones were placed an octavo Bible bound in leather, some white bread (*ein weisz Broedlein*,) and a bottle containing wine, as witnesses to the establishment of the church on the Word of God and the Sacraments.

The appearance of the name of "John Caspar Stoever" among the last section of the list of subscribers and the third below that of "Andrea Kraft" (Valentine Kraft, the pastor) raises the question of who officiated at the laying of the corner stone.¹⁸³ Was this privilege accorded to Stoever or to Kraft? Do the respective places on the list of members indicate that Stoever had taken a subordinate position in the congregation? While we can not determine Stoever's place in the service incident to the laying of the corner stone, there is a strong inference that he played a significant part in the preparation of the document that was deposited in the stone. There is a most striking similarity between it and the "Rules of 1744," which were drawn up in connection with the Hill Lutheran and Reformed Churches. One observes the use of identical phrases; there is the same sharp ring of Lutheran orthodoxy, and the same uncompromising attitude towards those who "depart from this true and pure Evangelical Lutheran Religion based upon the word of God and in accord with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession."

But the prospects of this new church did not settle the Tulpehocken difficulties. Although the church was erected by the Stoever party, he was not privileged to remain as the pastor of the congregation. Conrad Weiser speaks about the situation in his letter to Pastor Brunnholtz, "Meanwhile Stoever had fallen out with his party, and the latter had addressed itself to Pastor Muhlenberg to get a pastor in accordance with the original determination and

call that had been sent to Court Preacher Ziegenhagen." Muhlenberg reported that "Stoever conducted himself so badly that he resigned partly on his own accord; he was partly deposed by his deacons."¹⁸⁴ J. Nicholas Kurtz also refers to the dismissal of Stoever, "Stoever spoiled everything as he did in all places, so also here; through his disorderly and ungodly life. The Congregation dismissed him."¹⁸⁵

The congregation now addressed itself to Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who had arrived in Philadelphia, November 25, 1742. Within six years after he assumed charge of the Philadelphia, New Hanover and Trappe congregations, that called him to America, he became the recognized leader of American Lutheranism, a distinction which he held for forty years. On his visit to Tulpehocken he formed a friendship with Conrad Weiser, whose daughter he afterwards married.¹⁸⁶

The result of the conference between Muhlenberg and the Tulpehocken leaders was the selection of the Reverend Tobias Wagner for the pastorate, which had become vacant through the removal of Kraft and the dismissal of Stoever. The new pastor was a member of a distinguished family in Würtemberg, Germany. In 1742 he came to New England with a band of colonists who settled in Waldoboro, now in the State of Maine. From that region he journeyed to Pennsylvania in search of a congregation.¹⁸⁷ When he arrived in Penn's Province, Muhlenberg recommended him to the Tulpehocken Church. He was elected and entered upon his pastoral office on October 25, 1743.¹⁸⁸

Wagner's pastorate did not bring about the peace and harmony the congregation earnestly anticipated. The pastor was of a positive and a disturbing nature, of a violent and irascible temperament. Given to a jealous disposition,

he suspected Muhlenberg of receiving a salary from the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.¹⁸⁹ In addition, the dismissal of Stoever did not disaffect him from his most devoted followers. Muhlenberg wrote, "Stoever and his party were greatly embittered toward Wagner."¹⁹⁰ In the meantime, the congregation, because of the difficulties which were encountered in supporting Wagner's large family, requested Muhlenberg to secure a new pastor who was unmarried.¹⁹¹ The outcome of the unhappy circumstances was the removal of Wagner in April (Easter), 1746, after he had served about two and one-half years. He was succeeded by J. Nicholas Kurtz, who enjoyed a long and successful period of service which extended from 1748-1770.¹⁹²

We left the Moravians under the leadership of John Philip Meurer in complete control of Rieth's Church. In 1745 they ventured upon a building program which culminated in a new church. Two years later, February 2, 1747, a tragedy occurred that shocked the entire community. Leonhard Rieth, one of the founders of Rieth's Church and subsequently a Moravian trustee, fell under the water-wheel at his mill; he was caught in the cog wheels and was mangled to death. His funeral service provided the sensation that demoralized the little Moravian congregation. When the Rieth family engaged the Reverend J. Nicholas Kurtz to officiate at the funeral services, the Moravians refused to allow the Lutheran pastor to preach in their church.¹⁹³ Pastor Kurtz was compelled to deliver his sermon in the snow by the side of the grave. This unfortunate affair embittered the Rieth family and precipitated a severe controversy among the Moravians. Finally, a civil suit developed between a small group of Lutherans headed by Conrad Weiser and the Moravian authorities at Bethlehem for the legal possession of Rieth's Church. It ended

in a victory for the Lutherans.¹⁹⁴ The building which became the property of the Lutherans was 24 feet square; it stood for 93 years, to 1836 when it was damaged by a storm. The edifice that replaced it was erected in 1837, and is located on the east side of the present Stouchsburg. It is still traditionally known as Reed's Church, but the official title is Zion's Evangelical Lutheran Church.

The Confusion at Tulpehocken affords an insight into an unfavorable aspect of colonial church life. The controversy is a dark blot upon the history of religion in the fertile and peace-loving Lebanon Valley. In a casual manner it might be dismissed as a sign of the times. But the deplorable effect of this unethical situation is denoted by the lean harvest of souls that has been produced. In 1945 Zion's Evangelical Lutheran Church, that is Rieth's Church founded in 1727, is listed as a supply point in the official minutes of the Synod to which it belongs. Its parochial report shows that 27 persons communed at least once during the previous year. The total expenditure was \$994.00.¹⁹⁵

In attempting to form an objective evaluation of the Controversy on the Tulpehocken the student must bear in mind that it occurred in an individualistic age. The prevalent European culture transplanted to the New World tended strongly to emulate the person. The wide-open spaces of America afforded an opportunity to release this conviction in an unrestrained manner. The hard lot of the early pioneers provided the obstacles that challenged their unconquerable spirits, and the conquest of their difficulties left their spirits resolute, determined and unrelenting. A student of the community has advanced this opinion:

It appears that those early Tulpehocken colonists could not agree among themselves and this may have had its

weight in inducing the great religious troubles that seemed to have arisen very early among the Lutherans in Tulpehocken. Long afterwards in 1743 Conrad Weiser himself wrote of these colonists, "Es war Niemans unter dem Volk, der es regieren konnte. Ein Jeder that was er wolte, und ihr starker Eigensinn hat ihnen bis auf diese Stunde im Wege gestanden."¹⁹⁶

B. STOEVER AND MUHLENBERG AND THE MINISTERIUM OF PENNSYLVANIA

The closing chapter of the Tulpehocken Confusion presented the man with whom Stoever had further disagreements, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. He is rather generally regarded as the "Patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America." A native of the Electorate of Hanover, Germany, he received his theological education at the University of Goettingen. For fifteen years he taught various branches at the Halle Institutes. Instead of devoting his life to mission work in India, he accepted a call to become a pastor in Saxony. Several years later he was persuaded by Augustus Herman Francke, the Director of the Halle Institutes, to come to America. He landed in Charlestown, South Carolina, and after spending some time among the Salzburg Lutherans at Ebenezer, Georgia, he journeyed to Philadelphia, arriving on November 25, 1742.

Muhlenberg found the congregations to which he had been called, Philadelphia, Trappe and New Hanover, confused and distracted because of the imposition of preachers like Count Zinzendorf, Valentine Kraft, whom we met in the Tulpehocken Controversy, and an ex-druggist, Empiricus Schmid. Several weeks sufficed for Muhlenberg to gain possession of the field. His presence and earnestness inspired new courage into the disturbed flocks. New buildings were erected; order began to show its head where disorder once prevailed. In the meantime, Muhlenberg's in-

fluence began to penetrate into the interior districts. He was summoned to allay the difficulties that baffled congregations, and to solve, if possible, their manifold problems. These situations demanded long journeys: across the Delaware into New Jersey where Lutheran congregations were located on the upper banks of the Raritan River; to New York, where he visited his brethren along the Hudson River; inland, to Lancaster where the Moravian Nyberg had taken charge of the congregation; on to York, Hanover, Monocacy and Frederick, Maryland; to Tulpehocken where he came in contact with Kraft, Wagner, Stoever and the Moravians.

Besides his earnest missionary zeal, Muhlenberg was gifted with administrative ability. Consequently, he was not satisfied to bring only God's Grace to his fellow countrymen in the form of Word and Sacrament; he perceived the necessity of corporate organization. The opportunity to organize the colonial Lutheran churches into a synod came when the pastors and their representatives gathered for the dedication of the new edifice which St. Michael's Church in Germantown had erected. Here on August 26, 1748, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the oldest existing Lutheran body in America, was founded under the leadership of Muhlenberg.

With the organization effected, Muhlenberg directed his energy to the fuller realization of his motto, "*Ecclesia Plantanda*," by planting and supervising young congregations. The liturgy, "*The Church Agenda of 1748*," which was adopted at the first convention of the Ministerium, was printed together with a series of ministerial acts and an American hymnal, — all for the establishment of order and uniformity in the colonial Lutheran Church. To these high objectives Muhlenberg applied his strength until his death in 1787. His remains were interred near the walls of the

historic Trappe Church, which was built under his direction in 1743.

It will be remembered that Muhlenberg came to Tulpehocken when the controversy there had already decimated the religious life of the little community. In his first move he recommended the Reverend Tobias Wagner, who had recently arrived from Germany, as a possible pastor. While Wagner served the congregation, Stoever remained as the head of a rival faction. After Wagner's dismissal by Muhlenberg, Wagner and Stoever buried their own animosity.¹⁹⁷ Muhlenberg now became the object of their common hatred, which was intensified by the leading role which Muhlenberg played in the organization of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

This antipathy found expression in the virtual exclusion of Stoever and Wagner from the dedication services of Saint Michael's Church, whose record book John Caspar Stoever had opened in 1733¹⁹⁸ They were also deprived of participating in the formation of the Synod which was constituted out of congregations, most of which had been founded and served by Stoever. The official records of Ministerium reveal, however, that Stoever and Wagner were not the only pastors who were denied the fellowship of the first convention of the pastors and lay delegates. During the sessions the question was asked, "Why other so-called preachers like Stoever, Streiter, Andrea and Wagner were not invited?"¹⁹⁹ The following reply has been recorded:

Mr. Muhlenberg shows that we can have no fellowship and close brotherhood with them, for (1) they decry us as Pietists, without reason; (2) they have not been sent hither, have neither an inner nor an external call; (3) they are not willing to observe the same Church Order that we do; each wants to conform to the ceremonies

of his home; (4) six years' experience has taught Mr. Muhlenberg that they care for nothing but their bread; (5) they are under no Consistorium and give no account of their official doings.²⁰⁰

By the spring of 1750, two years after the Synod was formed, the situation had assumed a different complexion; the estrangement between the two parties was being mollified. This amelioration was revealed during Muhlenberg's visit to Lancaster in May, 1750.²⁰¹ While lodging at the home of one of the elders, Muhlenberg met Stoever. During the past year Muhlenberg had learned about the unfortunate circumstances that befell Stoever. A grave illness afflicted him so that he was bed-ridden for eight days during which time he had lost consciousness, but that the sickness had served for the good of his soul. Muhlenberg had been further informed that Stoever was serving five or six congregations in the vicinity of Tulpehocken and that he could carry on his work with meager support, for he was well situated.²⁰⁹

Even before the interview with Stoever at the house of the church official, Muhlenberg had begun to assuage his hard feelings towards the wilful Stoever. For one thing, Muhlenberg's father-in-law, Conrad Weiser, felt that it would be helpful to maintain at least a distant relationship with Stoever and Wagner because they both lived in Pennsylvania and must be tolerated. This connection would constrain them from subversive intentions and would in some degree tend toward concerted activity. The desire of John Philip Fresenius, the renowned theologian and tutor of John Caspar Stoever, Senior, that a reconciliation should be effected between Muhlenberg and Stoever, Junior, was not an insignificant factor in the development of a more amicable attitude. It was discovered, also, that other pastors besides Stoever had been guilty of aggression and

detraction; J. Nicholas Kurtz, who succeeded Wagner at Tulpehocken, "without asking us [Muhlenberg] once interfered in his [Stoever's] parish and had done him an injustice."²⁰³ This impertinence was reported at the first convention of the Synod: "In Nordkiel [Bernville] a filial of Tulpehocken, the congregation is scattered, one part belonging to Wagner, one part to Stoever and one part to Mr. Kurtz."²⁰⁴ It was very evident to Muhlenberg that constant opposition to Stoever would only irritate the unpleasant cleavage and provoke more embitterment. Neither was Muhlenberg blind to the hard fact that Stoever had labored with great diligence and fortitude during the first years of his office "when no other minister was here, so that his honestium of the first year and the dishonestium of the last years just about balance each other in the minds of the simple country folk."²⁰⁵

With these considerations in mind, Muhlenberg spoke to Stoever during the interview at Lancaster concerning the synodical meetings. He asked Stoever whether he would attend if an invitation were given. Stoever replied, "He would not give his answer until he had conferred concerning the matter with Wagner." To this Muhlenberg added, "The first invitation could not at the beginning include more than a neighborly friendship and for that reason we would also invite Wagner and would put an end to the matter that up to this time had been agitated to the detriment of both sides."²⁰⁶

At this point an unexpected element raised its ugly head; the members of the Ministerium refused to concur with Muhlenberg's suggestion to have Wagner and Stoever present at the synodical gathering. In the meantime, Stoever had forgotten that the invitation was conditional and had announced to his congregations that he had received a written invitation to attend the sessions of the Ministerium.

Muhlenberg's letter to Stoeever in which he attempted to justify the attitude of the Synod by explaining that the brethren did not know how to vote on his invitation because Stoeever had declared that his reply would depend upon his conference with Wagner was not productive of a kindlier feeling. After deliberation on the embarrassing question the Synod decided to invite Stoeever and Wagner to be present the day after the convention. This was done to offset any bitterness that might result and to resolve privately any misunderstandings that might arise. The second invitation aggravated Stoeever intensely. He was greatly perturbed over the "idea that he should come post-festum"; and he displayed his displeasure by writing a long and bitter letter.

After this distressing experience Stoeever was temporarily estranged from the official ecclesiastical body which was functioning on the territory in which his congregations were located. This period of dissociation extended to 1760, when the Thirtieth Convocation of the Ministerium was held in the Trappe Church, Providence. To this place Stoeever came on Sunday, October 19, as an uninvited guest.²⁰⁷ In his conversation with Pastor Handschuh, Stoeever revealed that he was offended because of the discrimination against him; consequently, Handschuh reported, "that when he [Stoeever] joined us yesterday we had treated him so coldly, although he sought nothing else than Christian fraternal fellowship in his old age, and would like to have the congregations which he yet served prosper after his death."²⁰⁸ The reply recalled Stoeever's abuse of his privileges at the meeting of 1753 in Tulpehocken and that in the preceding year he had dealt unfairly with several members of the Ministerium. Touching the cold reception, this charge was denied because Stoeever attended and participated in the two-hour conference held on the

previous evening. He was admonished to conduct himself in a Christian manner and if his behavior warranted he might be invited to the next convention.²⁰⁹

Stoever did not attend the subsequent meetings of the Synod until 1763, the Sixteenth Convention which was held in Philadelphia, October 16-19. On the afternoon of the first day's sessions Pastor Stoever preached to the Synod, basing his sermon on the Epistle for the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity, Ephesians 5: 15-21. Using the theme, "The Prudent Walk and Conversation of the Christian," his development was: (A) In Regard to Ministers; and (B) to Hearers.²¹⁰ At a later session of this convention Stoever was received into the fellowship of the Synod by a unanimous vote. The synodical proceedings preserve the questions asked him together with answers:

Further, several members of the Ministerium asked whether Pastor Stoever might join the union this time? Answer: "Yes, if he desired it, and the Ministerium consented." Pastor Gerock arose and asked Pastor Stoever his opinion, whether he wished to be a member? Answer: "That it was his desire, if the aim of the Ministerium be the honor of God, the propagation of the pure evangelical doctrine, and the up-building of our Church." The President replied that no worldly honor, no material interest, as also no carnal pleasure, but the honor of God and the welfare of our congregations was the basis and aim of our union. Pastor Stoever remarked, while outside of the union he had taught and done as best he knew. The President answered: "If the Most Holy God wished to reckon with his servants concerning their office and condition, not a single thing in a thousand could be answered." When the votes of approbation of his reception were asked for, and Dr. Wrangel was asked first, he answered that he had directions from the most worthy Archbishop to live in harmony with the regular German Ministerium, and that if we found sufficient reason for receiving Pastor Stoever he would not hinder us. The

President perceived that it was unanimously approved by all the members of the Ministerium present, and extended to him hand and heart with congratulations, as also did all the others, one and all laying aside old misunderstandings.²¹¹

That all past animosities were apparently abandoned is denoted by the fact that Stoever was a member of a ministerial conference which gathered at the parsonage of Muhlenberg on December 12, 1763. The purpose of the meeting was the discussion of the problems that were confronting the Synod at that time, particularly the vacancy at Reading. The gathering was called also for mutual fellowship and edification.²¹²

The next convention that Stoever attended was the Twenty-First, which met at New Hanover on November 6, 1768. At the opening service Stoever offered a motto (as it was called) on Holy Baptism. It was his contribution to that portion of the program which was devoted to spiritual instruction.²¹³ He was also appointed to investigate the financial status of four or five congregations which were located near Lancaster; and, if in his opinion, they were capable of raising a sufficient salary, a pastor should be duly called. It was even suggested that this pastor might live with Stoever at Sunnyside and serve the congregations from that point.²¹⁴

At the Synodical meeting of 1769, which gathered in Philadelphia, June 25-27, Stoever displayed his most extensive activity in the affairs of the Ministerium. He offered, as in the previous year, a verse for Holy Baptism, Titus 3:5 and I Corinthians II: 23-25.²¹⁵ Having become a member of influence and respect among the brethren, he was the first to vote in the affirmative on the question as to whether the Reverend J. Nicholas Kurtz, should accept the call to Yorktown.²¹⁶

One of the most important problems which confronted that convention was the disturbance that centered in Peter Mischler. He was the tailor-preacher who had imposed himself upon a number of congregations in the present Berks, Lebanon and Lancaster counties. At Warwick he had proved himself the most factious. Here he had forced his way into the church by having a boy break through a window and open the church door. Mischler and his party then entered the church and conducted a service. In the proceedings that took place Stoever spoke of Mischler's inability to fill the pastoral office. He remarked, "Mr. Mischler had written him [Stoever] a long letter with his own hand, from which it appeared that he could not write well a single letter of the alphabet, or spell. The communication was without any connected thought or style, and yet the signature read: Parr Mischler minister."²¹⁷ Replying to the admonition to conduct himself more acceptably, Mischler promised "that he would in the future have nothing to do with parties in Warwick, Heidelbergtown and Tulpehocken; and he departed and wept before the door."²¹⁸

In addition to his active part in the Mischler trial, Stoever was appointed on a very important committee, namely, the Examining Committee, whose duty it was to determine the fitness of applicants for ordination to the Christian ministry. The record reads, "In the afternoon from half-past three to seven, the Rev. Examinatores, Messrs. St — [Stoever], Kr — , H — th, and Schu — , were busy testing and examining the young men, Mr. George Young and Peter Muhlenberg."²¹⁹

Stoever attended three more synodical meetings, — 1770, 1772 and 1773. At the assembly of 1770 his name appeared third on the list of delegates, — "1. Senior Muhlenberg, Praeses, 2. Mr. Krug, 3. Mr. Stoever." This convention was

closed by a prayer offered by Stoeever. The following convention saw him in the limelight again because he had become embroiled in the church controversy at Lebanon. (About this we shall speak in a later chapter.) He was in attendance for his last convention at Philadelphia, June 12-15, 1773, where he was not an active figure. The very last minute on this convention throws light on his failing physical condition, "and four members remain to be paid, namely, Messrs. Krug, Kurtz, Junior, Wildbalm and Stoeever, who want medicine for their portion."²²⁰

In an attempt to formulate an estimate of the grievances between Stoeever, Muhlenberg and the Synod, it is unfair to incriminate the one and absolve the other. To relegate Stoeever, as Muhlenberg did, into that class of preachers who cared for nothing but bread is manifestly unfair.²²¹ To regard Muhlenberg as an imperious newcomer, as Stoeever probably did, is equally unjustifiable. Both were intense personalities living in an individualistic age. Stoeever looked upon Muhlenberg as an intruder and perhaps as a usurper of the place in the colonial mission work that Stoeever felt ought to be occupied by him.²¹² Muhlenberg's attitude toward Stoeever lacked Christian charity. To what degree he was influenced by his father-in-law, Conrad Weiser, can only be a matter for conjecture. The bald fact remains that Muhlenberg's bearing was not ennobled by meekness and cooperation. This reflection is shared by Theodore Schmauk, who writes:

Howsoever independent and prejudiced Pastor Stoeever may have been, the air of authority and superiority assumed by Muhlenberg in dealing with him, must have been aggravating to the pioneer missionary.²²³

To reach a fair judgment of the two missionaries, certain facts must be borne in mind. Both were zealous to extend the Kingdom of God through the Lutheran Church, and

significantly enough both were pietists.²²⁴ But they represented opposing types of pietism: Muhlenberg was objective while Stoever was subjective. The former was touched by the influence of Halle, the region in which objective pietism was born and nurtured.²²⁵ Stoever was the product of Western Germany with its innumerable vicissitudes of politics and religion. In this area the individual, if he would survive, had to become self-assertive; consequently, more subjective. To the Hallensers, as they were called, the metaphysical implications of "This my Body," and "This is my Blood," were sufficient. But those subjectivists, like Stoever, who had been shaped under a different mental and spiritual mould, demanded the fuller formula, "This is the true body," and "This is the true blood," for the words of distribution in the Lord's Supper.²²⁶

In the attempt to form an adequate contrast of Muhlenberg and Stoever, it is necessary to recognize two advantages on the part of the former; Muhlenberg had received and accepted an authoritative call and he had the benefit of a university education. It will be recalled that the Stoevers came to America in 1728 with neither a church commission to supervise their activities nor an institution to support them. There was no specific field to which they were regularly called, no missionary station under whose directions they were to evangelize. They were not even ordained. Pennsylvania was their field and the commission of Christ to preach and baptize was their call. Dependent upon their own resources and stimulated by their own initiative, they penetrated the wilds of Penn's Woods to minister and to suffer for the Gospel. Their educational qualifications were meager. The younger had been taught by his father, who was a school master, and interested pastors who supplemented the paternal instructions by teaching him languages and introducing him to theology.²²⁷

Appreciation for the Stoevers mounts when we contrast their limited faculties with Muhlenberg's equipment. There were his university course at Goettingen, his teaching at the Halle Institutes, his pastorate in Saxony. With his soul fired by missionary zeal, he determined upon a career in India. When the urgency of the work in the Philadelphia, New Hanover and Trappe congregations in America was brought to his attention by Augustus Herman Francke of the Halle Institutes, Muhlenberg changed his plans and decided to come to the New World. Thus equipped — education, ordination, pastoral experience, directing agency, some assurance of financial support and an authoritative call — he came to Pennsylvania.

There was also a difference in the approaches which Stoever and Muhlenberg employed. The former was the pastor — personal and evangelistic — who searched out his fellow-countrymen in order to administer the Grace of God in the form of Wordp and Sacrament. He was the crusader for his faith when it was assailed by the aggressive incursions of the Ephrata Sabbatarians. Muhlenberg was the organizer; and as such could capitalize upon Stoever's shortcomings.²²⁸ Although Muhlenberg came to Pennsylvania fourteen years subsequent to the arrival of the Stoevers, the former has been designated as the "man of the hour" for the colonial Lutheran Church. He has been so regarded largely because he was the leading figure in the organization of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. In fairness to both missionaries it must be remembered that in its inception the "Mother Synod" embraced a group of congregations most of which Stoever had served and whose principal ones he had founded.²²⁹ An impartial evaluation of Stoever and Muhlenberg reveals that their work was not conflicting but complementary. When the Stoevers came to Pennsylvania in 1728 there was an imperative need

for pastoral ministrations and gathering the pioneers into religious groups, but 14 years later when Muhlenberg arrived the clock was striking high noon for the organization of these established congregations into a corporate body.

C. STOEVER AND THE LEBANON CONTROVERSY

The final chapter of Stoever's polemic adventures was written in the "Town of Steitz" or Steitztown, as the present Lebanon was originally known. Its founder was George Steitz, whom we met as one of the subscribers of the new Christ Lutheran Church at Tulpehocken. On his farm, which now floors the heart of the city, the little village that took its sponsor's name was laid out. Because this event took place when the influx from Germany into eastern Pennsylvania had assumed amazing proportions, the hamlet soon spread until it embraced the Reynolds tract, the Donaghmore estate, the Hammond mansion, Pleasant Hill and the farms of John Light and Peter Kucher, whose land bordered Lebanon's romantic stream, the Quitopahila.

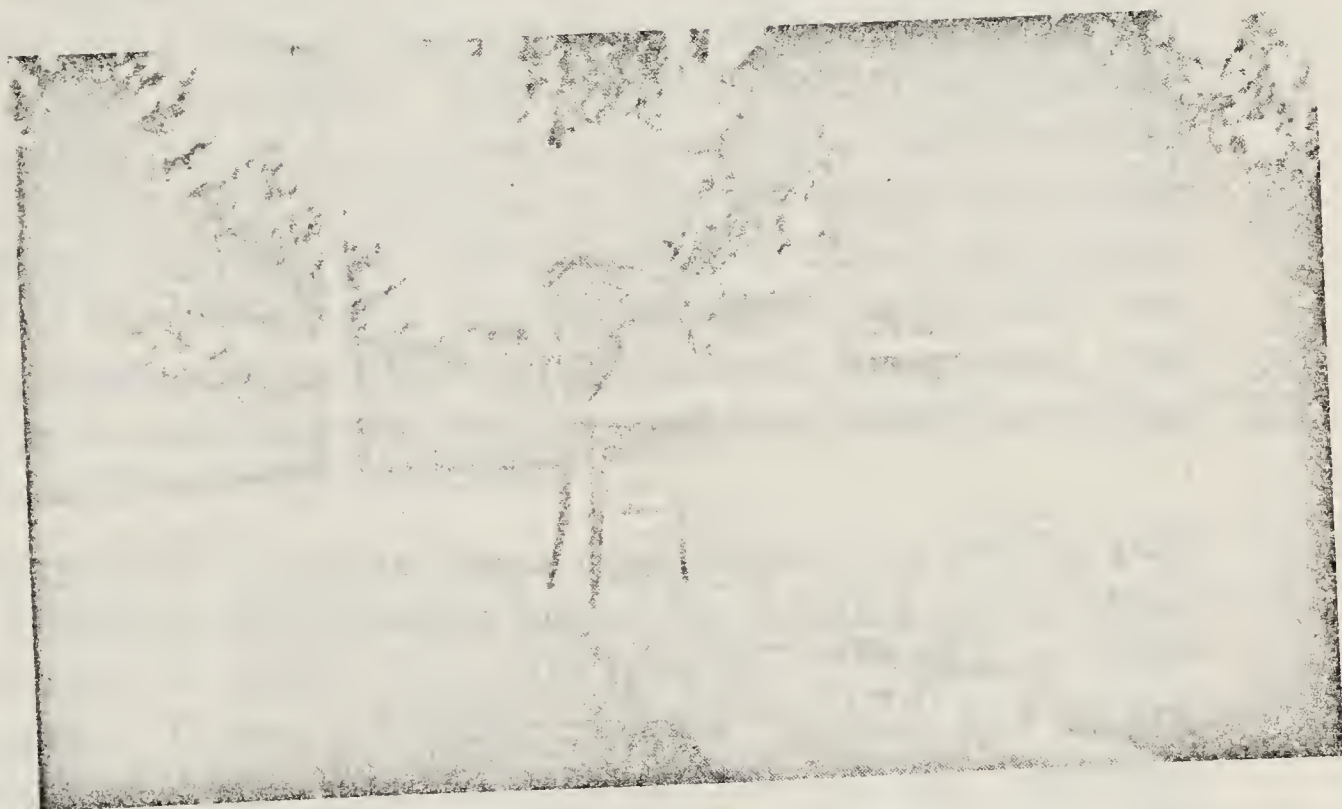
Before the inhabitants of Stietztown were privileged to have a church building within their midst, they travelled to the Hill and the Grube churches, which were located to the west and southeast respectively. Here the Reverend Conrad Templeman and the Reverend John Caspar Stoever ministered to the Reformed and Lutheran flocks.²³⁰ The pious people of the rising town also journeyed to Hebron, — to the east of Lebanon, where the Moravian Brethren had reestablished the congregation which had originally been organized on the Swatara Creek. Many of the devout souls preferred to worship with the Moravians because it obviated the hazards of the long trip to the Hill and the Grube churches.

The beginnings of the Lutheran Church are concealed in

the realm of possibility. It is not known whether the first steps were taken by laymen who felt the need for the exercise of a more pronounced Christian influence; or whether John Caspar Stoever gathered the early colonists of Lutheran faith into a private home where he administered God's Grace.²³¹ There is at least a likelihood in the latter direction; on February 25, 1731, he united Francis Reynolds and Catharina Steitz, Quittapahilla, in the holy bonds of matrimony.²³²

The date for the formation of a church organization in inferentially set as 1752.²³³ Shortly thereafter an effort was made to open a school under the auspices of the Church of England, the German Lutheran and the Presbyterian congregations. This early educational project, undertaken in June, 1759, was to be conducted on Sabbath days with Charles Cornelius Raboteau as teacher. A lay person was engaged as the instructor because the pastors were prevented from assuming this important function by the many duties demanded by their large and widespread parishes. To offer the advantages of the school to the children of the many poor families who were unable to secure a private tutor, it was felt advisable to organize the venture on a community basis. The expenses involved were to be met by the profits obtained from a lottery for which permission had been granted by the Governor of the Province.²³⁴

During the year following the opening of the school, the Lutheran Church in Lebanon was definitely established.²³⁵ Two years later, 1762, the congregation sent its delegate, a Mister Rade, to the annual convention of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, which convened in Philadelphia, June 27-27.²³⁶ Among the items of business transacted at these sessions was the reception of new congregations. Of the five that were admitted to the United Ministerium the first



John Caspar Stoever's Bell—Lebanon County's Liberty Bell
It announced the approach of the Indians

on the list was Lebanon, "whose petition to the United Preachers was read from a letter by Rev. Kurtz, Sr."²³⁷

The plans to erect a church building for the Lutherans in Lebanon received a severe setback in 1763. In that year the properties set apart for the Lutheran and Reformed churches were involved in a sheriff's sale which disposed of the insolvent estate of the donor, George Steitz. Through this foreclosure John Caspar Stoever and his partners, who formed the Lebanon Land Company, became the owners of the church properties. They rescued both congregations from their plight by presenting them with deeds covering their lands. The conveyance to the Lutherans was made on March 13, 1765, and to the Reformed Church on August first of the same year. The consideration to be paid was five pounds, Pennsylvania currency; and the ground rent was to be nothing more than one red rose payable annually in June, if lawfully demanded.

On the plot of ground whose dimensions were 198' by 162' the Lutheran congregation began the erection of its house of worship in 1766. Two years later the "Petition of 1768" appeared. It was a friendly request "to each and all the protestant lovers and upright friends of the Christian Evangelical Religion and the Divine Word that for the furtherance of the glory of God and of the Christian Religion, they would favor us in this our Christian purpose with their temporal blessings and ability and with a cheerful heart, aid us somewhat with their beneficent hands."²³⁸ An item of more than passing interest in the building program was the bell; it bore the inscription, "For the Lutheran Congregation in Lebanon Town, Lancaster County, in the Province of Pennsylvania, Pack and Chapman of London, 1770."

The hopes of the little group in their anticipation for

their new church were soon blasted. The "large log church," whose erection was begun in 1766, remained unfinished, though used, for many years. The disheartening delay was caused by contention among the leaders. The "Petition of 1768" reveals the activity of two pastors, the Reverend John Caspar Stoever and the Reverend J. Nicholas Kurtz. Above the official signatures appears the attestation of Stoever in this form, "John Caspar Stoever pastor of Lebanon testifies that the above is in accordance with the truth." Below the list of signers there was subjoined, "I, the undersigned, testify to what is stated above, with the earnest plea that each one who calls himself a Christian will bear in mind the admonition of the Holy Scriptures: To do good and to help each other, forget not. Nicholas Kurtz, Pastor." ²³⁹

It will be recalled that J. Nicholas Kurtz had interfered in Stoever's parish upon another occasion, — at Nordkiel (Bernville) where he was the leader of one section of the congregation against Pastors Stoever and Wagner.²⁴⁰ Kurtz arrived in Philadelphia in January, 1745. After serving as a catechist in New Hanover, Upper Milford, Saccum and Raritan, he was sent to Tulpehocken where he became the successor of Tobias Wagner. The request for his ordination was one of the reasons for summoning the colonial pastors to Germantown in 1748, when the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was organized. Upon his ordination he returned to Tulpehocken where he served four or five congregations until 1770 when he was called to York. In 1763 he was Secretary of the Ministerium, its President in 1778, and its Senior from the death of Muhlenberg in 1787 to his own decease on May 12, 1794.²⁴¹ Notwithstanding his zealous labors in the vineyard of the Lord he was possessed of an officious and an obtrusive nature.

It is obvious that Stoever had a prerogative to the pas-

torate of the Lebanon congregation. For a full generation he had been a religious pioneer in that community. His ministrations among the Lutherans of Lebanon included 142 baptisms and 270 weddings, making him the principal Lutheran figure in that area. As the secretary of the Lebanon Land Company he exercised his influence so that the land upon which the original as well as the present edifice was erected was donated to the congregation. By his affirmation of the "Petition of 1768" he supported the movement to secure contributions for the building program. Despite these patronages Stoever was supplanted by Kurtz as the leader of the majority in the Lebanon church.

The trouble in the Lebanon congregation was exacerbated by manifold complications. As we have already intimated, Stoever was the head of the smaller group. It was in possession of the "half-built church," maintaining a sharp discrimination that whosoever could not or would not concur with Stoever was denied the privileges of the church and cemetery. The Moravians who had established a congregation at nearby Hebron watched circumspectly the ill fortunes of their neighboring church group. There were also vagabonds, self-constituted wandering preachers, who prowled about and sought to "fish in the muddy waters."

The majority of the congregation had petitioned the Ministerium of Pennsylvania that their grievances against Stoever be heard, investigated, and, if possible, satisfactorily settled. But this procedure suffered delay because the Ministerium had no authority to adjudicate such irregularities. Its power resided in arbitration which could be exercised only if the dissentient factions agreed to abide by the findings of the Synod. Refusing at first to accede to arbitration, Stoever finally consented and a committee was appointed by the Ministerium and sent to Lebanon.

Stoever was unwilling to submit to the decision of the committee who reported that he behaved like "the dog on the haystack; he could not enjoy the hay himself, and he did not want to let the cow near."²⁴² The work of the committee was not in vain, for at the earnest request of the majority of the congregation Frederick Conrad Muhlenberg, the son of the "Patriarch," was asked to serve the larger and dissatisfied group. He complied with their entreaty and preached in the Reformed Church because Stoever would not permit his enemies to occupy the church building.

The representatives of the prevailing party now appealed to the Twenty-fifth Convention of the Ministerium which convened in Lancaster, September 27-29, 1772. Their petition consisted of two points: (a) that Stoever be excluded from the United Ministerium; or, (b) that permission be granted to the major faction to open the Lutheran Church in Lebanon forcibly and conduct services. The Synod rejected both proposals, but decided that a letter be sent to Stoever and "in it remonstrate with him, that it might be well to open the church to the larger party opposed to him. to be used on those Sundays when he with his small party did not use it, and at his pleasure he might retain the right in it when the others had no service."²⁴³ This bold stroke on the part of the opposition chilled the perversity of Stoever and caused him to relinquish his claims. Muhlenberg, who had already begun to minister to a portion of the congregation, assumed full charge of the pastorate in 1773; and on May first of that year he opened the official church register which bears the title:

Kirchen Buch der Evangelical Lutherische
Gemeinde, Lebanon, Lancaster County.

Two deductions may be drawn from the Lebanon controversy. Judging from the priority which Stoever had in

the locality and bearing in mind the indignity of which J. Nicholas Kurtz was guilty in the Nordkiel congregation, we regard the latter as an audacious aggressor. An impartial observation brings discredit also upon Stoever. With the rupture in the congregation wide-open and the situation white-hot, he sought the eviction of his enemies. His wilfulness prevented reconciliation and deprived him of his pastorate. The words of Shakespeare, "The plague o' both your houses," is very pertinent.

SUMMARY OF THE MINISTRY BY JOHN CASPAR STOEVER

The ministry of John Caspar Stoever is worthy of a place in the colonial history of Pennsylvania because of his courageous willingness to grapple with the ecclesiastical problems of his day. Inasmuch as he ministered to an age when formal education did not flourish, his rather limited theological training was sufficient for his task. It was not a generation in which order prevailed either in the state or in the church. This chaotic condition enabled a self-appointed missionary like Stoever to carry on his extensive labors. The harmful efforts of men like Kraft, Empiricus Schmid and others who endeavored to impose themselves upon religious groups, show that Stoever was motivated largely by noble qualities. Among these was his staunch orthodoxy which created a confidence in the hearts of his contemporaries. To his ministrations he brought a strong courage which manifested itself in his determination to uproot heresy. His firm convictions fired him with a deep earnestness that led him to search out his country-men who were deprived of spiritual ministrations. By adding to these qualities a consideration of the robust physical framework which he possessed, our age can appreciate afresh "the work he did, especially in the stern opposition he made

against the sects of all kinds curbing them in their attempts to gain power and holding his own Lutheran people in the true faith." ²⁴⁴

Despite the strain of long journeys and the time required for his diversified interests he managed to keep a record of his ministerial acts which reveals the far-reaching significance of his extensive ministry. The entries of his private journal have been classified as follows:

Place	Baptisms	Weddings	Date of First Ministration
Atholhoe	107	46	1745
Beaver Creek		2	1737
Bern (Township)	34	22	1743
Bethel	90	124	1742
Blue Mountains	3	2	1750
Cacoosing	4	2	1743
Carlisle		1	1754
Canashicken		1	1741
Cocalico	9	46	1736
Chestnut Hill	11	4	1733
Cockel Town, Virginia		1	1737
Codorus	37	27	1735
Colebrookdale	8	2	1731
Conewago	74	10	1731
Conestoga	7	18	1740
Conojohela	18	2	1735
Cornwall Furnace		1	1772
Coventry	23	5	1731
Cumru		1	1735
Derry	13	68	1754
Donegal	1	3	1749
Earltown (New Holland)	10	49	1749
Elizabeth Furnace		6	1767
Falckner Swamp	8		1731
Frankford		1	1734
French Creek	4		1731
Germantown	8	1	1733

Place	Baptisms	Weddings	Date of First Ministration
Gummery	1		1754
Hanover	29	166	1730
Heidelberg	10	23	1730
Helm		3	1736
Hempfield	8	1	1736
Hosensack	3		1734
Kreutz Creek	5	1	1739
Krupp Church		1	1766
Lampert		1	1733
Lancaster	9	61	1731
Leacock		18	1730
Lebanon	144	270	1733
Londonderry		10	1770
Macungie		1	1730
Manheim	4	1	1734
Mash Creek		1	1741
Maxatawney	7	4	1731
Merion	8		1732
Middle Pensborough	2		1751
Middletown		3	1762
Moden Creek (Muddy Creek)	6	24	1736
Mossennutten	7		1734
Monocacy	45	6	1734
Moselem	13	4	1733
Nantmeal		2	1731
Newberry		1	1747
New Groschenhoppen	1	2	1734
Northkill	126	8	1731
Oley	13	4	1731
Opequon, Virginia	48	4	1734
Ontelannee	3		1736
Paxtang	5	59	1749
Pequea	1	2	1739
Perkiomen	3		1734
Philadelphia		3	1733
Quitopahila	2	4	1731
Reading		2	1764
Riedge	1		1733

Place	Baptisms	Weddings	Date of First Ministration
Salsbury		2	1742
Saucon	1		1737
Schiefenthal	13		1733
Schuylkill	6	1	1733
Shenandoah	25	1 (Triple)	1735
Skippach	2	4	1733
Strasburg		1	1739
Summer Mountain	5		1749
Susquehanna		3	1755
Swatara	270	12	1730
Sweth		1	1753
South Branch	1		1743
Trappe	6	6	1730
Tulpehocken	169	109	1730
Warwick	15	99	1735
Williamsburg	2	5	1766
Yellow Breeches		3	1762
York		4	1755

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Part III

A Preacher in Public Affairs

In turning to this aspect of Stoever's life, we find the sturdy pioneer in a role secondary to his ministerial career. His energy was devoted largely to preaching and the performance of pastoral acts, which demanded taxing expenditures of strength and time. Travelling long distances over primitive roads, and in many instances in danger of Indian attacks, was a constant strain upon his rugged personality.

As early as March 1, 1737, he made preparations to remove from his place of residence near New Holland, Lancaster County, to the present Sunnyside, which is situated about one-eighth of a mile east of the Borough of Cleona and about three miles west of the city of Lebanon. On this date the Proprietaries of the Province of Pennsylvania warranted him 300 acres of rich Lebanon County land. On October 2, 1745, he was the recipient of a second grant of 100 acres which are located in this same region.²⁴⁵ A third warrant covering 376 acres and 104 perches was conveyed on December 22, 1752, by the Proprietaries of the Province, bringing his total holdings to 776 acres and 104 perches.²⁴⁶ Out of this area, which covered more than a square mile, Stoever cut three large farms which he called "plantations."

In the meantime he had become a citizen of the Province of Pennsylvania. On September 20, 1741, he took the "sacrament," probably the first step in the process of naturalization; and four days later, on September 24, 1741, he was raised to the status of a full-fledged citizen. This ceremony took place in the Supreme Court at Philadelphia with Thomas Greene and Thomas Griffith as the presiding judges.²⁴⁷

On the large expanse of land owned by the pioneer-preacher, Stoever founded his new home; there, on the region drained by Lebanon County's romantic stream, the

Quitopahila, he established his family and reared his children. His own ministerial journal has preserved their names with the dates of birth and baptism:

	BIRTH	BAPTISM
Maria Catarina	May 6, 1734	May 12, 1734
Sponsors, John Jacob Kitzmueller and wife Anna Maria, also Ludwig Stein and wife Maria Catarina.		
John Caspar	March 10, 1736	March 14, 1736
Sponsors, Michael Beyerle and wife, also Peter Ensinger and wife.		
Anna Margaretha	August 21, 1738	September 10, 1738
Sponsors, George Klein and wife, Annna; Martin Weidtmann and wife Margaretha.		
Anna Christina	November 24, 1740	December 2, 1740
Sponsors, Michael Oberle and wife Christian, Barbara and Anna Frantzina Merckling.		
Sophia Magdalena	April 26, 1743	May 12, 1743
Sponsors, Adam Lesch and wife Sophia, also Peter Anspach and wife Magdalena.		
Anna Maria	January 27, 1746	February 2, 1746
Sponsors, John Jacob Kitzmueller and wife Anna Maria, also Freiderich Kresmer and wife Anna Maria.		
John Adam	June 18, 1748	July 19, 1748
Sponsors, Johannes Bischoff and wife, and Adam Simon Kuhn and wife.		
Tobias	February 11, 1751	February 17, 1751
Sponsors, Tobias Wagner, Ev. Lutheran minister and his wife, also Elizabeth Templemann.		
Johannes	July 5, 1753	July 15, 1753
Sponsors, Johannes Schwab and wife Eva Margaretha.		
John Frederick	December 16, 1755	December 18, 1755
Sponsors, Johann George Sprecher and wife Eva Margaretha, also Friedrich Kraemer and wife (absent).		
John Frederick	September 20, 1759	September 30, 1759
Sponsors, Christopher Friederich Wegman and wife Anna Maria. ²⁴⁸		

The building which Stoever erected on the tract covered by the first warrant has been described as "a landmark of the olden times that holds for us a fascinating charm."²⁴⁹ It served three purposes, — home, mill and fort. Its construction was begun in 1737 and by 1740 it was completed. With dimensions of about 40 by 60 feet, it was a massive structure when one considers the times and the meager facilities for building. The walls were three feet in thickness, being composed of simple, undressed stones many of which were no larger than a man's fist. The mortar that bound the thousands of stones, which were required for the building, was so firm that it defied the pen-knife of the curious investigator. So substantial were its integral parts that this stronghold of the colonial period has endured to the present generation.

Stoever and his family occupied six rooms of this commodious dwelling, two on the first floor and four on the second story. In addition to furnishing an abode for his family, this building housed also Stoever's milling machinery. Here the country-preacher conducted his milling enterprise for all but forty years. During this period the waters of the Quitopahila turned the neighbors' grain into grist, chops and flours; and as the settlers and parishioners transacted their business they undoubtedly discussed and perhaps even solved problems incident to their congregational life. As the grain of the community flowed to his mill and his ministerial contacts continued to expand, the pastor-miller became a person of comfortable circumstances.²⁵⁰

There is a dispute as to whether Pastor Stoever's mill was the oldest on the Quitopahila Creek. This distinction is contested by Johan Peter Kucher's establishment. Its claim is based on the statement made by John Krause, who was a

proprietor of the Kucher Mill: "The mill I owned was the first one on the creek [Quitopahila]." ²⁵¹ Regardless of its age, Preacher Stoever's venture was among the first to serve a community need. Other early grist mills were conducted by Strickler, Strickler and Yingst, and John Caspar Stoever, Junior, the son of Reverend John Caspar Stoever.

The mill-structure at Sunnyside performed another praise-worthy service for the district in which it stood; its western end contained a fort to which the neighbors fled for refuge in the event of an unexpected Indian incursion. These dreaded raids by the red men incited much trepidation in the hearts of the early settlers. Muhlenberg records the story of Regina whose father and brother were killed, and she and her sister, Barbara, were taken captive and returned ten years later. ²⁵² On June 26, 1756 four members of the Moravian Church on the Swatara Creek were murdered. ²⁵³ So perilous were the times that the worshippers at Hill Church brought their muskets, and a contingent of them was posted as sentinels with loaded weapons at the door of the church. ²⁵⁴

The approach of the Indians was announced by ringing the bell on the domicile of John Caspar Stoever. This bell was cast in 1739 by Michael Grass who operated the Elizabeth Furnace. Tradition has attached two distinctions to the instrument that summoned Stoever's neighbors to a place of safety: first, that it is the oldest bell in Lebanon County; and secondly, that it is the Liberty Bell of Lebanon County, having pealed out the glad tidings of freedom upon the signing of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. Because of these claims the bell was exhibited at the Sesquicentennial Celebration, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on Lebanon County Day, August 20, 1926. ²⁵⁵

The business acumen which was so prominent in Stoever

connected him with another venture, namely, the Lebanon Land Company. Attention has already been called to the fact that George Steitz was the founder of Lebanon and that his farm was laid out into town lots.²⁵⁶ Upon these the village of Steitztown developed. But the original hamlet, which bore the name of its sponsor, did not flourish rapidly, — a condition which was probably due to the unsettled affairs of the Township of Lebanon as this portion of Lancaster County was then known. Another reason for the slow progress of the town was the attractiveness of the fertile soil in the out-lying districts which were being possessed during the decade when Steitz sponsored his enterprise. The county seat, the town of Lancaster, suffered the same experience at the time of its inception in 1730. But when the communal spirit had taken root; that is, when the land had been occupied, homes established and the soil cultivated, there arose a need for those activities which offered a livelihood to town-dwellers.

During the period of adjustment the plan of George Steitz received a most damaging blow; his failure in business culminated in his bankruptcy. In an attempt to save the situation, Steitz assigned several tracts to his grandson, George Reynolds, who was unable to hold these properties. The result was that on October 31, 1763, John Hay, High Sheriff of Lancaster County, sold those "three contiguous tracts of land, or the better part thereof (which) were by the said George Reynolds and one George Steitz, the former owner and possessor thereof, laid out for a town called Lebanon."²⁵⁷ Old Steitztown was purchased by a group of seven men who had organized themselves into the Lebanon Land Company. The firm included Christian Wegman and Philip Greenwalt, inn keepers; Caspar Schnebele, a shop-keeper, George Hock, a tanner, John Ulrich Schnebele a carpenter; Christian Gish, a blacksmith, and at the head of the company John Caspar Stoever, pastor and miller. Because Stoever was the best educated man

among the members of the new venture, he invariably served as the scrivener; in reality, he supplied the motivating power for the whole enterprise.

Of all the transactions executed by these realtors—and there were numerous for the Lebanon Land Company operated for many years—there is one which attains a high importance in this study. It is the deed conveyed to the trustees of the German Lutheran Church of Lebanon for a tract of land 198 by 167 feet under the date of March 13, 1765. The indenture states that the members of the Lebanon Land Company “do grant, bargain, sell, aliened, premise and confirm unto said Jacob Bickel, Daniel Stroh, Philip Fernsler and Michael Rieter (They were trustees of the Lutheran Church) and the survivors of them and the heirs and assigns of such survivors in trust to and for the only use, benefit, intent and behooff of all and every of y members of said Lutheran congregation and to and for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever.

All that certain lot and piece of land (it being part and partial of the aforesaid three contiguous tracts of land) situate in the Town of Lebanon aforesaid, containing in front on a street in the General Plan of said Town called Water Street, eight perches and in depth to a lot of Peter Shofe 12 perches. Biunded on the south by said street, on the west by a 15 ft. alley, on the north by said lot of Peter Shofe and on the east by a lot intended to be granted for School-House.”²⁵⁸ This valuable site located at the present Eighth and Willow Streets became the property of the Lutheran congregation for the “consideration of the sum of five pounds lawful money of Pennsylvania to them [the Lebanon Land Company] in hand paid.”²⁵⁹ The ground rent asked for was to be paid in the form “of one red rose in June of every year forever hereafter, if the same be lawfully demanded.”²⁶⁰

An indenture of a different nature, also from the Lebanon Land Company,

was made on the thirty-first day of October in the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and sixty five, between the reverend Caspar Stoever clerk and his company, all of Lebanon Township in the county of Lancaster and Province of Pennsylvania on the one part and John Thome on the other part.

This deed covered "that lot of piece of ground situated in the Town of Lebanon and known in the General Plan of said Town by Number 135, beginning in Front of Hill Street and along said street, Four Perches, Then along Lot of George Hocks, Twelve Perches to the place an outlot of Daniel Heckendorns, Four Perches Thence along Lot of George Hock's Twelve Perches to the place of the beginning."

Upon this tract John Thome promised to erect within the period of eighteen months from the fifteenth day of October, at his own cost and charges, one good substantial dwelling house whose dimensions must be sixteen feet square at least, and equipped with a good chimney of brick or stone. The consideration involved was the yearly rental of three shillings and four pence, Sterling money, which was payable on the first day of January.

Extant indentures warranted to individuals reveal the cold-blooded methods of the Lebanon Land Company. Probably the times and circumstances demanded severe measures. That the realty concern was no small firm is disclosed by the fact that the indentures conveyed to one Conrad Brown covered lots numbering above 200. In these transactions the student perceives the guiding hand of the stalwart Stoever, preacher-miller and country squire.

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Part IV

'The Man in the Minister

His Convictions

It is an indisputable fact that John Caspar Stoever was an orthodox Lutheran; that is, he stood irrevocably upon the theological tenets of his church. In his participation in the preparation of three ecclesiastical documents formulated at Tulpehocken, Hill Church and Salem, Lebanon, he insisted upon a rigid orthodox statement as a salient feature of these instruments.

It will be recalled that Christ Church, Tulpehocken, was formed by breaking away from the original Rieth's Church, which had been established in 1727. After fifteen years of shameful contention Stoever and his party withdrew; they founded their own congregation and erected a stone church about three miles west of the old building. Upon the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone on May 12, 1743, a copy of the regulations by which the new congregation should be governed, was deposited into the corner-stone. This document begins:

In the Sacred Name of the Holy Triune, God Father, Son and Holy Ghost, Amen, 1743.

Into the cavity of the stone there was placed a walnut box, which contained:

a Bible 8 vo, containing the Gospels bound in Leather, a bottle containing water, some wheat (ein weisz Broedlein) and a bottle containing wine, that at all times in the future no other service shall be held in the same, than it was customary to hold since the Reformation of Luther, according to the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, Symbolical Books and the two Catechisms of Luther in our true and pure Evangelical Lutheran Churches for the information of old and young, for the preservation of the ground of their salvation—Therefore, it is also our unanimous agreement and will, that no other teacher or preacher than one who with heart and confession adheres to the pure Evangelical Lutheran

doctrines, shall teach or perform any ministerial acts according to Galatians: 'if any man preach any other Gospel than that which the apostles preached, let him be accursed, and even if it be an angel he shall not be permitted in our time nor in the time of our descendants to do so.' ²⁶¹

An identical note of unmistakable Lutheran orthodoxy is resounded in the "Rules of 1744," formulated for the Hill Church, near Lebanon. To this congregation Stoever retired after his ill-fated experience at Tulpehocken in which he was not permitted to dedicate the church edifice that had been erected by his own group. With his characteristic zeal Stoever devoted his energy to a building program which was directed either to the completion and improvement of the rude unfinished log structure or to the erection of a new house of worship. In 1743 the Lutherans with Stoever as their leader and the Reformed congregation under the Reverend Johan Conrad Templemen combined their forces and "in peace and love they have unanimously and in common built a church and house of God." This edifice, whether the renovated stockade or a new building, was ready for dedication by August, 1744. On the eleventh of August, the day prior to the consecration, representatives of the two congregations together with their respective pastors assembled in Lebanon where they formulated the "Rules of 1774."

In this polity, as in the case of the Tulpehocken instrument, the note of sound orthodoxy was assured, We quote:

Rule 1. No other doctrine shall be proclaimed in it nor the Sacrament be otherwise administered than solely according to the clear and pure rule and guide of the word of God, in the whole of the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, and according to the institution of Jesus Christ, to which is added on the

part of the Evangelical Lutherans the unchanged Confession of Augsburg, and the symbolic books of the same; but on the part of the Evangelical Reformed, the Heidelberg Catechism, together with their Confessions.

Rule IV. It shall absolutely not be allowed to either party to any preachers, let them call themselves Lutheran or Reformed, if they have but the slightest relation with those called Herrnhuthians or Moravians Brethren, much less if they should teach their principles, not yet to any other Sectarian ministry, of whatsoever name they may be, to teach in this church, nor even to perform the slightest clerical service.

Rule V. Should it ever happen, sooner or later, that such a preacher, let him call himself Lutherno or Reformed, or otherwise, should come in sheep's clothing, and persuade the congregation by lies and deception, to accept him as clear and true, but the deception be some time after revealed, but in the slightest degree, then such an one shall immediatel, without delay, be dismissed.

The third witness to the orthodoxy of Stoever carries the reader to the German Lutheran Congregation which was established in the 'town called Lebanon.' It will be remembered that the Lebanon Land Company, of which Stoever was the leading spirit and the official scrivener, conveyed to the Lutheran congregation the plot of ground upon which their present edifices have been erectd. On the same day on which the indenture was executed, March 13, 1765, the trustees of the congregation to whose care and judgment the plot of ground was entrusted, gave legal Declaration of Trust in which their powers were care-

fully defined. One of the items of this document reads as follows: ,

and whereas there is now erecting or intending immediately to be erected on the aforesaid Lot of Ground, a Log Building for a place of worship, intended hereafter to be called . . . Church, and the said lot of peace of ground was granted to us by the direction and appointment of such of the inhabitants of the said town, and they agreed with part of the said county as members of the denomination of the German Evangelical Lutheran congregation, professing the doctrine, worship and discipline agreeable to the Unvariated Confessions of Augsburg.²⁶²

This stream of unalloyed orthodoxy flowing through these congregational pronouncements delineated not only the conservative foundations upon which these groups were established, but it also reflects the convictions that dominated the personality of their founder, John Caspar Stoever. To suggest that his unyielding orthodoxy was forged entirely in the white heat of ecclesiastical contentions is an exaggeration. But it is reasonable to assume that the tenacity with which he defended his theological beliefs was a direct reaction to the Tulpehocken malevolences and the defections to the Ephrata Sabbatarians.

While Stoever became more firmly entrenched in his own denominational tenets, his feelings were correspondingly exacerbated. So divisive was his approach to those who were in disagreement with his convictions that the dissenters were to be removed by church statute from the fellowship of the orthodox groups. Into the Tulpehocken polity there was written this cold-hearted basis of discipline:

Should any one of our number of any of our descendants sooner or later depart from this true and pure Evangelical Lutheran Religion based upon the word of God and in accord with Unaltered Augsburg Confession, and not

remain steadfast in the same to his end, he shall have no part whatever in the same, but shall have lost all rights to the same without strife, dispute or process for rights, for all time to come he shall be entirely excluded from all use of the same and shall never again seek and secure the least part of the same.²⁶³

The spirit of the "Rules of 1744," which were adopted about fourteen months subsequent to the Tulpehocken regulations, sets forth the same intolerance, but it is somewhat mitigated by a three-fold admonition to those who are suspected of error. Rule XII covers the procedure in case of disaffection:

All members and every member of both congregations, as they at present are found among us, or will in future be found among our descendants, should they fall from Evangelical truth, and plunge thoughtlessly into one or the other error which runs counter to both the Evangelical and Reformed Church, and to their doctrine, (be it under whatever name or appearance) misled by wrong-headed fanatics or their own perverseness (which may God in his mercy forbid) shall, after having been previously three times fruitlessly, and in the spirit of brotherly love, reminded by the ministers and elders of such church or churches, be cut off as decayed members, and so long as they remain in their error, be totally excommunicated, neither have any right or part in the least to this church to desire to, or to demand, and shall also be cut off from the burial-place thereafter their death, which shall in like manner not be granted to any other, but such as are members of these two churches.

Closely allied with this rigid allegiance to doctrinal standards was Stover's desire for peace and harmony among the members of his congregations. It is to be regretted, however, that the concord was to be obtained through the exaction of a penalty. Rule VII sets forth this rigorous discipline:

No fighting, or quarreling whatsoever shall be commenced at this church, by any one of either congregation, either

before or after service, under the penalty of 5 shillings into the alms-box, for each offender and offense, but upon repeated transgression, besides the church penalty, the public authorities shall be called upon for assistance.

Stoever's Pietism

Stover's orthodoxy was seasoned by pietism. This name was given to that ecclesiastical movement which arose simultaneously in different parts of Europe, and which laid its emphasis upon Christian living in place of rigid dogmatic precision. In Germany the impulse was fostered by such men as Paul Gerhardt, Johann Arndt, John Valentine Andreae and John Jacob Rambach. The various expressions of this new religious outlook were crystallized by Philipp Jakob Spener, who in 1675 published his "Pious Wishes." This precipitated the movement that dominated the religious aspirations of the continent for a century and a half. The real leader of Pietism was Augustus Hermann Francke, who capitalized the newly created impetus by turning its practical aspect upon missions, both inner and foreign.

Within Germany there were two types of Pietism,—Halle and Rhine. In the former, which was nurtured at the University of Halle under the direction of Francke, there developed what we have chosen to designate as "objective pietism." In this type the Grace of God is given a larger place than the faith of man. Faith is expressed in the reception of the heavenly gift. At the juxtaposition where Francke perceived the danger of human irresponsibility, he made his unique contribution to the movement by converging the various aspects of the newly created fervency into Christian Missions.

On the other hand, the Rhenish Pietism represented an approach that carried with it a slightly different emphasis. In the west there were exasperating recollections of plunder-

ing armies, marauding soldiery and horrifying catastrophes. Under the duress of such experiences the physical framework becomes more rugged, the will takes on more resoluteness and the moral fiber is correspondingly toughened. The individual, if he would subsist, is coerced into self-assertion. And the religion, whatever be its denominational designation, ascribes a larger place to man.

This particular type of Pietism manifested itself in two ways. On the one hand, it sent its adherents into religious extravagances, such as speculative mysticism, chiliasm, sabbatarianism and so forth,—views held by men like Magister Kelpius, Peter Becker, Conrad Beissel, Peter Miller and Bernard Heinrich Koster. Over against this phase was the saner and more substantial development in which the personality is steeled by adversity. Under this forging process the will necessarily becomes more determinative. This type of pietism was found in Stoever. His use of Arndt's "Wahres Christentum" and Rambach's "Sacred Meditations" are evidences of his pietistic inclinations. An interesting insight into his religious mood is revealed in this quotation:

For what purpose did God create the world? The highest aim is that man shall in prayer and praise acknowledge God. The second divine purpose is for the spiritual welfare of man, whom God creates last, so that he may have all things needful,—the creatures and even the angels to serve him.²⁶⁴

The two types of pietism were brought into bold relief in the early colonial Lutheran Church of Pennsylvania. Their differences were portrayed during the preparation of the "Liturgy of 1748." Representing the Halle Pietism, Muhlenberg wished that the basis of the American Agenda be the Savoy Service with which many of the Germans had come in contact during their sojourn in London. Stoever and Wagner preferred the Würtemberg or Zweibrücken

Liturgy. The points of difference appeared in the words of distribution in the Lords Supper and in the form of the questions asked of the sponsor in baptism. In the administration of the Holy Supper Stoever and Wagner urged the use of "Take and eat, this is the true body of Jesus Christ," and "Take and drink, this is the true blood," instead of the "Take and eat, this is the body," and "Take and drink, this is the blood." The difference is in the insertion of the word, true. Regarding the second point of variance, the question asked the sponsor, Wagner and Stoever, "Peter, desired Paul, or Mary, dost thou renounce?" in place of "Do you in the name of this child renounce?" The Rhine pietists placed their emphasis upon the personality of the sponsor to assure responsibility for the proper rearing of the child. The Halle men concentrated upon the child, and for its sake sought to secure the promise of Christian nurture. In both instances Muhlenberg acceded to the wishes of his opponents.²⁶⁵ The Liturgy of 1748 reads:

In giving the bread the pastor shall say these words, "Take and eat; this is the true body of your Lord Jesus Christ, given unto death for you; may this strengthen you in the true faith unto everlasting life. Amen."

In giving the cup:

"Take and drink, this is the true blood of your Lord Jesus Christ of the New Testament, shed for you, for the forgiveness of your sins, unto everlasting life. Amen."²⁶⁶

These distinctions were vital to Stoever. An evidence of this deep concern, even suspicion of those who held the opposite viewpoint, is set forth in a letter which history has preserved. It came from the pen of J. Philip Fresenius, the celebrated theologian and distant relative of Stoever. Writing to Augustus Herman Francke at Halle University, Fresenius stated:

Since then [the death of John Caspar Stoever, Senior]

the young Mr. Stoever has written to me several times, and he and Mr. Wagner have asked me opinions, if they should connect themselves with the men sent from Halle. They did not know what to do as the people called the Halle men Pietists and Moravians, and they had their doubts as to their [that is, the Halle Men's] Agenda being orthodox.²⁶⁷

The Defender of His Faith

Stoever was moved to action by a third religious conviction; in a profound manner, he felt himself called to defend the faith he espoused. In all probability, this determination originated in the peculiar genius of the Rhine Country. As intimated in a previous chapter, the natives of this section were constrained by circumstances to resolute wills; they were compelled to stand on their own feet and assert their rights. A second factor played an important role in making Stoever a defender of orthodox Lutheranism. He was probably reacting to the law of human nature that when persecuted persons are released from their own burdens, they either become persecutors or harbor hard feelings. The relative of the Stoevers, to whom we have already referred, J. Philip Fresenius, a Court Preacher in Darmstadt, had been in danger of his life because he rescued several children from the clutches of the Jesuits.²⁶⁸ The Stoevers themselves came to America because of the oppressive measures of this same group.²⁶⁹ The reaction to these experiences together with all the vicissitudes, political and religious, as well as the accompanying hardships, made John Caspar Stoever not only more firm in his own position, but it bred a bitter intolerance to adverse doctrines.

The arena in which Stoever was the valiant champion for orthodox Lutheranism presented a variegated complexion. It was the age of reason and individualism. The tapers which ignited the French Revolution with its concomitant excesses had already been lighted. The seed-beds

from which the Jacobins and the Illuminati grew had been tilled. European impulses of all descriptions were quickly transported to America where they were afforded an unrestrained flourish. The free and undisciplined character of the early colonial period combined with the paucity of spiritual leaders and facilities for worship resulted in a low ebb in spiritual and educational culture. It was the time when isms of all brands lifted their heads and sought to devour neighboring aspirations.

Pictures of the deplorable condition in colonial Pennsylvania have been drawn from two early sources:

We live in a land full of heresy and sects. We are in the utmost want and poverty of soul, and are unable to rescue ourselves by our own means, if God does not show us help and means from another place. The great number of young people growing up are miserably to be wept for, who know not which is right or left, and on account of the want of churches and schools, it is to be feared, if help does not come soon, the most of them might be led into grievous ways of error.²⁷⁰

The second description comes from Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg shortly after his arrival in America. On January 5, 1743, less than two months after he reached Philadelphia, he wrote in his diary:

There are not wanting atheists, deists, naturalists, and free masons. In short, there is not a sect in the world which is not cherished here. There are people here of almost every nationality. Whatsoever is not tolerated in Europe finds a place here. The most scandalous things are heard freely and publicly spoken against God and his holy word. In the whole land there are many thousands who, according to their baptism, education and confirmation, should be Lutherans, but they are in part scattered. There is such a pitiable condition and ruin among our poor Lutheran people, that it cannot be sufficiently wept for with tears of blood.²⁷¹

Into this welter of poverty, opinion and religious desti-

tution came the Stoevers in 1728 to take a stand for orthodox Lutheranism: to reclaim, is possible, whatever might have been lost, and to establish organizations by which its tenets might be carried forward. Stoever concentrated his energies particularly upon one group, the Sabbatarians, who upheld their peculiar doctrines of worship on the seventh day, an enigmatic mystical piety and the cenobitic type of monastic life. He organized citadels of orthodoxy on four sides of their colony, the Cloister at Ephrata, which was located on the banks of the Cocalico Creek.

Into practically every region into which the Sabbatarisns had planted their peculiar teachings Stoever followed with Lutheran baptism, Lutheran Holy Communion and Lutheran Gospel preaching. The list of localities in which these divergents struggled for supremacy included territories in Montgomery, Berks, Lancaster and Lebanon counties; more particularly they were Skippack, Perkiomen, Providence, Falkner Swamp, Oley, Coventry, Conestoga, Cocalico, Mill Creek, Tulpehocken, Mulbach, Heidelberg, Pequea, Earl Township, Leacock, French Creek and Nantmeal. pushing on from place to place to thwart the inroads of spiritual deflection by the promulgation of a substantial religious faith, Stoever assumed the role of an heroic crusader. How appropriately this valiant service on the part of the indefatigable missionary has been described:

Among all the early clergy who laored within the Province of Penn, none were so active in their ministrations or as organizers of congregations as Johann Caspar Stoever. He not only disputed the field with the various Separatists, but entered their very strongholds and organized Lutheran congrgations in their midsts. It was Stoever's ceaseless activity which proved the greatest check to the spread of rationalistic ideas among the Germans brought about by the intercourse with the Quakers and the subsequent abandonment of all regular church forms and discipline, to say nothing of such sporadic movements as that of the

New Born and others. If it had not been for the zeal of Stoeever and a few others in organizing and protecting the Germans from the inroads being made among them, it is more than probable that a majority of the Germans and Swiss settlers would have come under the baneful influence of the spiritual lethargy known in German as *Freigeisterey*. Of all the orthodox clergy then within the Province, Stoeever, more than any other, foresaw this danger, and fortunately was prompt to act in the premises.²⁷²

Stoeever's Library

Stoeever was not an exception to the rule that a man's convictions are disclosed by the books which are his companions. From these he drew inspiration for his own spiritual life as well as for the edification of the souls committed to his charge. Among the well-used volumes in Stoeever's library is his prayer book. This contained M. Caspar Neuman's "*Kernaller Gebete in Wenig Worten*" and the same author's "*Glaubens and Lebens Pflicht*," which was composed of scriptural passages arranged in catechetical order.²⁷³ In this book of devotions are found also Hellmund's "*Jubel Predigt*," which was delivered on June 25, 1730, at Wiesbaden upon the occasion of the 200th Anniversary of the Augsburg Confession; and also a report of the Poor and Orphan House at Soese in Westphalia which consists of the constitution and lengthy lists of its gifts and benevolences from 1726 to June, 1729.

Another imposing folio of 533 pages, originally bound in ornamental pigskin, was printed as early as 1538. Its title page is missing, but its contents reveal that it was a collection of the writings of Martin Luther:

Gestalt des H. Sacrament in 1533; Luther's Urtheil über Herzog Georgen. 1533; Die Kleine Antwort auff H. Georgen Nehstes Buch, 1533; Summa of Chrsitian Life out of the I Epistle of Timothy, 1533; The Second Article of the

Christian Faith, 1533; Von der Wincklmesse, 1533; Warnung Schrift an die zu Frankfurt am Meyn sich für Zwinglischer lere zu hüten; Vier Vorreden, Dr. Martin Luther's, 1533; the 65th and the 101st Psalms, 1533; Trost Schriften; the XVII Chapter of John, 1533; Schone Predigen von der Heiligen Taufe, 1535; Sermon on Matthew VIII, 1535 and two on Matthew IV, 1535; Einfaltige Weise Zu beten; the I Article of the Creed 1535; Vorrede Dr. Martin Luther's Auff die Neue Zeitung von Münster, 1535; Etliche Sprüche, Dr. Martin Luther's Veber das Concilium Obstandiense, etc., 1535; Schrift an Margrave Albrechten, 1535; Vorrede auff Historia Zu Stazfort Geschehen, 1535; Psalm XXIII, 1535; Psalm XXIX, 1535; Hochzeit Predigt, 1536; Straf Schrift, 1537; Vorrede Dr. Martin Luther's Auff etliche Brieffe Auff Johannis Huss, 1537; Von der Gewaltdt des Papsts, 1537; and Vorrede Auff dis Historia Gaeltig Capella vo Herzog Zu Meyland, 1538.

In addition this volume contains a copy of the Augsburg Confession and the Apology, and the Donatio Constantini. These intellectual and spiritual books, together with John Arndt's "True Christianity" and Rambach's "Sacred Meditations" comprised the library (so far as we have been able to determine) from which Stoever solidified his orthodoxy and from which he imbibed inspiration for his sermonic productions.²⁷⁴

His Earnestness

The positive aspect of Stoever's intense personality manifested itself in a deep earnestness. The abiding impression of John Caspar Stoever is that of the eager evangelist who went from one colony of his fellow countrymen to another in order to ferret out the children whose time for baptism had arrived or had already passed. He is remembered as the minister who united couples numbering into the hundreds in the holy bonds of matrimony, sending them forth together to face the stern problems of a rugged pioneer life. Transcending every phase of his many-sided

activities, Stoever was the pastor who gathered the early settlers during the period when they were adjusting themselves to the rigors of a new life in a new country; and he brought to them the power of the Gospel. For fifty years he spent his energy doing this laudable service. During this half-century he saw the country side gradually populated by harassed settlers who had separated themselves and their families from the tragic terror of the Old World; he suffered with the colonists from the unwelcome depredations of the Indians during the French and Indian War; he heard the bell from his own mill-house structure peal out the glad tidings upon the occasion of the signing of the Declaration of Independence; and he remembered the patriotic flash in the eyes of the colonial soldiers as his own son, John Caspar, led away his company to participate in the War of the Revolution.

Through all these vicissitudes the earnest seeker after souls continued his ministrations among the early Pennsylvania-German emigrants. Occasionally he made visits to Virginia, where he ministered in the pastoral field to which his father had been called. He conducted services in York and pushed on with Word and Sacrament to the outlying sections of this country, on to Fredericktown, Maryland, one of the oldest settlements in that colony. From his home first near New Holland and then at Sunnyside near Lebanon, he made itinerancies to Lancaster, Muddy Creek, Lebanon, Tulpehocken, the Hill Church, Oley, Bernville, French Creek, and the Lutheran congregations in the Philadelphia area. The very first page of his private ministerial journal covering his travels for three months in 1731 discloses his untiring industry. We note the places and dates:

October 19
October 24
October 24
October 30

Nantmeal
Coventry
Falckner Swamp
Manatawny

November 27	Manatawny
November 28	Oley, (3 baptisms)
December 3	French Creek (3 baptisms)
December 21	Manatawny
December 21	Colebrookdale
December 26	Oley. ²⁷⁵

During 1735, a typical year, he visited 24 localities where he performed 26 weddings and baptized 76 persons, as the following table²⁷⁶ indicates:

Locality	Baptisms	Weddings
Cocalico, Lancaster County		3
Codorus, York ounty	2	2
Colebrook Dale, Berks County	1	
Conewago, York County	12	
Conestoga, Lancaster County		5
Conojohela, Virginia	17 (12 on June 21)	
Coventry, Chester County	6	1
Cumru, Berks County		1
Earltown (New Holland, Lancaster County)		1
Hanover, Lebanon County	1	
Lancaster, Lancaster County		4
Leacock, Lancaster County		4
Lebanon, Lebanon County	4	1
Monocacy, Maryland	4	
Moselem, Berks County	2	
Northkill or Nordkiel (Berks County)	2	
Opequon, Virginia	14	
Schifenthill	2	
Schuylkill, Berks County	2	
Skippack, Montgomery County	1	
Susquehanna River		1
Tulpehocken, Berks County		2
Swartara, Lebanon County	8	
Warwick, Lancaster County		1

Beyond the arduous missionary journeys the earnestness of the sturdy Stoever is exemplified by his desire to give permanency to his labors. This is revealed by the

church registers which he opened as the first step in effecting an organization. The church books at Philadelphia, Germantown, the Trappe, New Holland, Muddy Creek, Lancaster, York, Bernville and the Hill Church were started by "Johann Caspar Stoever, dermahligen Evangelisch-Lutherische Hochteutschen Pfarrherrn in Pennsylvania."

Tradition has preserved three incidents from the career of Stoever which portray his fervency. Once he was confronted with the possibility of not being able to meet a pastoral appointment because the district through which he was to journey had been inundated by the spring floods. Determined to fill his engagement, he and his horse braved the swollen stream. He had tied a strong rope around his waist so that he could be rescued from the swift torrents in the event that he and his steed would be swept away by the raging waters.²⁷⁷ It was also reported that he carried his gun to the services at Hill Church and that during his sermon the weapon stood by his side. When the sentinels, who were posted at the door of the church, announced the coming of the Indians, Stoever assisted his parishioners to challenge their untimely advances.²⁷⁸ Once a man who apparently was weary of the protracted service left the church during Stoever's sermon. The preacher stopped instantly in the midst of his discourse. Shaking his finger at the discourteous worshipper, Stoever blurted out, "If you were as much interested in the gospel as you are in your farm, you would not consider the sermon too long."²⁷⁹ Despite his parsimony and incompatibility, there was in the pioneer missionary an earnest desire to evangelize.

His Pecuniary Propensities

At the first convention of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania Stoever was accused of caring "for nothing but bread." That he was given to the desire for material advancement can not be denied. The nature of the records which he kept

indicate this fact. They disclose the minute preservation of baptismal and marriage records but an almost complete disregard for other ministerial acts, such as Communion records, burials and so forth. It is not entirely irrelevant to associate these ministrations with pecuniary returns, for it is a practice well-ingrained into the Pennsylvania-German consciousness that baptisms and weddings connote perquisites. The energy he put into his milling-business suggests that the yearning for monetary self-sufficiency was not absent from his view of life. The fact that he was a large landholder, owning about 800 acres of fertile Lebanon County land, together with his sedulous activity as a partner of the Lebanon Land Company, justifies the assertion that he sought worldly attainment.

He was seized, perhaps, with an inordinate love for money. Two traditions have been handed down concerning this aspect of his character. The one tells that he was so exacting in demanding ministerial fees that in the event of an inability to pay he would take cooking utensils or other articles.²⁸⁰ The second indication of this avaricious spirit was the statement by one of his contemporaries, who remarked that Stoevers was "so stingy that he would take the pap out of the mouths of babies."²⁸¹

In an indenture of the Lebanon Land Company appear the provision that in the event of rental arrearage of thirty days after the time for the annual payment the owners would be empowered "to take, lead, drive away, and impound and impounded to detain and keep at the proper Risque and charges of the said—and his Heirs and Assigns for the space of Ten Days; and if within the space of Ten Days payment and Satisfaction of the said Rent could not be made, it shall be lawful to sell at public auction and Vendue the seized property." From the proceeds of this public sale the back rental and the distraining charges were to be

paid and the surplus, if any, returned to the unfortunate renters.²⁸² In Stoever's last will and testament one recognizes the identical attitude of closeness in financial affairs. In the bequests to his wife, Maria Catarina, are two items that throw light upon this charge. He willed articles already lawfully belonging to her: "and the sole and whole use of the linen and wool in her possession; and all her clothes of which she shall have her full liberty to dispose and give to whom she pleases before her decease."

Modern consideration would certainly condemn Stoever for his materialistic conception of life; yet attending circumstances tend to mitigate our judgment of parsimony. It will be recalled that his was an age of poverty when people faced the grim reality of bare existence; and when families or individuals were able to rise about the level of mere subsistence, they were fired usually by the impassioned longing to get along well in the world. Because the cultural aspects of life were subordinated in the colonial society, well-being was manifested in the possession of property, and as such it gave the community that sturdiness and reliability bestowed by the ownership of land. To be wealthy, as Stoever became (for his day), meant leadership, power and respect.

A second factor that will enable the student to understand Stoever's propensity for material prosperity emerges from a glimpse into the character of a contemporary Reformed minister, William H. Stoy. He was ordained to the Christian ministry by the celebrated Michael Schlatter, with whom he came to America. Upon arrival he was assigned to the Tulpehocken Reformed Church where he served, 1752-1755. Later he was the minister at the First Reformed Church, Lancaster Pennsylvania, 1758-1763.²⁸³

In addition to filling the duties which devolved upon him as a minister of the Gospel, he was also a doctor famed

in his community for his ability to cure hydrophobia. He had also concocted an itch ointment, which was known as "Kretz Salve." Combining his medical skill with his ministerial ability, he was in a unique position to remedy physical ills and to cure distraught souls. At times the avocation and the calling conflicted with embarrassing results. During the absence of the pastor a patient called for the famous salve, and because the medicine could not be procured word was left asking the pastor to bring the ointment to church the following Sunday. The next Sabbath, Stoy entered the pulpit; and not knowing the name of the person who had requested the remedy, he announced to the congregation that he had brought the medicine, and if the person who had placed the order would arise, the preacher would deliver the medicine at once. It is needless to add that no one arose.²⁸⁴

The same author who related this story has preserved also an extract from one of Pastor Stoy's sermon by which he moved his hearers to tears. He spoke in part:

I have now preached God's Word to you for nearly twenty years, but it seems to have little effect especially in the later years. The pay of your pastor has been shamefully bad and you seem to forget that he has a wife and children at home who have mouths that must be filled and bodies that need clothing. When I look over the list of those who have paid to the pastor's support, and those who have not, it sends a chill down my spinal column, for I find so few that have paid anything. Yes, yes, the times are getting worse. Many have grown so stingy that they can not give the pastor a dollar for baptizing their children, but willingly expend four or five dollars for fine clothing for their children and dress them up until they look like monkeys. Where, therefore, five dollars were given for a marriage, scarcely a dollar is now given, and this is wrapped in so many pieces of paper that it is only obtained after infinite trouble. You give the preacher a good dinner, a few scrubby apples and a dollar for conducting a funeral, and forget that he has a family at home

with empty stomachs and wide open mouths. If you were unable to pay I would not speak of it, but the majority of you are able and I can point with my finger from this pulpit to more than a dozen persons who recently slaughtered six or eight hogs and boasted that each one weighed over 500 pounds. Where are the pudding and sausages, the hams and bacon, that were sent to the preacher? He hasn't any. I am to tire my lungs and body directing you the way to heaven, whither you all desire to go, especially when it costs you nothing.²⁸⁵

STOEVER'S INCOMPATIBILITY

Apart from Stoever's inordinate desire for material success, which may not have been unduly exaggerated for his day, this miller-preacher was gifted with indefatigable energy. This driving power released within his intense personality manifested itself in an individualism that detracted from the total worth of his achievements. Because of the nature of their personalities some earnest, serious, incessant workers must often labor alone. In such cases perseverance may win the crown, but it must be won in single combat. The confidence resulting from successful striving develops self-sufficiency; unfortunately, the counter portion of a hard-fought victory reveals itself frequently in incompatibility.

With this as a key we are in a position to unlock what may appear as a mystery in the life of the sturdy Stoever. It has been noticed that he did not concentrate his marvelous energy upon one congregation for any length of time; he was generally going somewhere on a ministerial appointment. While this observation can be explained, in part, by the paucity of pastors and teachers, nevertheless, the charge stands that Stoever had difficulty in working with others. At Lancaster, for example, a church had been erected under his direction and dedicated under his leadership. Here there were apparently sure signs for a long and successful pas-

torate. So far as we have been able to determine, there were no portents that might have developed into a controversy; yet suddenly, Stoever withdrew, leaving the field to self-constituted preachers. At Tulpehocken the indictment is not so clear, for here he was the object of much slander and aspersion; in Lebanon, Stoever enjoyed an unmistakable prerogative in several respects; but here the donation of the plot of ground upon which the church edifice was erected was disregarded because of his insistence upon sole authority. It might be alleged that his inability to work with others was entirely responsible for the regrettable relations with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Here the issue is not so decisive as in the situation at Lebanon, because the first approach of Muhlenberg to Stoever during the Tulpehocken Confusion was not particularly creditable to the "Father of the Synod."

The discordant mind of Stoever is clearly revealed in his dealings with the Reverend Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg, who succeeded him in the Lebanon congregation. In his diary Muhlenberg tells about a visit which representatives of the Lebanon Church paid him on July 7, 1771, in the interest of inducing him (Muhlenberg) to preach for them occasionally. They referred to Stoever's sermons as being of a scolding and an abusive nature, that they had lost all confidence in him and that their objections to him were of such a character that they neither could nor would have him as their pastor. Muhlenberg (F. A.) told them that he would visit Stoever personally and investigate the matter.

The very next day (July 8, 1771) Muhlenberg (F. A.) noticed Stoever in a small house in Lebanon. Muhlenberg described his feelings in these words, "I felt like a mouse which perchance finds itself beneath a lion's paw." When Muhlenberg stated the purpose of his visits namely, to secure

the permission of Stoever to preach occasionally to the congregation in Lebanon, Stoever reflected and then replied, "Yes, if it could possibly do any good. But the rebels will become still more troublesome." Despite Stoever's dickering Muhlenberg's object was finally accomplished. At the interview which followed on the afternoon of that same day, arrangements were completed by which Muhlenberg should preach in Lebanon. The second son of Patriarch Muhlenberg wrote into his diary, "This afternoon I had a lengthy interview with Stoever and his party. After a good deal of wrangling it was finally decided that I am to preach at Lebanon every four weeks."²⁸⁶

His Dispositions

As preacher-miller-landowner John Casper Stoever became an influential figure in the Lebanon community. Notwithstanding his meager formal learning he was regarded as one of the educated persons of his region, for the colonial period afforded little opportunity for education. He had attained unto wealth which was the customary method of accounting a man's success. His wide-spreading acres situated in the heart of the fertile Lebanon Valley, together with his position as scrivener for the Lebanon Land Company, gave him a prestige fit for envy. The pastoral office enhanced his place of power and importance among his contemporary pioneers. Because of his numerous activities Stoever must have been one of the best known and most widely acquainted characters of several counties.²⁸⁷

From his parsonage-mill-fort at Sunnyside, Stoever continued his diversified activities, concentrating his pastoral efforts upon the Hill Church which was located directly north from his home at a distance of about two miles. While he was fulfilling his many tasks, the years began to assert their claim upon the stalwart parson. Though enfeebled and sickly for several years he forced himself to meet his

pastoral appointments and to attend to his business affairs. His weakened condition sometimes prevented him from leaving his home; in this contingency he attempted to minister to his people in his parsonage.

Such an emergency arose on May 13, 1779, when he requested his catechetical class to assemble at the parsonage for confirmation, and thus be permitted to participate with the congregation in the celebration of the Lord' Supper on the coming Whitsunday. The group convened, and during the ceremony of confirmation the Reverend John Caspar Stoever collapsed. He expired shortly thereafter in the presence of his family, several members of his congregation and the class which he was admitting into the full fellowship of the Christian Church.²⁸⁸ The funeral services were conducted at the Hill Church where his body was interred in the adjoining cemetery. Among the concourse of parishioners and friends who attended the final rites were the majority of the members of the church council of the Warwick congregation, who came, so the church records inform, "to show their last love."²⁸⁹

When Stoever's eventful career was brought to its close, he had attained to the age of 71 years, 4 months, 3 weeks and 2 days. Besides the wide circles of acquaintances who mourned his passing, he was survived by his wife, Maria Catarina; five sons, John Caspar, John Adam, Johannes, Tobias, John Frederick; and two daughter, Anna Margaretha and Anna Christiana. Four children, Maria Catarina, Sophia Magdalena, Anna Maria and a son, John Frederick, had preceded the father in death.

On the day prior to his decease, May 12, 1779, Stoever, "being at the present time very sick and weak in body, but of perfect mind, memory and understanding," set his spiritual house in order and arranged for the distribution of his material goods by executing his last will and testament. His

soul he committed into the hands of Almighty God and "his body he recommended to the earth to be buried in a decent Christian manner." As touching his worldly estate "with which it has pleased God to bless me in this life," he disposed of it by bequests to his widow and children.

To his "beloved wife, Catarina," he willed one-fourth of the quit rents of the town of Lebanon, the home which they occupied, and several personal articles. A son, John Adam, who had married Catharina Elizabeth Heylman on April 24, 1770²⁹⁰ was given a farm of 191 acres for the consideration of 1500 pounds which was to be paid in yearly installments. A second tract of land, which adjoined the inheritance of John Adam and contained 186 acres, was inherited by Johannes, who had taken to wife Anna Engel Kissecker on May 24, 1774.²⁹¹ The consideration in this instance was 1300 pounds, which likewise was to be reimbursed to the estate. A third farm which covered 216 acres was given to Tobias, who had selected Hannah Zimmerman as his consort on April 21, 1772.²⁹² Here the stipulation was 1100 pounds for which settlement should be made to the executors. A curious item was interjected after these bequests by which each of the three sons, John Adam, Johannes and Tobias, was to receive a gratuity of 600 pounds towards their respective obligations.²⁹³

Stoever's will disclosed that the oldest son, John Caspar, had already received some land for which he agreed to forfeit his primogenitural claims; the 200 pounds of hard money, however, to which he was entitled "shall be paid from the first gains coming in." This son of Stoever had served as the captain of the first company in Colonel Philip Greenwalt's Battalion during the Revolutionary War.²⁹⁴ Prior to his enlistment he had filled the office of Overseer of the Poor, 1768, and Constable in 1772; upon his discharge from the military service he occupied another public office, Over-

seer of Roads, 1782.²⁹⁵ Following the footsteps of his father, he became a miller-landholder. He was the owner of 150 acres of land and the proprietor of two of the seven mills which were then operating in Lebanon County. In this county 22 stills were reported, but the name of Stoever was not connected with this industry.²⁹⁶ On April 26, 1757, John Caspar, Junior, married Anna Maria Nagel; the union was blessed with five boys and five girls.²⁹⁷

To Peter Elser, who had married Stoever's daughter, Anna Margaretha, on November 16, 1760²⁹⁸, the deceased pastor bequeathed 500 pounds of which he had already received 300 pounds. A similar sum was willed to Philip Firnsler, who had taken Stoever's daughter, Anna Christiana, to wife on April 18, 1762,²⁹⁹ but the amount due was only 300 pounds because "he [Firnsler] had received some years ago two hundred pounds." A third daughter, Anna Maria, had become the wife of Peter Yeter, who was given a similar legacy of 500 pounds, of which the son-in-law had already received 50 pounds.

The youngest son, John Frederick, had not yet reached his majority when his father's will was executed.³⁰⁰ To him Stoever bequeathed one-fourth of his ground rents in Lebanon, the organ which Stoever purchased from Baron William Henry Stiegel,³⁰¹ and a number of personal articles. John Frederick selected Anna Margaretha Daenschaerez of Heidelberg as his helpmate. The marriage was performed by "Herrn Pfarrar Mindbohner" (Melsheimer) on November 9, 1779.³⁰² Having established his home in Lebanon, Frederick Stoever embarked upon a mercantile enterprise. The place of business was located at the corner of Ninth and Cumberland Streets where the present Hotel Weimar now stands. He also served as squire, and from 1826-1827 he was the burgess of the Borough of Lebanon.³⁰³ He continued to reside in the town with which his family had been

so intimately connected until his death on May 24, 1833. His body was interred at the Hill Church cemetery near the graves of his parents. His son, Jacob, became in 1809 the editor of *Lebanon Morgenstern*, the town's only newspaper, having secured the business from Jacob Schnee, Lebanon's first printer.³⁰⁴

Through sons and daughters the name and the spirit of the persevering John Caspar Stoever spread to an enormous posterity. Before the death of his widow, in 1785, she had seen 75 grandchildren and 52 great grandchildren.³⁰⁵

A number of the Stoever descendants have been buried on the Lutheran Church cemetery at Mount Zion, which is located in the region in which Stoever's oldest son, John Caspar, resided, and at the Hill Church.³⁰⁶ In the midst of the stones that designate the final resting place of the pastor's immediate family, markers have been raised to the memory of John Caspar and Maria Catarina Stoever. The words on the tombstone of Mrs. Stoever have become illegible, but the epitaph of Pastor Stoever has been restored. It reads:

Hier ruhet
In seinem Erlöser Entschlaffen
John Caspar Stoever
Erster Evangel. Lutherischer Prediger
in Pennsylvanien. ist geboren in
Der under Pfalz D. 21 Dec. 1707 er
zeigte mit seiner Ehe Frau
Maria Catharine 11 Kinder 4 sein
in die Ewigkeit voran
gegangen
Er Starb D 13 May 1779 Seines Alters
71 y. 4 mo. 3 Wo. u. 2 Tag

The Stoever Memorial

At a point about fifty feet from the final resting place of John Caspar Stoever stands the monument which has

been erected to his memory. Sentiment for the tangible evidence of the character and works of Stoever was aroused through the efforts of the Reverend W. H. Lewars who served the Hill Church, 1890-1897. The response to his leadership culminated in the shaft which now graces the Hill Church Cemetery. The material for it was secured from the quarry that was operated by Messrs. J. H. Black and C. S. Maulfair in the heart of the Lebanon Valley. Carved by Lebanon County's sculptor, J. H. Black, the marker rises to a height of thirty feet, aspiring to the heavens toward which the man of God whom it honors, attempted to lead his people.

On the monument have been inscribed several tablets. Upon one appears the following:

Erected to the memory of
John Caspar Stoever
First German Lutheran Minister
Ordained in America ³⁰⁷
Born in the Lower Palantinate
December 21, 1707
Arrived in America, September 11, 1728
Pastor of the Lutheran Congregation
At the Hill Church for 46 years.
Died May 13, 1779
Aged 71 y. 4 months 22 days.
Unveiled with appropriate ceremonies
May, 1895

Upon another side of the shaft one reads as follows:

The following Lutheran Pastors
have served this congregation
John Caspar Stoever, 1733-1779
Frederick T. Melsheimer, 1779-1794
John George Lockman, D.D., 1794-1815
William C. Ernst, 1815-1836
Jonathan Ruthrauff, 1836-1849
A. C. Wederkind, D.D., 1850-1853
J. M. Deitzler, 1856-1860
Christian A. Fetzer, 1860-1863

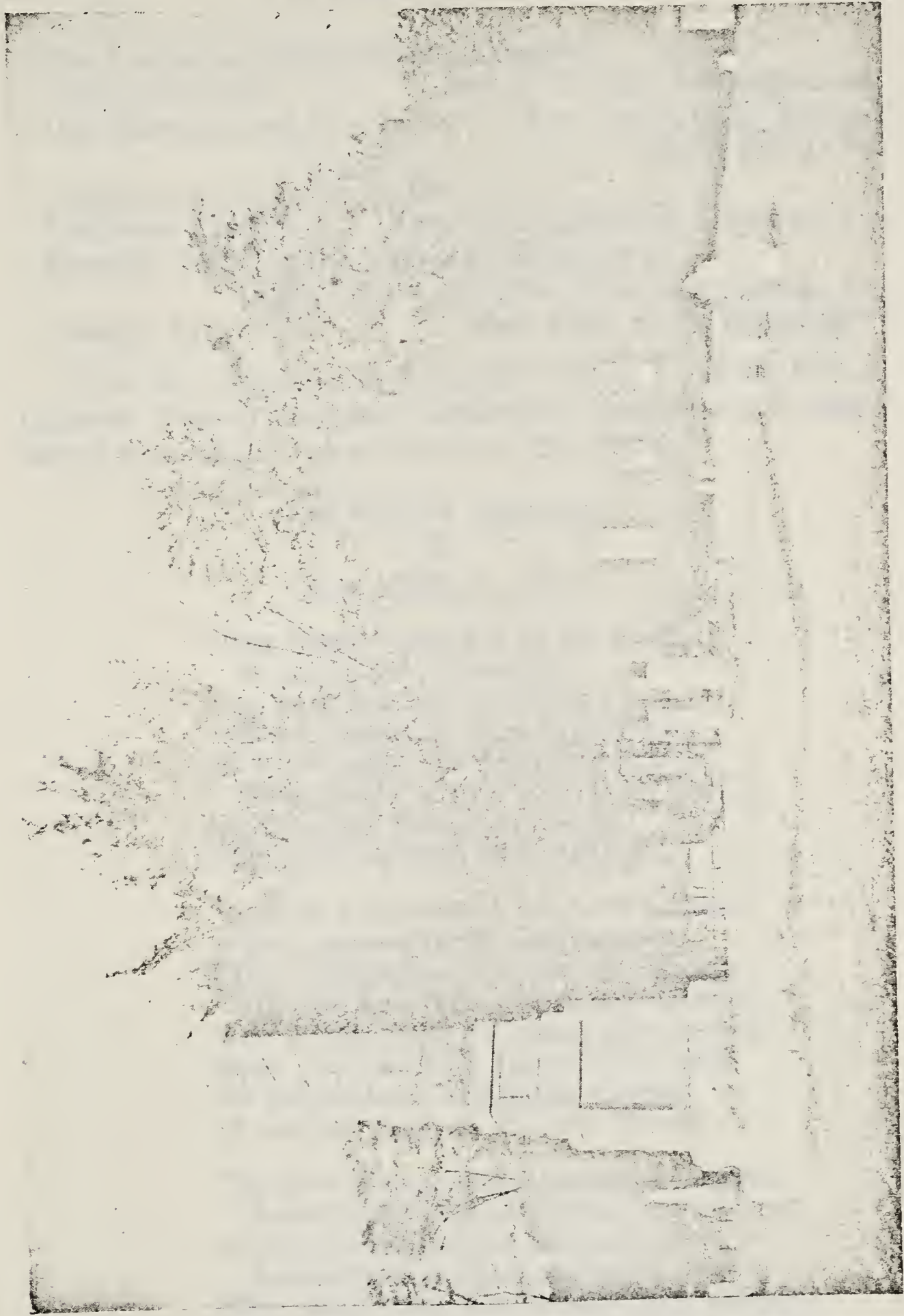
George F. Weaver, 1863-1864
 J. M. Deitzler, 1865-1890
 W. H. Lewars, 1890-1897
 M. F. Good, 1897-1901³⁰⁸
 E. H. Gerhart, 1901-1907
 Paul D. Fitman, 1907-1918
 J. H. Trout, 1918-1920
 Ulyses E. Apple, 1920-

The third surface of the Stoever marker points to the contemporaries of the sturdy preacher. We read:

On this spot lie buried
 some of the Fathers who
 fought for American Liberty.

The dedication of the obelisk took place on Ascension Day May 23, 1895, the 116th Anniversary of the death of Pastor Stoever. The newspaper of the day reminds the reader that it was a typical May day and that thousands took advantage of the pleasant weather to attend the historic occasion. The services were conducted under the auspices of the East Pennsylvania Synod of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church. At one o'clock that afternoon the monument was formally dedicated with the following order of service:

Opening Remarks by the Pastor	Rev. W. H. Lewars
Prayer by	Rev. Dr. R. W. Hufford, Reading, Pa.
Pastor John Caspar Stoever's Record, Containing Sketch of his Life and Entries of Baptisms and Marriages	Rev. Dr. F. J. Schantz, Myerstown, Pa.
German Address—The Gospel in the German Language	Rev. J. M. Deitlier, Union Deposit
Caspar Stoever's Parish	Rev. Dr. G. W. Endress, York, Pa.
Poem	Rev. P. C. Croll, Lebanon, Pa.
The German in State and Nation	Rev. Dr. W. H. Dunbar, Baltimore, Md.



The Stoevers Monument and the Hill Church near Cleona, Pennsylvania

Christian Scholarship in the
Lutheran Church Rev. T. E. Schmauk, Lebanon, Pa.
Seventy Years in the Lutheran Ministry
Rev. John G. Morris, D.D., Harrisburg, Pa.
Closing Prayer Rev. Wm. M. B. Glending³⁰⁹

By

“So now give ear, the preacher’s here,
Arisen from his slumbers:
He casts his eyes far out and near
Astonished at the numbers .
Who came from far to hear him preach
Who used their great-grandsires to teach

The principles of truth and right
In days that tried men's soul aright.

"He looks to see who each can be
Who came to hear his sermon,
But cannot quite himself agree
If you are Hans or Herman,
He sees resemblances to that fold
That worshipped here in days of old,
Yet still his look is strangely wild
Till told you're Hans' great-grandchild.

"But now the spell comes o'er him well,
His heart becomes inspired;
His tongue is glib the tale to tell,
His souls with zeal is fired;
To teach the children of the day,
Who've met in such a vast array,
The hardships of that dreadful day
When men here used to "watch and pray."

"His voice is heard, forth flows his word,
'Mid earnest intonation;
"Beloved children in the Lord,
Who form this congregation,"
Why meet on this Ascension Day
And leave your muskets home, I pray?
Have you not heard the Indians' snare,
The panther's fierceness, nor the bear?

"And tell me what became of that
First church of logs and sheeting,
Those racks for flint-locks, coat and hat,
Those hewn-log pews for seating?
Pray, who has torn that pulpit down?
And who has ripped my cleric-gown?
'Stead looking for some warmth up higher?

"Who could not brook the old hymn-book?
Why don't you sing in German?
What's given you this English look?
Who's Anglicized my sermon?
Since I have laid me down and slept
An English flood has o'er you swept;

Your blood is mixed, as well as your speech—
The Anglo-Saxon stamp's on each.

“And where are now, on hillock's brow,
These forest trees primeval?
Who cleared those acres for the plow?
Who tills them without equal?
A Rip Van sleep I must have slept
While yonder stone its vigil kept,
And marked my resting place, 'neath sod,
In this blest acre of our God.

“Then let me tell—all marking well—
My antiquated story,
How ere your sires to warfare fell
'Gainst Briton and 'gainst Tory,
The early settlers of these parts,
With Church and Bible near their hearts,
Reared here an altar to their God,
Whilst felling trees and turning sod.

“And here they swore, those years of yore,
Heart fealty to Jehovah,
Who brought them to this Western shore
In arks secure, like Noah.
And while they drew a breath on earth,
Themselves, with all their goods and worth,
They gave to God an offering,
Though claimed by George, the English king.

“Across the same great sea I came
And landed in yon city,
That still proclaims, in deed and name,
A brother's love and pity;
Thence up the Schuylkill's boisterous waves,
And where the Conestoga laves,
I visited my countrymen
To cheer their German hearts again.

“Soon came a cry from far and nigh,
Like Macedonian pleader,
Our German folk for help did sigh,
For Gospel and for leader.
And thus I journeyed o'er the land
From Jordan to Codorus's strand,

Till on the banks of th' "Quintopehille"
 I built my house within a mill.
 "From that abode for years I rode
 In rain and shiny weather,
 In seasons when the streams o'erflowed—
 My horse swam like a feather—
 I brought the story of the cross—
 For none then took account of loss—
 To those who fled to 'scape the sword,
 And settled here to serve the Lord.
 "And now appear around me here
 Those heroes' later Offspring,
 Prepared a monument to rear
 In mem'ry of my Off'ring.
 I can't rebuke my children dear
 For that which must to all appear
 A deed that's prompted by the good,
 And gives for nobler thoughts some food.
 "But I would fain that very name
 Of elder and of deacon,
 And others working just the same
 To light this Gospel beacon,
 Would stand engraved on yonder stone,
 And over all, above, alone,
 Old Luther's watchword, so well put:
 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.'³¹⁰

What abiding impressions crowd upon our minds as we conclude this study? Stoevers was somewhat radical, rather overbearing, often hot-tempered, sometimes incompatible and given to controversy. His manner was hectoring; he had a decided ability for gauging worldly values; and he was a better business man probably than a sermonizer. The amenities of a fine gentleman he lacked; there was presumably one gentle art,—music. He was a rough and ready frontiersman-pastor-miller-landowner; and allied with his rusticity, as if compensating for it, was his warm spiritual nature which expressed itself in earnest Evangelism and indefatigable missionary efforts which attempted to keep religion alive during the irreligious colonial period.³¹¹

Will of John Casper Stoeever

In the name of God. Amen. I. John Caspar Stoeever of Lebanon Township, Lancaster County, State of Pennsylvania, minister of the gospel being at the present time very sick and weak in body, but of perfect mind, memory and understanding, thanks be given to God. Calling unto mind the mortality of my body, do make and ordain this last will and testament in manner and form following, that is to say, I recommend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, that gave it, and my body I recommend to the earth to be buried in decent christian burial, and as touching such worldly estate where with it has pleased God to bless me in this life, I give, devise and dispose of the same in the following manner and form.

First: I give and bequeath to Catharine my dearly beloved wife, two-eighth parts of the quit rents due me from the town of Lebanon yearly, and every year during her natural life after my decease provided she paying the taxess and quit rents accruing thereon.

Secondly: I will and order that my said wife Catharine may live and possess the two locked rooms in the upper left, and the kitchen, and sufficient room in the cellar in the same house where I now live quietly and unmolested during her natural life, as also the use of a stable for one or two sows, and likewise the use of the garden next to the house, and the sole and whole use of the linen and wool now in her possession, and the sole and whole use of the kitchen ware; Also I bequeath unto my beloved wife Catharine two cows and one wedder, two beds, bedsteads and curtains, two locked chests, two tables, two looking glasses, one desk, six chairs, one spinning wheel, all the pewter in the kitchen, and a dresser and two pipe stoves, during her natural life besides all her clothes of which she shall have her full liberty to dispose and give to whom she pleases before her decease.

Item: I give and bequeath part of the plantation whereon I now live containing one hundred and ninety-one acres and allowances to my loving son Adam, to his heirs and assigns forever for the consideration of fifteen hundred pounds, old money as mentioned in the Almanac, viz: one half soe for three pounds and a dollar at seven and six pence, and so like wise with the Spanish and French Gold on condition that he, my son Adam, his heirs and assigns, can pay yearly, on the first day of May unto Caspar Stoeever, his certain Attorney, heirs and assigns, or in case of his dying to his after named Executors, in the first five years yearly fifty pounds and in the other five years. Yearly seventy five pounds and the remainder of the fifteen hundred pounds after that yearly, one hundred pounds till the whole is paid, and that all in Silver or Gold according to the old rate, besides to his mother ten pounds hard money at the signing of the deed as a reward.

Item: I give and bequeath to my beloved son John, his heirs and assigns, forever a plantation joining to my son Adam's Land, containing one hundred and eighty six acres land and allowances for the consideration of thirteen hundred pounds, old money, as men-

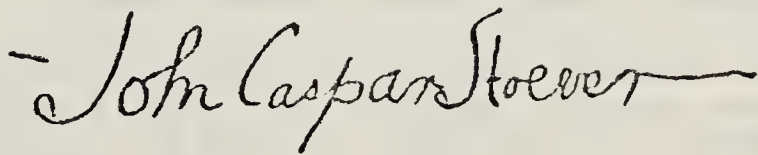
tioned in the Almanac, viz: One half soe for three pounds, and a dollar for seven shillings and six pence and so likewise the French and Spanish Gold, on condition that he my son John his heirs and (assigns) can pay yearly on the first day of May unto Caspar Stoe-ver, his certain Attorney, heirs and assigns, or in case of his dying, to his after named executors in the first five years, yearly fifty pounds and in the other five years, yearly seventy five pounds and the remainder of the thirteen hundred pounds after that yearly one hundred pounds till the whole is paid, and that all in Silver and Gold according to the old rate besides to his mother ten pounds hard money at the signing of the deed as a reward.

Item: I give to my living son Tobias his heirs and assigns forever a plantation adjoining to the both aforesaid plantations containing about two hundred and sixteen acres, for the consideration of eleven hundred pounds old money, as mentioned in the Almanac, viz: one half soe for three pounds, and a dollar at seven shillings six pence and so likewise with the French and Spanish Gold, on condition that he my son Tobias, his heirs and (Assigns) can pay yearly on the first day of May unto Caspar Stoever, his certain Attorney, assigns, or in case of his dying to his after named executors, in the first five years, yearly fifty pounds, and in the other five years, yearly seventy five pounds and the remainder of the Eleven Hundred pounds after that yearly one hundred pounds till the whole is paid and that all in Silver or Gold, according to the old rate, besides to his mother ten pounds hard money at the signing of the deed as a reward. As also that he my said son Tobias shall give a good and lawful writing to me and my son Adam's heirs forever a right of the creek running thru his land for watering my meadow and hereafter my son Adam's meadow and his assigns.

Item: It is my will and order that my three beloved sons, viz: Adam, John and Tobias retain in their own hands each of them the sum of six hundred pounds for their portions or shares of the said premises they may reduce each of them six hundred pounds of the whole, one hundred pounds there from conditioned by each, to give yearly to his mother certain sums of necessaries during the course of her life as mentioned in another piece of writings. And whereas my eldest son John Caspar Stoever hath some time ago some land of his father and agreed for certain good causes, by certain writings to give up his right to prerogative as the first born having no further demand to make than two hundred pounds hard money which are to be paid from the first gains coming in. Peter Elser my son-in-law is to have likewise five hundred pounds in hard money of which he has rreceived already three hundred pounds, has also no further demand upon my estate except two hundred pounds which are to be paid so soon as possible, in good lawful bonds signed by the owners of my real estate. Philip Firnsler, my son-in-law is to have likewise five hundred (pounds) in hard money of which he has received some years ago two hundred pounds, his demand also does not exceed three hundred pounds which is to be paid unto him in good lawful bonds as before directed. Peter Yeter my son-in-law shall also be entitled to five hundred pounds hard money of which he has received fifty pounds, remainder also to be paid unto four hundred and fifty pounds which

also must be paid in good lawful bonds as before directed, furthermore, I do give and bequeath unto my youngest son Frederick the corner lot with the house upon it in Lebanon with the benefit of the two eighth parts Ground rents belonging to Lebanon as his own property. The organ I bought of Stiegel standing in Wegman's house, one of our horses with the saddle, his bedding table and chairs, the silver spoons we have, and a silver cup, one desk and one looking glass and one bedstead all the money now in possession, both Congress and hard money, of which mentioned particulars he shall not be master of till he has his full age, which will be in September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty and under obligation that from the mentioned money he shall pay the funeral note for his father and mother whenever they are called hence, and if anything remains of household goods and can after my wife's decease the said shall then be sold and be equally divided among all my children or to their representatives, after my decease my oldest son may take the best suit of clothes, the rest of my sons may divide the remainder as equally as they can. All my school books of different tongues I give to the seminary at Philadelphia, the German books shall be equally divided among the children. And there will remain nine hundred and fifty pounds in lawful bonds.

It is my will that my beloved wife Catharine, in case the bequeathed ground rents should come to nothing, or the said town of Lebanon should be destroyed by some accident shall get her living and maintenance out of the aforesaid nine hundred and fifty pounds, but the remainder thereof shall be equally divided among my children after her decease. Also, I will, that my hereafter named executors, or two of the survivors of them shall have full powe and authority to sign and give lawful deeds for my Estate after my decease, and lastly, I do hereby constitute, name and ordain my beloved wife Catharine executrix and my oldest son John Caspar Stoever and my son-in-law Philip Firnsler Executors of this my last will and testament, and I do hereby utterly disallow and revoke all former wills, testaments, legacies and executors, ratifying and confirming this and no other to be my last will and testament. In witness here of I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twelfth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand and seven hundred and seventy nine. Signed, sealed pronounced and declared by the said John Caspar Stoever as his last will and testament in the presence of us.

¹ 

Samuel Meyly
Christopher Ulrich
Martin Uhler (Witnesses)

¹ This is a reproduction of the signature which Stoever affixed to his will.

APPENDIX

Item: I give and bequeath unto my beloved son Tobias my watch, after my decease: Further, I will and order that in case my youngest son Frederick should die before he has his lawful age without issue, then all and singular of the above legacies or what shall be sold and then it shall be equally divided among the rest of the children or their representatives. The underwritten was done before the signing and sealing of the above, and also the underlined done.

Samuel Meyly

Christopher Ulrich

Martin Uhler

The three witnesses sworn to the signing, sealing and publishing of the above writing by John Caspar Stoever and for his last will and testament and that the appendix above written, was declared, by the testators a part of said will.

Catharine Stoever, John Caspar Stover, and Philip Firnsler, the Executors sworn June 11, 1779.

John Hubly, Register of Wills

(1) This is a reproduction of the signature which Stoever affixed to his will.

On the 11th day of June 1779 before me the subscriber personally appeared Samuel Meyly, Christopher Ulrich and Martin Uhler the three subscribing witnesses to the foregoing will, and on their corporal oaths did declare and say respectively that they saw John Caspar Stoever the testator, sign, seal, publish, pronounce and declare the foregoing writings and for his last will and testament, and that at the doing thereof he was of sound and disposing mind, memory and understanding to the best of their knowledge, observation and belief.

John Hubly, Register of Wills

Be it remembered that on the 11th day of June A. D. 1779 the last will and testament of Jhon Caspar Stoever, late of Lebanon Township in the County of Lancaster was proved in due form of law, and letters Testamentary were granted to Catharine Stoever, John Caspar Stoever, and Philip Firnsler the executors, therein named, they being only qualified well and truly to administer the estate of the Deceased, and to exhibit a true and perfect inventory into the Register's office at Lancaster within one Month of and to render true account of their administration on the Said Estate when thereto lawfully required.

REFERENCES

- ¹ *Colonial Records*, Vol. III, p. 283.
- ² *Halle Reports*, Vol. I, p. 37. English Edition.
- ³ *Swiss and German Settlements in Pennsylvania*, p. 86.
- ⁴ Quoted in Jacobs, H. E., *The History of the Lutheran Church in the United States*, p. 171.
- ⁵ *Halle Reports*, pp. 229-230, English Edition.
- ⁶ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 67.
- ⁷ Hartnack, Karl, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der berglichen Auswanderung nach Nord Amerika*, p. 164.
- ⁸ The name "Stoever" probably comes from "Stoeber" which in turn may have been derived from "Stoepler," the man who had charge of the lord's bath. Vilmar, A. F. C., *Die Entstehung und Bedeutung der deutschen Familiennamen*, p. 20.
- ⁹ *Protocoll der Lutherische Kirche, Frankenberg in Hesse, Deutschland*.
- ¹⁰ Schmucker, B. M., "The Lutheran Church in York." *The Evangelical Review*, 1888.
- ¹¹ Meyer's *Konversation Lexikon*, Vol. XVIII, p. 500.
- ¹² In *Die Lande Julich und Berg während der Belagerung von Bonn, 1588*, Friedrich Kuch tells about a raid of robbers on "Luttorf under Solingen."
- ¹³ Hamm, J. J., *Die Gemeinschaftsbewegung in der Pfalz, 1728*.
- ¹⁴ The names of Bratschisch, Kraft, Pfaffman and Knabel appear in G. Biundo, *Palatina, Sacra I*, 1930.
- ¹⁵ Stocker, *Schematismus der evgl. Protest. Kirche in Grossherzogtum, Baden*, 1878, p. 314.
- ¹⁶ Muhlenberg, H. M., *Selbstbiographie*, p. 222.
- ¹⁷ *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, Vol. 17, p. 15.
- ¹⁸ There has been much confusion about the relationship of the two Stoevers. The translation of the private ministerial journal by F. J. F. Schantz disclosed their status as father and son. The discovery by W. J. Hinke of the will of Stoever, Senior, and the records of its probation at Charlottesville, Virginia, assisted in the establishment of their relationship. See also Early, J. W., "The Two Stoevers," *The Pennsylvania-German Magazine*, May, 1910.
- ¹⁹ *Gottlieb Mittelberger's Reise nach Pennsylvania im Jahr, 1750 und Ruckreise nach Teutschland im Jahr, 1754*, Frankfort und Leipzig, 1756.
- ²⁰ This subject is treated extensively in the *Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses*: Vol. 10, pp. 1-328 by F. R. D. Diffenderfer; also Vol. 18, pp. 1-28, by J. F. Sachse.
- ²¹ *Selbstbiographie*, pp. 93-94.
- ²² *Ibid.*, p. 102.
- ²³ Vol. I, p. 12.
- ²⁴ II Corinthians 11:26-27.
- ²⁵ *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. X, p. 391.
- ²⁶ *Colonial Records*, Vol. III, p. 283.
- ²⁷ *Colonial Records*, Vol. III, p. 299-300.
- ²⁸ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 563.

- ²⁹ Schmauk, T. E., *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 248; *Records of Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, Penn'a.*
- ³⁰ Kretschmann, E. P., *The Old Trappe Church*, p. 2.
- ³¹ Schantz, F. J. F., *Records of Rev. John Caspar Stoever, Baptismal and Marriage, 1730-1779*, p. 53.
- ³² *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 563.
- ³³ Rupp, I. Daniel, *Thirty Thousand Names of Immigrants*, p. 80.
- ³⁴ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 66. See also Sachse, J. F., "The Trappe Records," *Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings*, Vol. VI, p. 165. According to Kline, J. J., *History of the New Hanover Church*, Schultze, after being freed from prison, came to the West Indies where he established a store and publishing house, p. 191.
- ³⁵ The ordination of John Bernhard Von Dieren was also refused by Falckner. Schmauk, T. E., *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 133.
- ³⁶ On the ordination of Justus Falckner, see Sachse, J. F., *The German Pietists in Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, pp. 354ff. The first Protestant ordination in America was performed on April 9, 1679, when Peter Tesschenmacher was set apart for the Reformed ministry. Qualben, L. P., *The Lutheran Church in Colonial America*, p. 164.
- ³⁷ Early, J. W., "The Two Stoevers," *The Pennsylvania-German Magazine*, May, 1919, p. 275.
- ³⁸ The Congregation on the Cocalico — The Present Muddy Creek Church.
- ³⁹ Page 1.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ Early, J. W., Letter to T. E. Schmauk, February 28, 1907.
- ⁴² In the Genealogical Department of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, it is stated that Stoever married a Merklen.
- ⁴³ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 564.
- ⁴⁴ *Selbstbiographie*, p. 220.
- ⁴⁵ *Presenius Nachrichten*, Vol. III, pp. 548ff.
- ⁴⁶ It took place in a barn or shed.
- ⁴⁷ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 564.
- ⁴⁸ There is a tradition that the earliest records were destroyed by fire when Old Zion's Church was burned on December 24, 1796. Sachse, J. F., "The Genesis of the German Lutheran Church," *The Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. 16, 1897, p. 442.
- ⁴⁹ Schmauk, T. E., *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 79, 82, 83. See also, "The Lutheran Church and the Province of Pennsylvania," *The Lutheran Church Review*, 1896, Vol. 14-15, p. 147, by the same author.
- ⁵⁰ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 563.
- ⁵¹ *The Lutheran Church in America*, p. 247. H. E. Jacobs states that the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia was organized by John Christian Schultze, p. 188.
- ⁵² According to Stoever's private ministerial journal his first ministerial act in Philadelphia was the marriage of Hieronymus Glantz and Erna Barbara Mack, on October 15, 1733, p. 53.
- ⁵³ Sachse, J. F., "Genesis of the Lutheran Church," *The Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. 1897, pp. 448-9. The original is preserved in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Phila.

⁵⁴ Sachse, J. F., *Genesis of the German Lutheran Church*, Vol. 17, 1897, pp. 435, 521ff.

⁵⁵ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 42.

⁵⁶ Jacobs, H. E., *The Lutherans*, p. 189.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, loc. cit.

⁵⁹ Stoever's last ministrations are recorded in 1735.

⁶⁰ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 43.

⁶¹ Possibly the title page has been lost.

⁶² Kretschmann, E. F., *The Old Trappe Church*, p. 2. "The earliest entry in the record is a baptism dated March 8, 1730 in the handwriting of John Caspar Stoever, Junior."

⁶³ Sachse, J. F., "The Trappe Records," *Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses*, Vol. 6, p. 178.

⁶⁴ His last recorded ministration bears the date March 9, 1735. Ibid., p. 181.

too, preached in the barn, Ibid., p. 18.

⁶⁵ *Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States*, 1946, p. 229.

⁶⁷ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. II, p. 107.

⁶⁸ *American Lutheran Biography*, p. 339.

⁶⁹ Kline, J. J., *The Lutheran Church in New Hanover (Falckner Swamp) Montgomery County, Pennsylvania*, pp. 198, 345.

⁷⁰ Jacobs, H. E., *The Lutherans*, p. 184.

⁷¹ We may assume that the elder Stoever learned of their sorry plight from settlers who returned to Pennsylvania. The fact that Stoever was willing to accept his salary in tobacco, in the amount of 3,000 pounds, indicates his fine character and deep piety. *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 578.

⁷² Finck, W. J., *Lutheran Landmarks and Pioneers in America*, p. 88; *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 578; and Muhlenberg, H. M., *Selbstbiographie*, p. 222.

⁷³ Finck, loc. cit.

⁷⁴ *Acta Historica Ecclesiastica*, Vol. XVIII, p. 612.

Schmidt returned with Pastor Klug. This is undoubtedly an error because Michael Schmidt was a witness to the Stoever will made just before his death on the return voyage.

⁷⁵ Through marriage Fresenius and Stoever were distantly related. Stoever spoke of the father of Fresenius as "Vetter." Because Fresenius rescued three children from the Jesuits, he was forced into exile. Three days of this period were spent with Stoever. *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. 12, p. 188.

⁷⁶ It was published by L. L. Holwein, Hanover, Germany. A copy is preserved in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

⁷⁷ *Acta Historica Ecclesiastica*, Vol. 18, p. 612.

⁷⁸ Wayland, J. W., *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia*, p. 111.

⁷⁹ The will is recorded in Philadelphia, Will Book F, pp. 96, 126. See Early, J. W., "The Two Stoevers" *Pennsylvania-German Magazine*, May, 1910, p. 275.

⁸⁰ *Speneri Consilia* (3 Volumes), Paff's Great Bible, Hebrew Dictionary, Langi's Greek and Latin Grammar.

⁸¹ *Colonial Records*, Vol. III, p. 343.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 356.

⁸³ These teachings were circulated through the Kloister Presse which became famous in the colonial days.

⁸⁴ During the Revolutionary War wounded colonial soldiers were brought to the "Cloister," as the settlement is traditionally known. General Washington is said to have visited there.

For a full discussion of the Ephrata Movement the reader is referred to *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania* (two volumes) and *The German Pietists of Pennsylvania* by J. F. Sachse. For "The Music of the Ephrata Cloister" and also Conrad Beissel's "Treatise on Music," see *Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses*, Vol. 12, pp. 1-108, by the same author.

⁸⁵ That is, of the Lutheran congregations in Lancaster County. Kline, J. J., *The Lutheran Church in New Hanover (Falckner Swamp) in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania*, p. 134.

⁸⁶ The congregation is also known as Moden Creek or Mode Crike.

⁸⁷ The original Cocalico Township included the present Ephrata, East and West Cocalico Townships. The word, Cocalico, is derived etymologically from Koch-hale-king, which means cave or den of serpents.

⁸⁸ Schultze is remembered as the ordainer of Stoever. His previous visit (December 3, 1732) to the Muddy Creek congregation is indicated on the first page of the church register.

⁸⁹ The places of residence are taken from Stoever's private ministerial journal.

⁹⁰ Schantz, F. J. F., *Records of Reverend John Caspar Stoever, 1730-1779*, p. 75.

⁹¹ *Pennsylvania-German Pioneers*, Vol. I, p. 8. The entry is as follows — "Johannes Tiebenderf, Conn." The Conn probably means Conestoga.

⁹² On the oath of allegiance to the Provincial Government and the Crown of England taken on September 21, 1727 the name appears as "Allexand. Dübendörfer," *Pennsylvania-German Pioneers*, Vol. I, p. 9.

⁹³ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 175. On page 563 of the same volume the date given is May, 1730.

⁹⁴ In Stoever's private ministerial journal the address of this couple is entered as Leacock.

⁹⁵ Winters, R. L., *One of the Ten — A History of Trinity Lutheran Church, New Holland, Pa.*, p. 10.

⁹⁶ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 177.

⁹⁷ Ellis and Evans, *History of Lancaster County*, p. 361.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, page 175, refers to the situation as "vielfaches Dunkel."

¹⁰⁰ "List of Baptized Children in the Congregation of the City of Lancaster."

¹⁰¹ "List of persons who were married by me, 1731."

¹⁰² The initials, "J. C. S." probably means "Jesus Christ, Saviour."

- 103 Church Records. *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 175 mentions this visit by Schultze.
- 104 Church Records.
- 105 *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 363.
- 106 Muhlenberg, Heinrich Melchior, *Selbstbiographie*, p. 158. This figure was probably the amount agreed upon for a year.
- 107 Rupp, I. Daniel, *History of Lancaster County*, p. 248.
- 108 Klein sold his 600 acres of land to the Moravians for their settlement at Lititz. He was originally a Lutheran but was won to the teachings of Count Zinzendorf.
- 109 This wedding Stoevers also entered into the Muddy Creek register on page 1 of the marriage records.
- 110 Schantz, F. J. F., *The History of the Brickerville Congregation*, p. 65.
- 111 Schantz, F. J. F., op. cit., p. 175.
- 112 Brendle, A. S., in "Henry William Stiegel," Vol. VI, No. 3 of the Publications of the Lebanon County Historical Society, states that Stiegel was born May 13, 1729, near Cologne on the French side of the river Rhine, a son of John Frederick and Dorothea Elizabeth Stiegel, the latter born at Enkirchen on the Moselle.
- 113 York County was detached from Lancaster County, August 19, 1749, *Pennsylvania-German Magazine*, October, 1910, p. 587.
- 114 *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. 17, p. 15.
- 115 Wentz, A. R., *The Beginnings of the German Element in York County*, p. 21.
- 116 Ibid., p. 24.
- 117 "The Evangelical Lutheran Church on the Codorus."
- 118 The first church was erected in 1744 upon the site granted by the proprietaries of the Province. Schmauck, T. E., *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 360.
- 119 Schmucker, B. M., *The Lutheran Church in York*.
- 120 *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 565; see also, Keller, J. C., *Historical Volume of the Sesquicentennial Services in St. Matthew's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Hanover, Pennsylvania, November 19-26, 1893*.
- 121 Because Lebanon County has communities named Hanover and Conewago, it is very difficult to distinguish Stoevers' ministrations in these localities.
- 122 Nead, D. W., *The Pennsylvania German in the Settlement of Maryland*, pp. 44, 51.
- 123 Rupp, I. Daniel, *History of Berks and Lebanon Counties*, p. 119.
- 124 Ibid., p. 82.
- 125 Ibid., p. 87.
- 126 Ibid., p. 111.
- 127 Ibid., p. 115.
- 128 Atolhoe is Altalaha today. It is located in the Swatara Gap. Stoevers laid the foundations for the present Lutheran Church whose records were begun in 1757. Their first regular pastor was the Reverend F. T. Melsheimer.
- 129 Early, J. W., "A Few Historical Facts of Interest," *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. 27, 1908, p. 660.
- 130 To the entry covering the baptism of John Jacob, the son of

Jacob Mueller, on September 26, 1728, Stoever added, "baptized in Europe." In this church register there are baptismal entries for the children of one Matthias Wendrich under dates of July 22, 1727; May 24, 1728; September 16, 1729; and others to May 21, 1740. It will be recalled that the first entry in the Church book at New Holland covers the baptism of a child of Matthias Wendrich. There is no way of telling whether the records have been duplicated or whether there were two persons by the same name.

¹³¹ There has been contention between Frieden's Church, Bernville and Christ Church, Tulpehocken, as to which is the older and therefore Stoever's original congregation. *Hallesche Nachrichten* (Vol. II, p. 130) states that the older church is Frieden's, Bernville. According to Early, J. W., (loc. cit.) the distinction belongs to Christ Church, Little Tulpehocken.

¹³² Rupp, I. Daniel, *History of Berks and Lebanon Counties*, p. 301. Dauphin County was erected on March 4, 1785.

¹³³ An interesting discussion of their experiences is found in "The Forest Preacher on the Schoharie," *Pennsylvania-German Magazine*, May, 1812.

¹³⁴ Egle, W. H., *History of Dauphin and Lebanon Counties in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, p. 12.

¹³⁵ Early Lebanon County settlers included the Noacres, Spykers, Orths, Loerchs, Ketterings, Burst, Reynolds, Bechtels, Meyleys, Steitzs, Kuchers, Ulrichs and Heilmans.

¹³⁶ Schantz, F. J. F., *Records of Rev. John Caspar Stoever, Baptismal and Marriages, 1730-1779*, p. 53.

¹³⁷ Egle, W. H., op. cit., p. 185.

¹³⁸ Schmauk, T. E., *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 285.

¹³⁹ What makes this contention very probably is the fact that Baron Stiegel, Stoever's friend, maintained a residence at Schaeffers-town. It was called "Tower Hill." Here he entertained in lavish fashion. It was also known as "Stiegel's Folly."

¹⁴⁰ Egle, W. H., op. cit., p. 225; also Lochman, John George, *The Evangelical Magazine*, Vol. I, 1820, p. 20.

¹⁴¹ What building was dedicated on August 12, 1744, is still an open question — whether it was the original stockade or a new building. From an unpublished history of Hill Church by Samuel P. Heilman, we learn that the erection of a building could not be carried out because of the small congregation and the extremely indigent circumstances of the settlers. Since 1733 the congregation had been worshipping in an unfinished building. Pastor Heilman states further that "the real authentic history began in 1743 when the congregation agreed to erect the building which they dedicated on August 12, 1744. It was a log structure." From another source ("The Hill Church" by U. Henry Heilman) we are informed "that the stockade (the original church) after having been used for a number of years, was, according to the records, dedicated to the service of the Triune God, August 12, 1744, the Twelfth Sunday after Trinity."

¹⁴² Because of the inability to distinguish among the three Hanovers located in Lebanon, Dauphin and York counties, these figures may not be accurate.

¹⁴³ On the New York settlement see Qualben, L. P., *The Lutheran Church in Colonial America*, pp. 177-187.

¹⁴⁴ The plan of John Conrad Weiser, the father of the well-known Conrad Weiser, to locate in the Minisink Flats of Monroe County on the banks of the Delaware River was thwarted by James Logan, the Provincial Secretary. See Richards, M. H., "The German Emigration from New York to Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses*, Vol. IX, pp. 355-366.

¹⁴⁵ For a fuller account of the New experiment see Richards, op. cit., pp. 347-447; Jacobs, H. E., *The German Emigration to America, 1703-1740*, pp. 80-120; Schmauck, T. E., *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, Chapter 16, pp. 435-445; and Faust, H. B., *The German Element in the United States*, Vol. II, pp. 73-110.

¹⁴⁶ Kocherthal will be remembered as the pamphleteer who sought to divert the Germans from Pennsylvania to the Carolinas.

¹⁴⁷ Von Thieren (or Von Dieren) was a native of Königsberg, Germany. A tailor by trade, he never studied theology. Because Court-Precacher Boehme in London was impressed by his pious language, he sent Von Thieren to America and aided him by giving him books. He reached Schoharie in 1717. See Schmauck, T. E., op. cit., pp. 448-458.

¹⁴⁸ Early, J. W., *The Earliest Churches in Berks County*, p. 4.

¹⁴⁹ Early, J. W., loc. cit.

¹⁵⁰ Diary of J. Nicholas Kurtz, *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 201.

¹⁵¹ They are recorded in the church book of the Little Tulpehocken Church in September, October and December, 1729, Manuscript History of J. W. Early.

¹⁵² Schantz, F. J. F., *Records of John Caspar Stoeber, Baptismal and Marriages, 1730-1779*, p. 53.

¹⁵³ Moravian Records of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation at Tulpehocken, 1733.

¹⁵⁴ In his letter to T. E. Schmauck, Early, J. W., feels that the church was dedicated by John Philip Boehme, the Reformed pastor.

¹⁵⁵ Schmauck's, T. E., unpublished notes state that J. A. Langerfeld of Halberstadt who had studied at Halle, but who was not ordained, also, promised to conduct services every two weeks.

¹⁵⁶ Weiser was called "The School Master of Tulpehocken."

¹⁵⁷ Muhlenberg, H. M., *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 362.

¹⁵⁸ On the Ephrata Sabbatarians, see Sachse, J. F., *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. On Peter Miller, see *The Pennsylvania-German*, A monthly magazine, April 1900, pp. 3-18; also Rupp's *30,000 Names*, p. 63.

¹⁵⁹ This move was obstinately opposed by Conrad Weiser who suspected Leutbecker. Finally, he stayed away from the services. These disturbances had much to do with driving him into the Ephrata Community. *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 362.

¹⁶⁰ Graebner's *Geschichte*, p. 212.

¹⁶¹ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, loc. cit.

¹⁶² "The Confusion of Tulpehocken," a pamphlet on the disturbances in the Tulpehocken Parish.

¹⁶³ His letter to Brunnholtz, Muhlenberg, H. M., *Selbstbiographie*, p. 233.

164 The genuineness of the so-called "The Confusion of Tulpehocken" is brought into question by the attitude of Conrad Weiser. Concerning it, Weiser wrote that it "was printed in favor of the Graft party [The Moravians]. To it my attest was obtained by subterfuge and it was published against my will. It must be regarded as partisan literature; hence it is much colored and exaggerated." *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, pp 191-192.

165 Weiser, Conrad, His Letter to Pastor Brunnholtz, op. cit.

166 John Page, London, was still the owner of the land; it was known as "Plumption Manor."

167 "The Confusion of Tulpehocken."

168 Weiser, Conrad, Letter to Brunnholtz, loc. cit.

169 Zinzendorf hoped to unite all the Protestants in America as he had attempted at Herrnhut, Moravia. See also Conrad Weiser, loc. cit.

170 Kurtz's Diary — *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 201.

171 Weiser, Conrad, op. cit.

172 *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 192.

173 This letter appears in *Fresenius Nachrichten*, Vol. III, pp. 541ff, Number 30.

174 *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 304; also Muhlenberg, H. M., *Selbstbiographie*, p. 144.

175 His letter to Brunnholtz, op. cit.

176 Schantz, F. J. F., *Records of John Caspar Stoecker, Baptismal and Marriages, 1730-1779*, p. 3.

177 *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 15.

178 Rupp, *30,000 Names*, p. 133.

179 For an account of the life of Valentine Kraft, see Schmauk, T. E., *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 384-387.

180 "The Tulpehocken Confusion."

181 *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 363.

182 Among the list of subscribers were George Steitz, the founder of Lebanon, and John Peter Kucher, an influential member of the Lebanon Community. See Schantz, F. J. F., "Historical Discourse at the Sesquicentennial of Christ Evangelical Lutheran Church on the Tulpehocken, September 3, 1893."

183 Ibid.

184 *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 363.

185 Ibid., p. 201.

186 The ceremony was performed by the Reverend Tobias Wagner on April 22, 1745 in the Tulpehocken parsonage.

187 A fuller account of Wagner's Life is found in *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 521-543, by T. E. Schmauk.

188 *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 304.

189 Ibid.

190 Ibid., p. 435.

191 *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 363.

192 Croll, P. C., *Ancient and Historic Landmarks of the Lebanon Valley*, p. 53.

193 Leonhard Rieth and his family had returned to the Lutheran services of worship.

194 This legal contract is documented in Cammerhof's Diary: Weis-

er's Letter of September, 1747, — The State of the Case (Lutheran) and the Species Facti (Moravian). This portion is not discussed because it is beyond the scope of this study.

195 *Minutes of The Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States*, 1946, pp. 233, 268.

196 Weiser, C. Z., *Life of Conrad Weiser*. "There was no one among these people who could govern them. Each one did as he pleased. Their strong obstinancy has stood in their way ever since."

197 One of Stoever's children was named Tobias, probably in deference to his colleague, who served as sponsor at the baptism. Schantz, F. J. F., *Records of the Rev. John Caspar Stoever, Baptismal and Marriage*, p. 32.

198 *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 42.

199 Streiter was pastor in Indianland and Old Goschenhoppen, *Ibid.*, p. 419. Andrea was pastor in Old Goschenhoppen and New Goschenhoppen, *Ibid.*, p. 265-6.

200 *The Minutes of the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, p. 11.

201 Muhlenberg was in Lancaster to officiate at the wedding of Pastor Handschuh. *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 587.

202 *Ibid.*

203 This action on the part of Kurtz undoubtedly prejudiced Stoever against the Synod, for Kurtz was ordained at the first meeting. *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 587; See also *Minutes of the Ministerium*, Vol. I, pp. 20; 21.

204 *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 676; Also *Minutes of Synod*, Vol. I, p. 10.

205 *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 587.

206 *Ibid.*

207 *Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, p. 46.

208 *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

209 *Ibid.*

210 *Ibid.*, p. 69.

211 *Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, p. 73; See also *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. II, p. 547.

212 *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. II, p. 556.

213 *Minutes of the Ministerium*, Vol. I, p. 88.

214 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

215 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

216 *Ibid.*, 113.

217 *Ibid.*, p. 117.

218 *Ibid.*

219 *Ibid.*, p. 117. Because Stoever's name is mentioned first, he was probably the chairman of the committee.

220 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

221 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

222 Muhlenberg writes that he asked (bat) Stoever to relinquish his party at Tulpehocken and turn it over to Wagner. This evidently was their initial meeting, for Muhlenberg informs that he requested this of Stoever at the first conference, that is, upon his first visit to Tulpehocken. Stoever's attitude is revealed in his reply which Muhlen-

berg describes as weitlaufe contare — dilatory and contrary. *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 435.

²²³ Schmauk, T. E., *Old Salem in Lebanon*, p. 59. This same spirit was also portrayed when Stoever was admitted into the Synod. See *Minutes of the Ministerium*, Vol. I, p. 73.

²²⁴ Pietism places the emphasis of religion upon Christian life rather than upon precise doctrinal formulation.

²²⁵ Objective pietism stresses the mercy of God; subjective pietism gives a larger place to man than the former type.

²²⁶ *Minutes of the Ministerium*, p. 18, Vol. I.

²²⁷ In Muhlenberg's letter to Stoever under the date of January 20, 1747, the latter is urged to acquaint himself with the doctrines of the Church as set forth in the Augsburg Confessions and the other symbolic books, with exegetical books and church history. Muhlenberg speaks also of Rambach's Catechism: that Stoever should base sermons on it, and he would find his deliverances would become milder and meeker. This letter appears in *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, pp. 197-198.

²²⁸ Schmauk, op. cit., p. 16.

²²⁹ Stoever had connections with the following congregations which appear on the roster of the first convention: Philadelphia, Germantown, Providence, New Hanover, Tulpehocken, Nordkiel, Lancaster, New Holland and Saccum. The other congregations represented were the Swedish and Upper Milford. See *Minutes of the Ministerium*, p. 9, Vol. I.

²³⁰ On September 24, 1745 Stoever married his colleague, John Conrad Templeman, to Maria Elizabeth Buechin. The entry appears in Stoever's private records, p. 61.

²³¹ Schmauk, T. E., *Old Salem in Lebanon*, pp. 54, 81.

²³² Schantz, F. J. F., *Records of Rev. John Caspar Stoever, Baptist and Marriage, 1730-1779*, p. 53.

²³³ Schmauk, op. cit., p. 49.

²³⁴ This petition was signed by John Caspar Stoever, Anatasius Uller, Heinrich —, Jacob Licht, George Reynolds, James Clark, John Clarke, Konrad Broun, William Hide, Karl Scholly, George Stits, Michael Brown, John Reynolds, James McNees (From the unpublished notes of T. E. Schmauk).

²³⁵ Schmauk, T. E., op. cit., p. 60.

²³⁶ *Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania, 1748-1821*, p. 60.

²³⁷ *Minutes of the Ministerium*, Vol. I, p. 64.

²³⁸ Schmauk, T. E., op. cit., p. 81.

²³⁹ Schmauk, T. E., *ibid.*, p. 82.

²⁴⁰ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 588; see also *Minutes of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, p. 10.

²⁴¹ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, pp. 47-48.

²⁴² *Minutes of Ministerium of Pennsylvania, 1748-1821*, p. 133.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ Notes from an unpublished history of Hill Church by Heilman, S. P., p. 49.

²⁴⁵ Egle, W. H., *History of the Counties of Dauphin and Lebanon in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, p. 7.

- 246 Book "A", Volume 17, p. 225, Office of the Recorder of Deeds, Philadelphia. From Indenture conveyed by the executors of John Caspar Stoever to John Stoever, May 1, 1780.
- 247 *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, Vol. 2, p. 353.
- 248 Schantz, F. J. F., *Records of the Rev. John Caspar Stoever, Baptismal and Marriage, 1730-1779*, p. 32.
- 249 Croll, P. C., *Ancient and Historic Landmarks of Lebanon County*, p. 300.
- 250 As early as 1750 Muhlenberg learned that Stoever was well situated. *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 587.
- 251 Heilman, H. S., "Mills on the Quitpahila." Heilman is a descendant of John Caspar Stoever.
- 252 *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. II, p. 479-482.
- 253 Egle, W. H., op. cit., p. 225.
- 254 Lochman, George, *Evangelical Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 20.
- 255 The bell is now owned by Joseph and Elizabeth Heilman, Sunnyside, Pennsylvania. They are descendants of John Caspar Stoever. See also, Stoudt, J. Baer, "The Liberty Bells of Pennsylvania, *Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses*, Vol. 37, pp. 166-167.
- 256 Schmauk, T. E., in *Old Salem in Lebanon* states that outlying lots probably from the Reynolds estate, were laid out before the farm of George Steitz, p. 35.
- 257 Deed of the German Lutheran Church, Schmauk, op. cit., p. 66.
- 258 Deed, Schmauk, T. E., op. cit., pp. 66-67.
- 259 Ibid., p. 66.
- 260 Ibid., p. 67.
- 261 Schantz, F. J. F., "Historical Discourse at the Sesquicentennial of Christ Ev. Lutheran Church, September 3, 1893," pp. 7-8.
- 262 Schmauk, T. E., *Old Salem in Lebanon*, pp. 72-73.
- 263 Schantz, F. J. F., loc. cit.
- 264 Annotations from Stoever's copy of Rambach's "Meditations." It is preserved in the State Library, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
- 265 *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, pp. 434-435.
- 266 *Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, p. 16.
- 267 Written February 16, 1735. *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. 12, p. 188; see also *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 587.
- 268 Letter to Augustus Hermann Francke, op. cit.
- 269 Muhlenberg, H. M., *Selbstbiographie*, p. 222.
- 270 Letter of David Weissinger of the Philadelphia congregation. *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 22, Eng. Edition.
- 271 Op. cit., pp. 45-46.
- 272 Sachse, J. F., *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, p. 211.
- 273 M. Caspar Neuman was pastor at St. Elizabeth Church, Breslau and superintendent of the school. His Gebete Buch was prepared for his own use and was at first published without his knowledge. *Allegemienne Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 23, p. 538.
- 274 Schmauk, T. E., *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 274-275.

275 Schantz, F. J. F., *Records of the Rev. John Caspar Stoever, Baptismal and Marriage, 1730-1779*, p. 4.

276 This table was prepared from Stoever's personal records.

277 Stoever, M. L., "Reminiscences of Deceased Lutheran Ministers: John Caspar Stoever," *The Evangelical Review*, Vol. XIX.

278 Schmauk, T. E., *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 257.

279 Stoever, M. L., loc. cit.

280 This was related to the author by President H. E. Jacobs of the Philadelphia Theological Seminary.

281 The contemporary was Miss Elizabeth Snavely, a great aunt of Miss Elizabeth Heilman, who passed on the remark to the author.

282 Indenture conveyed to Conrad Brown, October 31, 1765.

283 "Birth and Baptismal Register of the First Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses*, Vol. IV, p. 250.

284 Brendle, T. R., and Troxell, W. S., "Pennsylvania-German Folk Tales," *Pennsylvania-German Society, Proceedings and Addresses*, Vol. L, p. 257.

285 Bedsecker, J. H., "Some Doctors of the Olden Times," p. 340.

286 Muhlenberg, F. A., was the first regularly called pastor of the Lebanon congregation. He was a Revolutionary patriot, a statesman and the first Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States.

287 "No doubt he was the best known man in the Quittapahilla region, combining the qualities of an outspoken country squire and landlord with those of a sturdy and self-denying minister of the church." *The Lebanon Historical Society*, Vol. 7, p. 427.

288 Miss Elizabeth Snavely, who was then 16 years of age, was present at the death of Stoever. She told the story of his decease to her nephew, Joseph C. Heilman, father of H. T. Heilman, author of th article, "The Mills on the Quitapahilla."

289 Schantz, F. J. F., *History of the Brickerville Congregation*, p. 75.

290 Schantz, F. J. F., *Records of Rev. John Caspar Stoever, Baptismal and Marriage, 1730-1779*, p. 74.

291 Ibid., p. 75.

292 Ibid., p. 74.

293 On the Tax List for 1780 they are listed as follows: Adam Stoever, 200 acres; John Stoever, 150 acres and Tobias Stoever, 200 acres. Egle, W. H., *History of the Counties of Dauphin and Lebanon in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, p. 132

294 Ibid., p. 31.

295 Ibid.

296 Ibid. The Tax List of 1782. This fact refutes at least, in part, the charge that Stoever was a drinking man. *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 422.

297 Schantz, F. J., op. cit., pp. 66, 48.

298 Ibid., p. 68.

299 Ibid., p. 69.

300 A copy of the Stoever will appears in the appendix.

301 This organ is in possession of Joseph and Elizabeth Heilman, Sunnyside near Lebanon. Descendants of John Caspar Stoever, they

reside in the house built by Johannes Stoever, a son, in 1795.

³⁰² It is the last entry in Stoever's private ministerial journal, (p. 77), having been recorded subsequent to the death of Pastor Stoever. Frederick T. Melsheimer succeeded Stoever at Hill Church where he served from 1779-1794.

³⁰³ Egle, W. H., op. cit., p. 137.

³⁰⁴ The Lebanon County Historical Society, Vol. 7, p. 422-427.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Here have been buried Catharine, wife of Jacob Stoever; Elizabeth wife of Jacob Stoever; another Elizabeth wife of Thomas Leary; Moses Stoever; Lizzie Stoever; John Stoever; Sarah, wife of John Stoever; Mary Stoever, wife of Levi Funck; George, son of Jacob and Catharine Stoever; Mary, wife of Johannes Stoever; Tobias Stoever; John Stoever; John, son of Moses and Ellen Stoever; and Catharine, wife of Frederick Stoever.

³⁰⁷ According to the latest research the first Lutheran pastor ordained in America was Abenius Zetskoorn. See Kreider, Harry J., "Lutheran Pioneer Lives Again," *The Lutheran*, February 19, 1947, p. 31.

³⁰⁸ The names from Lewars to Apple have been added since the dedication of the memorial.

³⁰⁹ "Souvenir of Hill Church, 1895"; also *Lebanon Daily News*, Lebanon, Pennsylvania, May 23, 1895.

³¹⁰ From "Souvenir of Old Hill Church, 1895"; also Croll, P. C., *Ancient and Historic Landmarks in the Lebanon Valley*, pp. 318-322.

³¹¹ "To this man (Stoever) of whose temper and later actions the Moravians and followers of Muhlenberg have left unpleasant accounts, was largely due the existence of a German Lutheran body in Pennsylvania and south thereof during the period of these chronicles (1688-1748)." Kieth, Charles P., *Chronicles of Pennsylvania*, Vol. II, p. 547.

